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1920

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PART I.—JANUARY

To the East of Samatata

(ON THE SIX COUNTRIES MENTIONED BUT NOT VISITED BY YUAN CHWANG)

By PROFESSOR PADMANATH BHATTACHARYA,  
VIDYAVINOD, M.A.

THE famous Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang travelled throughout India during the second quarter of the seventh century A.D.; he proceeded eastwards as far as Samatata, and when he was turning back he mentioned six countries which he had heard of but could not visit. Their names are given in serial order: "(1) Shihli-Ch'atalo to the north-east (from Samatata) among the hills near the sea; (2) south-east from this, on a bay of the sea, Kamolangka; (3) Tolopoti to the east of the preceding; (4) east from Tolopoti was Ishangnapulo; (5) to the east of this was Mohachanp'o; and (6) to the south-east of this was the Yenmonachou country."<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the location and identification of these countries antiquarians, European and Asiatic, like M. Chavannes and Dr. Takakusu, have given their opinions, and the consensus of these learned views has led to the following identifications:—

(1) Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo was Prome in Lower Burma, the ancient Tharekhettara or Śrikshetra; (2) Ka-mo-lang-ka

<sup>1</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, pp. 187-8. Watters' work has been followed in this article as he is the most reliable authority.

was Pegu and the Delta of the Irawadi ; (3) To-lo-po-ti is the same as Dwārāvati, "the Sanskrit name for Ayuthyā or Ayudhyā, the ancient capital of Siam" ; (4) I-shang-na-pu-lo, i.e. Īshanapura, was Cambodia ; (5) Mo-ha-chan-p'o or Mahāchampā was modern Cochinchina with a part of Anam ; and (6) the Yen-mo-na-chou was Yamunādwipa, which might be Java but has not been yet identified.<sup>1</sup>

The late Mr. Watters, who, according to Dr. Rhys Davids, was the most qualified person to write an authentic work on the interpretation of Yuan Chwang's valuable records,<sup>2</sup> objects to Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo being identified with Prome or Tharekhettara, on the grounds that it was far from the sea and that it lay *south-east* of Samatata, instead of *north-east*, which is the reading of all the texts of the Life and of the Fang Chih.<sup>3</sup> Having thus criticized the view already established, Watters has given his own idea, viz. that Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo or Śrikshetra "should correspond roughly to the Tipparah District";<sup>4</sup> and this has been confirmed by Dr. Vincent A. Smith in his notes appended to Watters' volumes.<sup>5</sup>

Before proceeding to examine these opinions we must ascertain the position of Samatata. It is stated in the narrative that the Chinese traveller proceeded from Kāmarūpa southwards, and after a journey of 1,200 or 1,300 li (6 li = 1 mile) reached the country of Samatata, and that this country was on the seaside and was low and moist, and was more than 3,000 li in circuit.<sup>6</sup> Then, again, from Samatata the pilgrim journeyed west for over 900 li and reached Tanmolihti,<sup>7</sup> which was decidedly Tāmralipta, the modern Tamluk in the Midnapur District. Samatata, therefore, must have been the south-eastern

<sup>1</sup> For details *vide* Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, pp. 188-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Preface to Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. i, p. v.

<sup>3</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, pp. 188-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

part of the Bengal Presidency corresponding to the Dacca, Faridpur, Backerganj, Jessore, and Khulna Districts; and this is the locality shown as Samataṭa in the map appended to Watters' volumes by Dr. V. A. Smith.

Having thus fixed with fair certainty the location of Samataṭa, let us now examine the position and identification of the six countries one by one.

(1) The first is Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo. We learn three points about it, viz.: (1) it was north-east of Samataṭa; (2) it was among the hills; and (3) it was near the sea. Those who so long localized it about Prome in Lower Burma overlooked the first and the third points, and have thus been rightly criticized by Watters, as stated already. They had also missed another, a very important, fact: A.D. 95 was the date of the demise of the last king of Prome, and Tharekhettara and the kingdom fell immediately after.<sup>1</sup>

Was it possible that Yuan Chwang, coming about five centuries and a half after the extinction of the kingdom of Tharekhettara, would be informed of its existence? We may, therefore, say conclusively that Yuan Chwang did not mean Tharekhettara of Prome when he spoke of Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo.

Let us now come to what Watters has put forward as to Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo. Unfortunately he has not stated his arguments in favour of it: apparently he only looked at the map and found the Tipperah District fairly on the north-east, and so he made a surmise. Had he only looked a little up exactly north-east of what was Samataṭa, he would have found the right claimant in the district of Sylhet, which in the vernacular is called Śrihatta. We have said elsewhere that "what the people whom Yuan Chwang consulted said was 'Śrihatṭa', which

<sup>1</sup> Lieut.-General Sir Arthur P. Phayre's *History of Burma*, ed. 1884, p. 18.

the pilgrim heard as 'Śrikshatra', and represented in his defective Chinese tongue as Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo".<sup>1</sup>

The peculiar way in which the Assamese pronounce the letter  $\text{়}$  (*h*) even now (one hears it sounded like the Greek letter  $\chi$  (*chi*)) indicates probably the manner in which in this part of East Bengal close to Assam the letter was pronounced in old days, and the Chinese pilgrim might not be wholly to blame for taking Śrihatṭa as Śrikshatra.<sup>2</sup>

We will now see if Sylhet (Śrihatṭa) fulfils all the conditions. It was "north-east of Samatata" (South-Eastern Bengal); "it was among the hills": a reference to the map of Sylhet will show that it is surrounded by ranges of hills on all sides except the west. But a map of modern Sylhet would not show that it fulfilled the third condition, as the district is not at present "near the sea". This requires some explanation.

The district of Sylhet, which, by the way, included two centuries ago the eastern part of Mymensingh and the northern part of Tipperah, contains many marshes that go by the name Hāor, which apparently is a corruption of the word Ságara, as it is changed into Sáyar in colloquial Bengali and the initial *S* is commonly changed into *h* in the Sylhet patois.<sup>3</sup> These "haors" are gradually being silted up, and are now being utilized in paddy cultivation; even villages are growing amidst them near river banks or at spots raised up by earthquakes. Only

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xii, pt. ii, No. 13, p. 67. The point whether Śrihatṭa (Sylhet) existed as a distinct kingdom in Yuan Chwang's time has been dealt with in that article as a side issue, and so has not been touched on here.

<sup>2</sup> A Pandit once said that he had come across Śrikshetra written in a Tantra in place of Śrihatṭa: if this be a fact all confusion is cleared up. [Śrihatṭa means "Market of Śri or Lakshmi", the deity presiding over the Piṭha of Sylhet being Mahālakshmi; and Śrikshetra means "field or place of Śri (Lakshmi)": so both these words are almost of the same signification.]

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. v, pt. i, p. 224.

140 years ago, in 1778, when a certain Mr. Lindsay went from Dacca to Sylhet as its governor, he wrote: "I shall not be disbelieved when I say that in pointing my boat towards Sylhet I had recourse to my compass, the same as at sea, and steered a straight course through a lake not less than one hundred miles in extent."<sup>1</sup> If this was the state of things less than a century and a half ago, what the condition of the district was about thirteen centuries ago may well be imagined. In fact, one of the two copper-plates discovered near Bhatera in South Sylhet about forty years ago, which, according to Rājendralāla Mitra, were executed in the fourteenth century A.D. (but which might belong to an anterior date though certainly not prior to the tenth century A.D.), contains in it the word सागर-पश्चिमे (*sagara-paśchime*, "west of the sea") as the boundary of a plot of arable land.<sup>2</sup> In the other plate also there is the word नौवाटक (*nau-vāṭaka*), which Rājendralāla Mitra has translated as "war boats", mentioned in two places in connexion with the description of the royal donor's war materials.<sup>3</sup> This also indicates the existence of something like the sea near by even some centuries after the Chinese traveller visited India.<sup>4</sup>

Before concluding the case of Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo we have

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from *The Lives of Lindsays*. Appendix to Hunter's *Statistical Accounts of Assam*, vol. ii, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Vide line 38 of the Copper-plate Inscriptions No. 1, as published with the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for August, 1880.

<sup>3</sup> Vide lines 13 and 21 of the copper-plate Inscriptions No. 2 in the same Proceedings. That these copper-plate grants related to Sylhet (*Śrīhaṭṭa*) is evident from the fact that the donors were described as belonging to a dynasty which ruled the kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭa and that one of these grants related to Śrīhaṭṭanātha Siva.

<sup>4</sup> That the whole of the plain portion of the district formed part of the ocean at a remote period will be apparent from the fact that the lofty mountains to the north and east rise abruptly; the conformation of some of the sandy hillocks on and about the town of Sylhet, and the presence of marine shells at the foot of the hills along the northern boundary, also prove this (vide Hunter's *Statistical Accounts of Assam*, vol. ii, p. 263, and Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, vol. ii, p. 352).

to deal with a third claimant, as some people would identify it with Chittagong, the Sanskritized name whereof is Chatṭala, by prefixing the honorific syllable Śrī before the latter. There are serious objections to this theory: firstly, in that case south-east is required to be substituted for north-east (of Samatata), which is quite unwarranted, as already stated. Secondly, the name Chatṭala occurs in the Tantras which are quite modern works, and is apparently the Sanskritization of Chātigāon, which, according to Rai Sarat Chandra Dās Bahadur, C.I.E., the antiquarian, who was a resident of Chittagong, was the name by which the place was known in the Buddhistic world even in the ninth century A.D.<sup>1</sup>; and thirdly, even if the name Chatṭala was known in Yuan Chwang's time, there does not seem to be any reason why the Chinese traveller should take the pains of prefixing Śrī to it, which, by the way, is not found even in the Tantras. Shihlich'atalo therefore is Śrihatta (Sylhet) and no other place.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* p. 6 of a vernacular work, *Chaffagrāmer Viśarāṇi*, issued in instalments from Chittagong.

<sup>2</sup> Itsing, who came to visit India about thirty years after Yuan Chwang, said, apparently referring to this place: "Going east from the Nalanda Monastery, 500 *yojanas*, all the country is called the Eastern Frontier. At the (eastern) extremity there is the so-called 'Great Black Mountain', which is, I think, on the southern boundary of Tu-fan (Tibet). This mountain is said to be on the south-west of Shu-chuan (Su-chuan) from which one can reach this mountain after a journey of a month or so. Southward from this, and close to the sea coast, there is a country called 'Srikshatra (Prome)' "(p. 9, Dr. Takakusu's *Itsing*; words within parenthesis are those of Dr. Takakusu). Whatever the learned editor (Dr. Takakusu) might say (and such views have already been criticized) this 'Srikshatra' was 'Śrihatta' or 'Sylhet'; the 'Great Black mountains' must have been the Bhotan range that skirts Tibet; and this Chinese pilgrim making his way through the Brahmaputra Valley and the Khasi hills reached Śrihatta, that, as already stated in detail, had then a vast sheet of water near by that passed for a "sea". Itsing, who had, of course, studied Yuan Chwang's Itinerary, was probably eager to see Śrihatta, which his predecessor could not visit, and benefiting by the latter's experience, he did not go via Samatata for fear of the "sea" which would intervene on that way, but took a rather circuitous route and so reached the place as stated above.

2. Ka-mo-lang-ka, the next country in order, lay south-east of Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo on a "bay of the sea". It is regrettable that Watters, who protested against Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo being Prome, acquiesced in Kamolangka being Pegu and the Delta of the Irawadi, as decided by some anterior antiquarians. If, as Watters says, Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo be the Tipperah district, how could the next country, said to have been lying south-east thereof, apparently in close propinquity, be one far away from the former and separated by insurmountable mountain ranges? Nowhere in the history of Burma do we come across a name that sounds like Kamolangka. Moreover, the country that included the Delta of the Irawadi was known as Subarnabhumi<sup>1</sup> in ancient times, and the city of Pegu, built in the sixth century A.D., was given the classic name of Hansawadi.<sup>2</sup> Yuan Chwang, coming within half a century after the foundation of that city, would have mentioned the classical name if he really meant to refer thereto.

Where, then, was Kamolangka? It was where it should have been, viz. a territory south-east of Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo (Śrihaṭṭa or Sylhet), where still a faint recollection of it is left in the name of Comilla, the headquarters station of the Tipperah district. If we should consult a modern map we might find Tipperah more south-west than south-east of Sylhet; but, as I have already mentioned, Sylhet, even in the eighteenth century A.D., comprised the eastern part of Mymensingh and the northern part of Tipperah, and as it was mentioned as north-east of Samataṭa, in contiguity of course, who knows but that its western boundary was further westwards 1,300 years ago? At present the district of Tipperah is not on a bay of the "sea", but what has been stated of Sylhet, which is further inland than Tipperah, might with greater possibility be said of the

<sup>1</sup> Phayre's *History of Burma*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

latter; the Brahmaputra has its old channel terminated at a point which was then on the north-western boundary of the old Tipperah, and possibly this was then the head of an estuary that looked like a bay. Only a few years ago, when on account of a sudden flood all cultivation in the plain portions of the district was destroyed, the vast sheet of water presented the appearance of a sea, and this was surely the ordinary condition 1,300 years before.<sup>1</sup>

Five miles from Comilla (already mentioned) there is a hill called Lālmāi but popularly known as Mayanāmatī Hill, called after the heroine of a story contained in the old manuscript books named Mayanāmatī's Gān (songs of Mayanāmatī); one of such books has recently been published by the Dacca Sāhitya Parishat, in which we find the following lines:—

বাপের মিরাশ এড়ি যাই মু গৌরের শহর ।

দাদার মিরাশ (এড়ি) যাবেক কামলাক নগর ॥

Bāper mirāsh edi yāimu Gaurar Shahar  
Dādār mirāsh(erī) yāvek Kāmalāk nagar.<sup>2</sup>

This Kāmalāk is apparently a corruption of Kamalānka, the whilom state that included Comilla.

Information about an extinct kingdom named Karmānta

<sup>1</sup> In what season Yuan Chwang came to Samataṭa and turned back from that place is not known. We can presume, however, that he must have been here during the rainy season, when casting his eye towards the north-east he could see nothing but a vast sheet of water that discouraged him proceeding further that way. This is quite possible, as the Buddhist monks observed the rainy season as a period of retreat (*vide* Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. i, pp. 144-5). Yuan Chwang might have passed such a period in Samataṭa.

<sup>2</sup> p. 6, col. i of the Publication of the Dacca Sāhitya Parishat. The meaning of the lines is: "I shall go to the town of Gaura (= Gauḍa) after leaving my father's estate and to the town of Kāmalāk (leaving) the brother's estate." It should be noted here that both Watters and Beal have rendered Kamolangka as Kāmalankā, and the word Kāmalāk here seems to support this; but Kamalānka is the form that gives a better meaning, and in fact the one adopted by the Indian writers inclusive of those who would identify it with Pegu.

is available from two copper-plate inscriptions, one of which was published by Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1885.<sup>1</sup> These plates were discovered at Ashrafpur, near Nārāyanaganj, close to the south-western boundary of Tipperah. Twelve miles west of Comilla there is a village called Barkāmtā (Great Kāmtā), wherein ruins of buildings as well as of stone statues have been discovered; and on the pedestal of one of these statues (of Narteśvara) has been discovered an inscription containing the name of a king of Karmānta.<sup>2</sup> This Barkāmtā being still popularly known as the capital of an ancient kingdom, lying near Comilla, we cannot help inferring the identity of these two kingdoms, Kamalānka and Karmānta (Kāmta), which sound much alike, as do Udra and Utkala of Orissa. Kamalānka alias Karmānta must have existed in the seventh century as a kingdom deserving of notice by Yuan Chwang; the copper-plates inscriptions have been ascribed to eighth century A.D., and it is not too much to assume that the dynasty to which the donors belonged certainly had existed from an anterior date, at least a century earlier, as the copper-plate inscriptions contain the names of the royal donors' ancestors.

So 'Kamolangka' cannot be Pegu or any other place than the locality now known as Tipperah, as after the overthrow of the ancient kingdom a large portion of it was occupied by the kings of Hill Tipperah,<sup>3</sup> although it was afterwards conquered by the Muhammadans.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 49–52 of the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The other was published in the same journal in 1890–1.

<sup>2</sup> *A Forgotten Kingdom of Eastern Bengal*, by Mr. N. K. Bhattachārji, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. x, No. 3, March, 1914, *vide* pp. 85–91.

<sup>3</sup> A part of it became annexed to the other neighbouring kingdom of Samataṭa when the latter was under the Pāla dynasty, as will be inferred from an inscription containing the name of Mahipala I upon the pedestal of a statue of Vishnu, found at Bāghāūra in Tipperah (*vide* pl. x, facing p. 18, vol. xi, No. 1, 1915, of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*).

3. To-lo-po-ti, the next country in order, lay east of Kamolangka. This has been interpreted to represent in Sanskrit Dwārāvatī, which was "the Sanskrit name for Ayuthyā or Ayudhyā, the ancient capital of Siam".<sup>1</sup> Here is another instance of anachronism that has been overlooked by the antiquarians who would locate everything in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. "It is stated in the History of Siam that King Phra Ramathebodi founded the capital Ayuthia in A.D. 1350,"<sup>2</sup> i.e. more than 700 years after Yuan Chwang had visited India. There are other places in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula called Dwāravati, but they were not east of Pegu and the Delta of Irawadi, identified as Kamolangka as noticed before.

In fact, as Kamolangka was not Pegu, so Tolopoti was not Dwāravati, or at any rate in Siam<sup>3</sup> or any other place thereabouts. We have only to look east of the modern British district of Tipperah to find out what the Chinese pilgrim really meant by Tolopoti, viz. the State of Hill Tipperah. Probably Tolopoti is a contracted Chinese representation of Tripurāpati. Watters remarks, however, that "the characters seem to stand for Talapati, that is, Mahadeva"<sup>4</sup> ( $l=r$ ), and also that Talapati is the city with that name to which Shan Tsai went in order to consult Mahadeva its Patron God".<sup>5</sup> In that case the state of Hill Tipperah has the strongest claim for consideration; the name of Tipperah occurs in the enumeration of Pithas (sacred places where limbs of Satī, the consort of Mahādeva, fell); the Śakti (female deity) here is called Tripurā, and the Bhairava (Mahādeva presiding over the same) as

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, pp. 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Browning's *Siam*, vol. i, p. 43 (quoted in Phayre's *History of Burma*, p. 66, n.).

<sup>3</sup> Ancient name of Siam was Champa, *vide* p. 8, of Colonel L. W. Shakespear's *History of Upper Assam, Upper Burma, and N.E. Frontier*. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, of the Archaeological Department, also considers Siam as Champa (*vide Northern Burma Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 205).

<sup>4</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

Tripuresa, which may be paraphrased as Tripurāpati. The capital of the state has shifted from place to place with different names, almost once in each century, according to the variation of its boundaries ; and it is quite probable that its capital 1,300 years ago might have been a city bearing the name of Tārāpati or even Dwārāvati.<sup>1</sup> That Mahādeva was in those days and even long before that time the "patron God" of the state can be easily inferred. The remains of a colossal statue of Mahādeva may be seen on a peak near Kailasahar, the headquarters of a subdivision of the state ; and the statue, though very much damaged, is indicative of a very remote antiquity. It is also stated in the Rājamālā (genealogy of the Tipperah kings) that when at the death of Tripura the line became extinct, the queen became pregnant by the worship of the Lingam.<sup>2</sup> This Tripura, who is said to have given his name to the state, was, according to the Rājamālā, a contemporary of Yudhishthira, one of the chief heroes of the Mahābhārata.

That the state was a noteworthy one in Yuan Chwang's time will be evident from the fact that there is an era of the Tipperah state that dates from 590 A.D., about which<sup>3</sup> Sir W. W. Hunter writes in the statistical account of Hill Tipperah (p. 470) : "The state of Hill Tipperah has a chronological era peculiar to itself. The Dewan reports that it was adopted by Raja Biraraja, from whom the present Raja is ninety-second in descent. Raja Biraraja is said

<sup>1</sup> The state of Tipperah had other names also : for instance, the Burmese called it Thuratun in their chronicle called Maharajaweng. We may here hazard a conjecture that it might have once had the name or surname of Sthalavati (whereof Tolopati was the form in Yuan Chwang's writing) to distinguish it from Śrihatṭa and Kamalānka near by, which were aqueous regions, Sthalavati meaning 'consisting only of Sthala (terra firma)'.

<sup>2</sup> शिवस्तिष्ठनता धानात् सा बभूव सुगर्भिणी “Śivalinganatā dhyānat sā babhūva Sugarbhīṇī” (Skt. Rājamalā).

<sup>3</sup> Vide also Sir Roper Lethbridge's *The Golden Book of India*, p. 541.

to have extended his conquest across the Ganges, and in commemoration of that event to have established a new era dating from his victory." This was about half a century before Yuan Chwang took note of that kingdom as Tolopoti.<sup>1</sup>

(4) I-shang-na-pu-lo is mentioned next as lying east of Tolopoti. It has been long identified with Cambodia, Tolopoti having been looked upon as Siam. But the case of Siam has already been dealt with: it could not be Tolopoti, as it had the name of Champa. An antiquarian (Professor Chavannes) identifies I-shang-na-pu-lo with Cambodia on the ground that a little before Yuan Chwang's time a king named Ishāna ruled over Cambodia<sup>2</sup>; but the learned professor does not state if the said king founded any capital bearing his own name, as formerly a kingdom might also be named after its capital, but seldom by the personal name of its ruler.<sup>3</sup>

Let us now see if we can find any trace of Ishangnapulo in the direction indicated by us, i.e. on the east of Tripura (Hill Tipperah). But before doing so we must state here that in those days the state of Tipperah included the southern and eastern part of the district of

<sup>1</sup> In the Allahabad pillar inscriptions of Samudra Gupta (Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, pp. 1-17) there occurs a word समतट डवाक कामरूप नेपालकत्तुपुरादि "Samataṭa Davāka Kāmarūpa Nepālakattripurādi". In this document of fourth century A.D. an eminent Bengali writer on the history of Tipperah finds mention of the name of the state, as instead of Nepāla Karttripurādi (as is the reading generally accepted) he would read Nepalaka Tripuradi (নে-পাল-কা-ত্তি-পুর-এ-দি). This is mentioned here for what it is worth.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* footnote 4 to Notes on the Topographical Names (pp. li-lii of Dr. Takakusu's *Itsing* (Clarendon Press, 1896).

<sup>3</sup> General Sir A. P. Phayre says about Ishangnapulo as follows:—"Beyond that (Tolopati) state east Tshangnapulo (T = I?) is not recognizable; but still further east Mohachampa mentioned by the pilgrim represents beyond doubt the ancient kingdom of Cambodia (see paper by James Fergusson in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. vi, n.s., 1873)" (*History of Burma*, p. 32). So that Cambodia not only did not come to be considered by him as I-shang-na-pu-lo, but it was regarded as Mahāchampā beyond doubt!

Sylhet and the western and southern part of Cāchār. By Ishangnapulo was therefore meant the present state of Manipur, including the eastern part of the Cāchār district, which lay to the east of the kingdom of Tolopoti (Hill Tipperah). The name Manipur occurs in the Mahābhārata, and the present-day rulers of Manipur believe that they are descendants from Babhruvāhana, son of Arjuna, whose exploits are delineated in the said Epic.<sup>1</sup> The indigenous history called Chaitaram Kumbābā contains accounts of the kings of Manipur from the remotest antiquity. Much of these is no doubt of a mythical nature, but they are not the only evidence of antiquity. Those who have visited the Bhurban Peak in the ridge of hills that form the present boundary between Cāchār and Manipur, and have seen therein the statues of deities like Mahādeva, Durgā, Ganeśa, etc., though they are all more or less mutilated, and also the caves that were apparently used as places for meditation, cannot but be impressed with the idea that this was a spot within a territory that had received the light of Hindu civilization at a very remote period of time.<sup>2</sup> In the state of Manipur itself there have been discovered statues of Mahādeva which are certainly indicative of remote antiquity.

On the eastern side of the boundary hills between Cāchār and Manipur, at the foot thereof stands Vishnupur, which was formerly the capital of Manipur, and which perhaps is what the Chinese pilgrim meant by Ishangnapulo. Vishnu is easily converted into Vishen; and in

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Aśwamedheparvan, chap. 89 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Careless people might connect this spot with the state of Hill Tipperah; but stone' statues found in East Cachar show almost exact similarity in workmanship with those found in the Manipur Valley, and this goes a great way to support an assumption that Eastern Cachar and Manipur formed one state of old. Yet it should be stated that it is not quite improbable that this region might have been overrun by the Tipperah kings and even occupied by them for some time, as in the case of Kamalānka already noted.

fact in some of the Government maps the place is spelt as Bishenpur (where *B* is the modern vernacular substitute for *V*). The initial letter (*V*), being a semi-vowel, might easily assume an inaudible form. So what was Vishnupur came to be pronounced and heard as Ishenpur, and noted by the Chinese pilgrim as Ishangnapulo.<sup>1</sup> The village of Vishnupur is located in such a manner as to command the view of the whole valley of Manipur, and as such it is a place fit for being the metropolis. There is something very remarkable about this place, for the people there who are called Vishnupuriya speak a language which is akin to the Aryan Bengali dialect, while the other Manipuris have a non-Aryan tongue.<sup>2</sup> The number of the Vishnupuriyas in Manipur is very small, while the bulk of the Manipuris settled in Cachar and Sylhet style themselves Vishnupuriya. The Manipuris call the Vishnupuriyas Māyāng, which literally means "many people" (*mi-iām*), but now signifies "foreigner". The condition of Vishnupur<sup>3</sup> and its people, as well as of the statues of deities of the Bhuban Peak and also in the valley itself, bespeaks the existence of an Aryan kingdom that had existed in ancient times but has almost been swept away by the inroad of the Barbarians,

<sup>1</sup> If M. Chavannes' reason (as already stated) for the name Ishanapur being applied to Cambodia on account of the name of a ruler (Ishana) be accepted as valid, then this very name (Ishanapur) can more appropriately be predicated for this region also. Ishana (= Iśāna) means Mahādeva and also north-east. This locality, containing the statues of Mahādeva (as that at Bhuban Peak and others in the valley of Manipur), and lying north-east of a famous kingdom (of Samatata), might claim that nomenclature also: and by a phonetic process, the reverse of what has been stated above, Ishanpur might have been changed into Vishnupur in modern times.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Dr. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. v, pt. i, p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> The present writer visited the place in October, 1916, and was told by the people there that the old Vishnupur was situated a little up the hill, and was buried underground by a huge landslip caused by earthquake.

who, however, have become Hinduized and civilized by adopting the ways of the conquered people.<sup>1</sup>

The country of Ishangnapulo mentioned by Yuan Chwang, therefore, was the state of Manipur inclusive of the eastern part of Cāchar, the capital whereof was Vishnupur.

5. Mo-ha-chan-p'o, the next country in order, was east of Ishangnapulo. It has hitherto been identified with Cochin-China and part of Anam.<sup>2</sup> The Chinese pilgrim apparently wrote Mahāchampā, using Mahā (great) as a prefix to distinguish it from Champā in Bihar, which he had already visited.<sup>3</sup> Besides Cochin-China several countries in Further India claimed this name; the cases of Cambodia and Siam have already been mentioned, and we are going to bring in another claimant which lay close to the east of the country that we have endeavoured to identify with Ishangnapulo, viz. the country in Northern Burma, whereof the capital was Sampenago (= Champā-nagar), the ruins of which are even now seen near Bhamo, and which was probably the most ancient of all the countries in Further India that claim the name of Champa. Sampenago had an antiquity and a Buddhistic reputation utterly absent from countries like Cochin-China, Cambodia, or Siam, or, in fact, in any other place in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It is said that Dharmāsoka of Magadha built a set of his pagodas, tanks, etc., as the Buddha had lived here in a former existence in the body of a crow.<sup>4</sup> This ancient kingdom existed up to the eleventh century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> A very old and popular story of Khāmbā-Thaibi, wherein the hero and the heroine are described as incarnations of Mahādeva and his consort (Durgā), shows that the worship of Śiva and Śakti was current in the valley—a fact indicative of its antiquity. The scene of the plot is laid at Mairang, a place close to the south of Vishnupur.

<sup>2</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ibid.*, p. 181 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* extracts of Mr. Ney Elias's "Introductory Sketch of the History of Shans", p. 56, pt. ii, vol. i of the *Gazetteer of Northern Burma and Shan States*.

Sektumin was a very famous king of Sampenago at a very remote period of antiquity, and his successors continued to rule there up to 400 B.E. (= A.D. 1038).<sup>1</sup> This Sampenago was apparently the capital of a Shan State, as Bhamo is stated to have formed an integral part of the Shan kingdom of Pong. This statement is based on the researches of Captain Pemberton, who derived his information from Shan MSS. at Manipur.<sup>2</sup> That this Shan kingdom of Pong was imbued from ancient time with the Buddhistic culture is proved by the test of language: "The Shan language is described by Dr. Cushing as a monosyllabic language, but has many polysyllabic words of Burmese and Pali origin."<sup>3</sup>

Probably this region was colonized in ancient days by people from Champa, and we learn from General Phayre's *History of Burma*<sup>4</sup> that Kshatriya princes arrived in Burma through Manipur by a route which is still called Mauriya or Maurira, that reminds us of the Mauriya king Asoka of Magadha, to which Champa then belonged.

Thus it was quite natural that in the enumeration of unvisited countries in succession the Chinese traveller looked this way, viz. towards Tipperah (Tolopoti), Manipur (Ishangnapulo), and the Shan State of Champanagara (Sampenago),<sup>5</sup> and not in any other direction.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Bhamo Gazetteer*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 28. The very word 'Shan' may be a monosyllable contraction of Sanpo or Champa. Mr. Ney Elias in his "Introductory Sketch of the History of Shans" mentions a term "Mau Shans" which he says "is a political rather than a racial name" (p. 190, pt. i, vol. i of *N.B. Gazetteer*). May not this Mau Shans be a reminiscence of Maha Champa? Mr. Scott, editor of the *N.B. Gazetteer*, sees the trace of Kauśāmbī in Ko-shan-pye or the nine Shan States (vide pp. 189-90, *N.B. Gazetteer*, pt. i, vol. i). Ko means Nine, and Shampye might represent Champa as well.

<sup>4</sup> p. 4 (vide quotation later on).

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting in this connexion to note that a prince of the Shan State of Pong chose this route (viz. Tipperah and Manipur) when returning home from a tour of conquest in 777; vide p. 58 of Browne's *Statistical Accounts of Manipur*, and p. 12 of Phayre's *History of Burma*.

6. Yen-mo-na-chou, the next and the last country mentioned, lay south-west of Mohachanp'o, and this has not been yet definitely identified, apparently because the antiquarians have hitherto been traversing a wrong region. If we look to the south-west of the locality that had Sampenago (modern Bhamo) in it, we find the province of Burma, which in those days was a powerful kingdom and probably included even Chittagong. Chou means an island, i.e. *dwipa* in Sanskrit; and Yen-mo-na-chou, which is surmised as Yamunadwipa by Watters,<sup>1</sup> must have been Jambu-dwipa<sup>2</sup> if it bore any meaning at all; and it appears from the translation of a letter from the Burmese Government to the Governor-General of India, dated October 21, 1879, that the king of Burma was spoken of as "the Burmese Sovereign of the Rising Sun who ruled over the country of Thuna Paranta and the country of Tambudeepa".<sup>3</sup> This Tambudeepa is apparently Jambudwipa, which meant all countries south of Ava.<sup>4</sup> From the way in which the countries of Further India were given Indian names, we should think it quite natural that the ancient sovereigns of Burma should call a portion of that country after the name of India itself, viz. Jambudwipa, a name which was very common in Buddhistic literature.<sup>5</sup> The question arises whether or not the Burmese kingdom was a noteworthy one in the seventh century A.D., and in answer we might say that this was the era-making period of the Burmese, as the

<sup>1</sup> *Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, p. 180. Dr. Takakusu's conjecture is Yavana-dwipa, meaning Sumatra (*vide* the geographical notes to his *Itsing*, pp. li-lii). This is not borne out by a reference to the map.

<sup>2</sup> The word Jambu could be represented by Yenfou in Chinese. So it appears from Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. i, p. 33. In that case Yen-mo-na might also very nearly represent the same word Jambu in its corrupted form in Burmese.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Burma Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. i, ch. iii, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. [Thuna (=Suna) Paranta represented all the countries north of Ava.]

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. i, p. 132.

Burmese era was founded by King Pupasaw in the year 638 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

As already stated, the Burmese empire then extended probably up to Chittagong, so that by enumerating the country of Yen-mona-chou Yuan Chwang completed a circle. Starting from Shih - li - ch'a - to - lo, north-east of Samatata, he stopped with Yenmonachou lying south-east, and this was more probable and natural. It is also quite improbable that leaving aside Śrihatta (Sylhet), Kamalāṅka, etc., which lay near at hand and in close contiguity with Samatata, the Chinese pilgrim should have troubled himself to take note of regions like Prome and Pegu that lay far off from Samatata, between which and those countries there lay the sea, the rivers, and the mountains.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix (p. 202), *A Chronology of Burma*, by Max and Bertha Ferrars. This chronology will also show the antiquity of Burma. Mr. Taw Sein Ko says in a letter to the present writer that the Burmese era was, according to the native chronicles, inaugurated by Thinga Raza, a king of Pagan, after wiping out 1,182 years of the Era of Religion (*Anno Buddhæ*) reckoned by the Burmese from B.C. 544. About this Pagan the same authority writes: "The native writers aver that Tampadipa (which is a more correct form of Tambudeepa mentioned above) is the name applied to Pagan, which is situated on the left bank of the River Irawady, and that Suna Paranta is applied to a place opposite to Pagan on the right bank of the same river, and they are inclined to ascribe their foundation to the time of the Buddha." Mr. Taw Sein Ko, it seems, has not much faith in his "native chroniclers"; but that is a matter of opinion. The fact remains (and this is what is required for our purposes) that this part of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula was noteworthy in Yuan Chwang's time, and a prominent part of it bore the name of Tambudeepa (which we have assumed to be a corruption of Jambudwipa), which Yuan Chwang noted as Yen-mona-chou.

<sup>2</sup> General Phayre, in his *History of Burma*, p. 4, says: "The route by which the Kshatriya princes arrived is indicated in the traditions as being through Manipur, which lies within the Basin of the Irawaddy. The northern part of the Kubo Valley, which is the direct route of Manipur towards Burma, is still called Maurya or Maurira, said to be the name of the tribe to which king Asoka belonged." This is another reason why the Chinese traveller's eye naturally turned that way, as indicated above.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the region with which we have concerned ourselves here is as yet a virgin field for research, and if this our humble writing serves to invite the attention of the veteran antiquarians to work in this field we should think ourselves amply rewarded.





## Man-istisu, in the Temple of Sara

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES

ALTHOUGH of no great importance in itself, one of the tablets of the Harding Smith collection, numbered W.H.S. 122, is nevertheless worthy of notice, owing to the frequent mention made of a personage, to whom gifts were apparently made, named Man-ištisu. As this name only differs from that of the now well-known king of Kiš, Man-ištusu, by the substitution of *i* for *u* in the third syllable, the identity of the two spellings seems certain, and it is possible that they are forms of the name of one and the same ruler. His capital, Kiš, is now represented by the mounds of Oheimer, about 20 miles east of the ruins of Babylon. Peters describes the site as consisting of a reddish hill, with many elevations to the west and north.<sup>1</sup>

Unimportant as the city was in later days, it seems, during the pre-Akkadian period, to have attained an influence superior to that of Babylon. This, however, is not astonishing, as it came to the fore shortly after the time of the mythical king Etanna, who, according to the legend, ascended to heaven on the back of an eagle to seek "the herb of bearing", so that his wife might bring forth a son to succeed him.

According to the archaic chronological list published by Poebel, Man-ištusu was the second in succession from Šarru-kénu (Sargon) of Agadé, and therefore ruled about 2700 years B.C. He is best known by the pointed obelisk of his reign now in the Louvre, and found by the de Morgan expedition at Susa; but there are other and smaller objects

<sup>1</sup> *Nippur*, by John Punnett Peters, i, 323.

bearing his name, the most interesting being the torso dedicated on his behalf by U-sub to the god Narutu of Susa. (*Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, vol. x, p. 1.)

The name Man-ištusu, though Semitic, is a strange one, and has given much ground for speculation. J. Hoschander, in the *Zeitschr. für Assyr.*, vol. xx, p. 246, suggests that it is for *Man-išdud-su*, meaning "Who dragged him forth (from the womb) ?" but this has a doubtful ring about it, and the change in vocalization in the Harding Smith tablet (it would require the unlikely *Man-išdid-su*) makes this interpretation all the more uncertain. That the reading is absolutely correct is shown by the variants *Ma-an-iš-du-uz-zu* and *Ma-an-iš-du-us-su*. The other forms, *Man-ištusu* and *Man-ištisu*, presuppose a root *švd* or *šyd*, which, before assimilation with the pronominal *s* (*s*) brought about the change of the inserted *t* into *d*, in accordance with known phonetic rules. We may therefore regard the name as being for *Man-ištúd-su* or *Man-ištéd-su*, and meaning "Who raised him on high ?" (gave him his exalted position ?), or the like.

Notwithstanding the absence of the character *lugal*, in Semitic *šarru*, "king," and the determinative prefix for divinity, in the Harding Smith tablet, the fact that *Man-ištisu* appears as receiving gifts in the temple of Šara at Jokha suggests that he was in reality a deified Babylonian ruler. For him and for the great god of the temple there are twenty entries, as follows:—

- Lines 1-4. 10 talents the gift (for) the temple of Šara,  
                  2 talents *Man-ištisu*. *Sur-lugal*...
- 5-7. 3 talents the temple of Šara, 1 talent *Man-ištisu*. *Lugal-muru-ga*.
- 8-10. 2 talents the temple of Šara, 1 talent *Man-ištisu*. *Lu-Nin-m[ug](?)*.
- 11-13. 1 talent the temple of Šara,  $\frac{1}{2}$  talent *Man-ištisu*. *Sur-laḥa(?)*.
- 14-16. 1 talent the temple of Šara,  $\frac{1}{2}$  talent *Man-ištisu*. *Sur-abba*.

- Rev. 1-3. 1 talent the temple of Šara,  $\frac{1}{2}$  talent Man-ištisu. Lula.
- 4-6. 1 talent the temple of Šara.  $\frac{1}{2}$  talent Man-ištisu. Sur-gigir.
- 7-9. 1 talent the temple of Šara,  $\frac{1}{2}$  talent Man-ištisu. Sur. . .
- 10-12. 1 talent the temple of Šara,  $\frac{1}{2}$  talent Man-ištisu. Lugal-bataē.
- 13-15. 2 talents the temple of Šara, 1 talent Man-ištisu. Lugal-itida.
- 16 = edge 1. 1 talent the temple of Šara,  $\frac{1}{2}$  talent Man-ištisu. Dug-Šara.
- Edge 2-3. Total: 32  $\frac{1}{2}$  talents, gifts carried away (or received).

A few lightly impressed wedges fill the blank space on the edge after this, the first group making up, apparently, the character "iti," "month." This is followed by a cluster of wedges suggesting the archaic form of the Assyrian (see Scheil's *Signes Archaiques*, No. 177), glossed in *W. Asia Ins.*, ii, pl. 32, 66, and translated *mardū*, "fat" (applied, apparently, to sheep). The gloss may be read either *ni-ga* or *dig-ga*. The third wedge-cluster begins under the sign for "month", and resembles the archaic form of "seg", generally translated "brick" or "brickwork". Whether this be a real month-name or not is doubtful—it is more likely to indicate that the scribe was giving examples to a companion of characters having *gunu*-wedges in the form of the character .

Other lightly impressed wedges appear on the edge between the obverse and the reverse (practically a continuation of the left-hand edge). They seem to be intended for the archaic Babylonian forms of "mal", and "ra". What connexion, if any, they may have with the others is doubtful.

The total of the talents (?) of grain, possibly barley) presented to the temple of Šara and to Man-ištisu is given on the edge as 32  $\frac{1}{2}$ , but the whole of the items amounts to 31 only,

a total which implies that the scribe reckoned an additional item to each—1 talent to the temple, and half a talent to Man-ištisu. Such a mistake when adding up the entries without making a list apart or checking their number in some way is very easily made.

Naturally, it is the temple which has the lion's share, namely, 22 talents, whilst the deified king (if this assumption be correct) has only 9. The deified Man-ištisu probably entered the heavens as the servant and minister of the god of Jokha.

It remains only to be added that Jokha is the name of the ruin-mound representing the city called, by Assyriologists, Umma. When I revised the syllabary used for this reading, however, I could not recognize the character 𒌩, *um*, but the traces seemed to me to be those of 𒂗, *sir*, which would supply the name of Sirma. A duplicate-text would alone settle this question.

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## Babylonian Ritual and Sacrificial Offerings

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES

**A**MONG the more interesting tablets of the Berens collection of Babylonian tablets<sup>1</sup> is one of more than usual interest, in that it gives directions as to the offerings to be made to the principal deities of the land. As the text is published in the *Asiatic Society Monographs*, No. XVI, I give here merely the transcription and translation :—

1. Išten immeru išten luť garanu
  2. h̄išilti zēři ina pa-ni ga-rak-ki tarakkas
  3. an-nu-u u-mu maljru-u tarakkas
  4. u-mu ma-la dul-lu epuš
  5. malj-hu-ru-tu malj-ha-ru mi-ilj-ha tanakki
  6. U-mu išten qanū tahħu ina bit a-nu ukān
  7. tišit luť pursite suluppi kēmu šasqū tir-ri tarakkas
  8. mi-ilj-ha tanakki ina li-la-a-ti qanū tahħu
  9. [ina] bit a-nu ukān šitta luť pursite
  10. ſa suluppi kēmu šasqū
  11. tarakkas mi-ilj-ha tanakki

Reverse

12. . . immere . . . . .
  13. . . hišihti zēri . . . . .
  14. gu-ru-un ina pan . . . . .
  15. an-nu-u rik-si a-na <sup>d.</sup> . . . . .
  16. tarakkas išten immeru išten luť garanu
  17. hišihti zēri a-na <sup>d.</sup> Be-lit flāni tarakkas
  18. Šalšet immerē šalšet luť garane
  19. šalšet hišihti zēri a-na <sup>d.</sup> E-a <sup>d.</sup> Samas̄
  20. u <sup>d.</sup> Maruduk ina tarbaşı tarakkas
  21. Ki pi u-il-ti<sup>m</sup> gab-ri Nippur <sup>ki</sup> šu-bal-kut
  22. Le'i <sup>m.d.</sup> Nabûnadina-šumi ābil <sup>m.</sup> Zér-u-ti-ia

<sup>1</sup> See *Asiatic Society Monographs*, xvi, pp. 147-9.

*Translation*

1. 1 sheep, 1 libation-cup (of wine).
2. (and) a portion of grain thou shalt allot before the divine emblem (?).
3. This thou shalt allot on the first day.
4. Every day thou doest the service, (and)
5. the celebrants offer, thou shalt pour out a libation.
6. By day thou shalt set one *tahlyu*-reed, in the house of the (holy) vessel.
7. Thou shalt allot 9 vasas of dates (and) *sasqū*-meal,
8. thou shalt pour out a libation. In the night *t[ahlyu]*-reed
9. [in] the house of the (holy) vessel thou shalt set, 2 vases
10. of dates (and) *sasqū*-meal
11. thou shalt allot, thou shalt pour out a libation.

*Reverse*

12. [3 ?] sheep, [3 libation-cups (of wine),]
13. [3 ?] portions of gra[in shalt thou allot before . . . ,]
14. wine (?) before . . . [shalt thou allot (?).]
15. This (is) the allotment for the deity . . . . .
16. thou shalt allot, 1 sheep, 1 libation-cup (of wine),
17. A portion of grain thou shalt allot for the Lady of the gods.
18. 3 sheep, 3 libation-cups (of wine),
19. 3 portions of grain for Ēa, Šamaš,
20. (and) Merodach thou shalt allot in the court (of the temple).
21. According to the document, the copy (of which) was obtained from Nippur.
22. Wood tablet of Nabû-nadina-Šumi, son of Zérûtia.

Though short, this is one of the completest tablets of its class, and is of special interest in that it gives words which apparently do not occur in the dictionaries, or are very rare.

Judging from the wording, the text seems to have begun with the less important gods, and ended with the great divinities—in any case, the “Lady of the Gods”, Ēa, Šamaš, and Merodach, belong to the latter class, and the *garakku*, mentioned in line 2, is probably nothing more than a “divine emblem”, as in the rendering suggested. The question naturally arises whether *garakku* may not be for *karakku*, the name of a bird, possibly, as has been suggested, a crow; but in this case we should expect the proper determinative suffix. A bird, as a divine emblem, however, is by no means impossible. Among “the signs of the gods” found on the boundary-stones birds are often represented, as also on the cylinder-seals. One of these is thought to be a sparrow, another resembles a bantam, and a third suggests some breed of chicken, or, maybe, a fighting-cock. The emblem of the sun-god Šamaš appears as a disc mounted on a kind of plinth (compare Berens Collection, No. 111). The staff surmounted by a ram’s head and the goat-fish Capricorn are described on one of the boundary-stones as emblems of the god Ēa, the lord of the Deep and the wisdom associated therewith. The emblem of Merodach is regarded as having been a spear-head and part of the shaft, which is often seen both on the boundary-stones and the cylinder-seals. It is the *mulmullu* of *Western Asia Ins.*, v, pl. xlvi, 1, 25, where it is described as “the weapon of Merodach’s hand”—that which he used to destroy Tiawath, the Dragon-creatress of the first or confusion-age of the world’s formation.

That the character 𣇕, *as*, in lines 2 and 13, is not the *qa*-fraction *sibat*, 3 times 6 (= 18), *qa*, is indicated by the fact that, in line 19, it is followed by the plural sign. Its meaning in these passages is therefore, in all probability, “thing required,” *hiṣilti*, and this has been adopted here.

As the ending *utu* is generally the masculine plural in the case of offices and professions, an office is probably to be understood in line 5, where it is attached to *mahāru*, from *mahāru*, “to receive,” “take.” *Mahāru*, the word following, is from

the same root, and is probably the plural permansive of the *Pa'al*, generally found, however, in the passive form, *muhuru*.

The GI-TAH-reed, lines 6 and 8, I have transcribed as *qanū talyu* owing to comparison with the 𒄑 𒋩, *talyu*, of my *Outline of Assyrian Grammar*, No. 1, p. 62, lines 1 and 4; No. 2. lines 1 and 2. There is uncertainty in this comparison, however, owing to the absence of the determinative prefix *qanū* and the possibility that the character *lu* may be the determinative suffix for "bird". *Talyu*, however, seems to be more likely in all three texts.

Noteworthy is the word 𒂔 𒊕, lines 7 and 11, which we are told to pronounce *eš-a* in Sumerian and *šasqū* in Semitic. The meaning of the group is "water luxuriant grain-plant", and that of the Sumerian compound word "plentifulness water". This naturally points to a plant growing in a well-watered ground, such as was to be found in Babylonia, and having thick interlacing foliage. Is this, by chance, the rice-plant? Sir W. Willcocks, in his *Garden of Eden* (Cairo, 1918, par. 79), speaking of the value of rice in turning large areas of swamp into valuable fields, states that no one can tell when rice first appeared in the (Babylonian) Delta, but that it is the most valuable crop in the country to-day after the date-crop.

Naturally, when first introduced, rice may have been neglected through prejudice; or, owing to difficulty in cooking or milling, it may have failed to win favour. In that case, its extensive cultivation would be delayed because its value was not realized. Its introduction, however, may have taken place more than 2000 years B.C., at which date the *a-tir* or *eš-a*, Semitic *šasqū*, is found. I transcribe in line 7 *šasqu tirri*, but do not know how it ought to be rendered. *Tirru* would in this case be a Semitic borrowing from the Sumerian.

It is not improbable that, at the late period when this tablet was written, *atir* (*ater*), may have been read for *šasqū*,

and *terri* may have been the pronunciation of the word which follows in line 7.

The *pursite*-vases (from the Sumerian *bur-zid*) were probably broad and deep receptacles for carrying provisions. They were of the class called *hašbu* (*sita* in Sumerian). As broken vases of this form were to be found in the streets (*Cuneiform Texts*, xvi, 21, 170), they were doubtless in very general use.

Such texts as this naturally have their difficulties, and it is not even suggested that those presented in the above inscription have been successfully overcome in the new translation given here. All that can be said is that fresh material has been utilized, and further consideration given to several doubtful but exceedingly interesting words.



# The Aryan Invasion of Northern India : an Essay in Ethnology and History

By JAMES KENNEDY

(Continued from *JRAS.* 1919, p. 529.)

## III

WE have seen how the Panjab and the Valley of the Middle Ganges were organized before the sixth century B.C. We have still to answer the question, wherein did this organization consist ? It consisted in three things : it established a differentiation in physical type ; it created caste ; and it brought about a novel intellectual and religious outlook upon life. Of the physical types we need say nothing more ; and the intellectual and religious evolution was in part a concomitant, in part a consequence of the social evolution. Our primary concern, therefore, is to inquire into the origin and development of caste, and as caste was the creation of the Aryo-Davidians of the middle land, Madhyadēśa, it is among them that we must seek its origin.

The problem is this. Both Āryas and Davidians were at the outset divided into tribes ; all society was tribal. Now tribe and caste are mutually opposed. Caste implies the dissolution of the tribe ; moreover, it is a thing unique in the history of the world, and must therefore have arisen under peculiar circumstances. A tribe subsists by virtue of its ancestral traditions ; it has its eponymous ancestors, its wars, its great men, and its tribal cults ; its members are all kinsmen, whether the kinship be by adoption or by blood. A caste has no traditions, no history ; it may have an ancestor whom some obliging Brahman has invented, but he receives no special honour, nor does caste necessarily imply an original community of blood. It sometimes happens that a whole tribe is received into the Hindu fold and becomes

a separate caste, but in this case it loses its individuality and its tribal character. It is no longer an independent unit; its ideas and its laws are novel; and for the quasi-divinity of the chief it substitutes the divinity of the Brahman. Caste is founded on a theocracy, and the basis of that theocracy is the Brahman. The question, therefore, is how came Aryas and Dravidians to change their tribal constitution into a Brahman theocracy.

Before we enter on this question, so vexed and so obscure, it may be well to draw attention to certain features of caste as it has existed in the past and as it exists to-day. Perhaps its most obvious feature is its combination of extreme rigidity with extreme flexibility. Being part of a theocracy, its laws are in theory divine, and being divine they are in theory immutable, in practice they are within certain limits extremely flexible.

Its flexibility and growing rigidity are best illustrated in the matter of marriage. At the present day no man may marry out of his caste. But this is a comparatively modern innovation. The laws of Manu provide a whole code of rules regarding mixed marriages. The marriage of a man of a higher caste with a woman of a caste below him was always permissible; but the children could not belong to the caste of either parent, they formed a caste of their own. In the course of generations and by the practice of the rules of purity this hybrid caste might attain to the rank of their fathers, but such promotion was probably rare. Mixed marriages prevailed not only throughout antiquity but throughout the Middle Ages; some of the most famous Rajput heroes had base-born mothers, and mixed marriages still prevail in Nepal and some of the Himalayan states. Mixed marriages have been very general, and not the exception, in the long history of caste.

The Brahman lawgivers may have felt that it was hopeless to impose greater restrictions upon the continence of the men. It was otherwise with women. The marriage of a

well-born woman with an inferior was always reprehensible in the highest degree. The children were beyond the pale, and the higher the rank the greater the degradation.

Caste is founded on descent, and the laws of marriage are of the first importance for its study. But in other matters caste retains its old flexibility. Just as totemistic tribes change their totem when they find it inconvenient, so caste is thoroughly opportunist. If a practice runs contrary to convenience it is abandoned and forgotten; presently it will be said that it never existed. The former practice is declared to have been due to some misunderstanding, and the new rule is the true one. In this way caste assumes very various shapes in various localities. It is one thing in the Panjab, another in the United Provinces, and a totally different thing in Southern India.

But despite all this flexibility and movement caste has certain characteristics which are constant and universal, and these characteristics are the characteristics of a primitive society. Exclusiveness born of pride is a marked feature of all such societies, and exclusiveness is of the basis of caste. Caste is always, in Sir A. Lyall's words, fissiparous; it multiplies by scission. A second mark of its primitive origin is the suppression of the individual. The community may alter its rules and its ways as it pleases, but the individual who ventures to transgress is *ipso facto* a rebel and an outcaste.

Caste thus combines what is primitive and what is modern. It is a primitive social framework adapted to modern needs. Another peculiarity requires equal notice. Although caste is founded on theocracy, there is, the Brahman excepted, no hierarchy. The castes are many and their subdivisions ever changing and numberless, yet they all fall into two grand classes, the pure and the impure. Above all is the Brahman. His position is unassailable, and none but heretics, and occasionally recalcitrant Rājputs and Jāts, would question it. But in the lower world it is the conformity with the

Brahman ideas which confers rank; by this the Brahman judges, and his decision is final. Thus one section of a caste may live in an atmosphere of high respectability in one place, while in another locality it enjoys no good name. On the other hand a profound gulf separates the pure from the impure. The impure castes have many divisions of social rank among themselves; they adopt illustrious names, imitate their betters, and copy their marriage ceremonies, and they have stringent laws of conduct which they observe more faithfully than their betters. There is much emulation, and each group aspires to be more respectable than its neighbour. Even the lowest are exclusive and take a pride in their caste. But the Brahman barely tolerates their existence, nor does he condescend to be their minister. Until English rule and European modes of thought created a revolution, there was no way for the low-caste man to escape from the accident of his birth. His disgrace was indelible, and it was only in a future life that he could hope to attain a higher status.

The division of society into the pure and the impure corresponds with the political conditions which have always prevailed in India. Politically there are only two divisions, the aristocracy and the serfs. The former held all the land and possessed all the wealth of the country. All occupations were open to them provided they were not degrading. The law-books, it is true, suggest certain occupations as most suitable for certain castes, but this is merely a counsel of perfection. The higher the caste the more numerous the occupations open to it. Thus Brahmans fought in Indian armies, were kings, took service, held land and cultivated it, although a particular tabu forbade the upper classes to guide the plough. Agriculture and war were occupations in which all the upper classes could take part.

On the other hand the impure classes were identical with the serfs. They could only cultivate the land for their masters. They might not hold it themselves. If they tried to escape they were captured and brought back. They could practise

no honourable profession, and whatever was mean and ignoble fell to their lot.

And now let us turn to the question of origins, and try to understand how caste arose. We have no guidance except that of Manu, and the laws of Manu without explanation are unintelligible. Every such explanation is of necessity conjectural, for the details are lost. But there are certain clues, and by following these we may arrive at a conclusion which appears natural and probable.

Caste had not taken shape when the Rig Veda was compiled, but there was a premonition of it in the air. By the time of the Buddha it was fully developed, and Megasthenes describes it precisely as a modern observer would do. It is in the period immediately following on the compilation of the Rig Veda that we must look for the origins of caste.

I start with three assumptions. First, caste was no artificial creation, but the result of a natural evolution, and imitation was then, as it is now, the chief factor in its development and spread. Second, caste originated at the top, not at the bottom of society, an assumption which is justified by its history. Third, it first arose in the country of the Kuru-Pañchālas, and was due to the social conditions which prevailed there. The Rig Veda contains the first signs of the coming change, and the Rig Veda is a product of the Kuru-Pañchāla Brahmans. Many of the hymns are of their composition, and it was they who made the collection. The laws of Manu are the first to lay down the laws of caste, and the laws of the Mānavas were the laws of the Kuru-Pañchālas. Lastly, Brahmapūrva was peculiarly the Brahman land, and the Brahmans are at the basis of the system.

It is not difficult to form a picture of life among these Kuru-Pañchālas. We have a number of fair-skinned Aryan tribes scattered through different localities and intermixed with a dark-skinned Dravidian population, which they hold in subjection. Āryas and Dravidians are alike tribal and alike exogamous. The unit of the Aryan tribe being the

family, marriage is permissible with all except the nearest of kin.<sup>1</sup> The Āryas intermarry with each other, and they also take to themselves dark-skinned women of the subject-race, so that the same word *dāsi* denotes a native woman, a concubine, and a slave. As such unions became common the repugnance to them grows less, so that after some centuries the intermixture of blood is general, although greater doubtless in one locality than in another. The type of the Aryo-Dravidian has come into existence.

These Aryans, once hostile but now friendly, become consolidated in a single community under a single king. Tribal bonds are forgotten or dissolved; the tribal chiefs disappear, and with the pressure of population a pastoral community becomes an agricultural one. Meantime a specialization of function takes place among the Āryas themselves; the sacerdotal Brahman and the professional warrior, the Rājanya or Kshatriya, form distinct classes in contradistinction to the common freeman. In all this there is nothing of caste. It is a stage of society which has many parallels in Persia, in Egypt, and among the barbarians who invaded the Roman Empire.

At the same time the distinction between the lordly Āryas and the Dravidian śūdras remained in full force, despite all interbreeding. The Aryan freeman was not as other men. The smallest drop of Aryan blood gave him the right to lord it over the helot Dravidian. So did the degenerate Alexandrians of Polybius' day boast of their descent from the mighty men of Hellas. The Rig Veda has conducted us so far.

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, i, 236. "In the Rig Veda we find no prohibition of marriage between relatives. On the contrary, it would seem rather, as e.g. from Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1. 8. 3, 6, that marriages between members of the same family were of common occurrence in the ancient period. The union of men and women descended from the same ancestor and of blood relations in the third and fourth degrees is represented as being a general practice."—Fick, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vi, s.v. *Gōtra*.

At this point caste arises. It is a reaction against this progressive confusion of bloods, an appeal to Aryan pride, and a protest against a state of things which threatened to merge Aryans and Dravidians in one indistinguishable mass. The earliest term for caste is *varṇa*, colour, a term long in use. Colour implies purity of descent, it bases itself on heredity, and its primary law is the ostracism of promiscuous exogamy. It were vain, perhaps, to apply this law of continence too strictly, a certain latitude was necessary; but at the same time one might regulate such unions by recommending cohabitation with the purer instead of with the coarser groups. Such sentiments could only have arisen among those sections of the Āryas which had kept themselves most free from contamination. It must therefore have arisen among the highest class, and the most conservative of that class were the Brahmins. Many of the Brahmins are still among the fairest of the Aryo-Dravidians. The Brahmins were the only Āryas whose occupation was hereditary while the Āryas were still tribal.<sup>1</sup> They formed an esoteric community; their knowledge was an inherited treasure, and they had their own ideals. When, therefore, the *élite* of the Āryas drew together, refusing to be merged in the general degeneracy of the race, they insisted on a certain standard of civilization and of ceremonial purity. Things and acts which violated this standard were forbidden.

In this way communities were formed which prided themselves on the regulation of exogamy and the preservation of heredity, and they insensibly became the cynosure of the Aryo-Dravidian world. As the Brahman communities multiplied and drew aloof from the rest, others who best preserved the traditions of the race, and were probably the purest in blood, would imitate their example, until the force of imitation gradually infected the whole body calling itself Aryan. All such the Brahman deigned to recognize. They

<sup>1</sup> The warrior caste may have become hereditary before the Rig Veda was closed.

were the twice-born, Āryas first by birth, and then by initiation and adoption entitled to share in the virtue of the Brahmanic sacrifice.

But although the current set this way, it was inadvisable in a community so mixed to inquire too closely into individual claims. If a man called himself a Brahman, and was generally regarded as such, it was impertinent to inquire further.<sup>1</sup> In this way many individuals and classes, including Śūdras, were able to assume a status which in strict justice did not belong to them. Hence there came about great differences within the limits of a single caste. On the other hand, individual Āryas had sunk into the Dravidian herd. While the Āryas were still nomadic the artisan was held in honour; the chariot-builder more particularly was a person of importance. But when Aryan and Dravidian artisans lived and worked side by side the outer world made no distinction between them. Handicrafts were an ignoble occupation. Another source of degradation was war; Āryas captured and enslaved each other.

Of the original Aryan constitution only two things now remained—the Aryan joint family and Aryan pride coupled with Aryan exclusiveness. These were the birthright of the pure. The Dravidians also possessed a tribal constitution, but when they were reduced to the condition of helots this had been suppressed, and all that remained of it was the village, the unit of the tribe. These helots were naturally the last to enter into the fold of caste. But here, too, the aspiration for respectability and the desire to imitate their betters ultimately prevailed. In this case there could be no discrimination of blood, occupation was the only test. Different occupations involved different acts and different kinds of matter; and some occupations are more degrading than others. The superior artisans and mechanics withdrew from the baser servants of the village, and in this way among the helots occupation became the basis of a new classification

<sup>1</sup> *Vedic Index*, ii, 259.

of caste. But although all those who followed the same occupation might be included under one general caste-name, the new communities remained very small. The village had been the former unit; it still remained the unit in the matter of marriage, nor did marriages extend beyond the former circle, although there was no bar thereto. Moreover, the village council reappeared in the caste *Panchayat*, which regulated every detail of the caste-fellows' lives with a minuteness unknown to their betters. Thus among the twice-born caste is founded on purity of descent and the consequent regulation of marriage; and infractions of caste rules are judged, in the rare cases where they are openly discussed, by agnates and by neighbours. For the impure, the helots, caste is determined by occupation, and life is minutely regulated by a standing *Panchayat*, a *Panchayat* which has some of the characteristics of a trade guild, but is more probably a direct descendant of the old village council.

If the history I have sketched is necessarily conjectural in many of its details, it has the merit of being in substantial agreement with the explanation of caste given by the Laws of Manu. Manu has retained from an older state of things the threefold division of the Āryas into the sacerdotal and knightly orders and the body of freemen commoners, as well as their separation from the Śūdras. For Manu the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas, and the Śūdras are the four primary castes, although this classification of society was antecedent to caste, and this fourfold subdivision of the Āryas was founded upon function, not on colour, *vanya*. But he has another theory of caste which he develops at length; he assigns it to mixed marriages. Here we meet with real castes and are on safe ground. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that Manu is right; mixed marriages and the confusion thereby of the four primary orders are the basis of the whole system. Occupation is also touched upon, but it is only in the case of some of the lowest Śūdras that Manu says a man's caste is known by his occupation. For

the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas he lays down partly counsels of perfection, partly rules which forbid the lower orders of the twice-born to encroach upon the duties peculiar to those above them. Thus it is the duty of all the twice-born to learn the Vedas, but only a Brahman may teach them. His attribution of occupations is merely what he considers most befitting to each rank in the fourfold classification of society; in practice he allows the utmost freedom of choice.<sup>1</sup>

The second half of our problem still awaits us. Caste is part of a theocracy, a theocracy which was as novel as caste itself. If we ask wherein this theocracy consists, we shall find that it is founded on the Brahman, and the Brahman is divine. "A Brahman," says Manu,<sup>2</sup> "be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity."

A late myth of the Rig Veda ascribes a divine origin to the fourfold classification of Aryo-Dravidian society. When the gods sacrificed *Purusha* the Brahman sprang from his mouth, the Rājanya from his arms, the Vaiśya from his thighs, and the Śūdra from his feet. But the divinity of the Brahman is quite a different thing. It is peculiar to himself. Because he is divine, the laws of caste are divine; he lays them down, he sanctions, and he interprets them. The rest of the community has no divinity of its own; it is dependent on the Brahman. The evolution of the Brahman must have been antecedent to caste; and thus we are faced with a problem more obscure than the origin of caste itself.

Originally most, if not all, of the Aryan tribes had their families of Brahmans, medicine-men and priests, distinguished only by their functions from their fellow-tribesmen. As their

<sup>1</sup> On caste and its origin *v.* Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, 247 ff.; Risley, *The People of India*, pp. 257 ff. (2nd ed.); Gait in Hastings' *Dictionary of Philosophy and Ethics*, vol. iii, s.v. Caste: W. Crooke, *Traces and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh*, vol. i. Regarding the *gotras*, which play such a considerable part in the marriage laws of the Brahmans, and the curious parallelism between them and the totemistic rules of the wild tribes, *v.* Fick, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vi, s.v. Gotra.

<sup>2</sup> *The Laws of Manu*, ix, 317.

knowledge was their special endowment, it was confined to certain families, which handed it on as their heirloom. The *Purōhita*, who directed the royal sacrifices, was doubtless a man of great importance, an importance which would be reflected on his family and relations; and the Brahmans as a class were respected for their knowledge. But there was nothing to foretell their future greatness.

A much more probable explanation of the rise of the Brahman may be found in the development of the sacrifice. Originally every Ārya could sacrifice for himself; the ritual was simple, and the offerings were not costly. As the ritual increased in complexity, it fell more and more into the hands of the professional priests. With this growth in its complexity there came a growing belief in its efficacy. Throughout the whole of the Rig Veda period the sacrifice grows in importance.

After this time it assumes monstrous proportions. Special sacrifices are instituted for every object man can desire, whether the object be good or evil, whether to benefit oneself or to injure an enemy. The ritual is immensely elaborated; the officiants are multiplied. The sacrifice is believed to determine the whole order of events; there are no limits to its efficacy; by sacrifice the world was created, and by sacrifices the gods themselves had attained to their divinity.

In this way the simple nature-worship of the Āryas developed among the Aryo-Davidians into a magical system, the greatest and most elaborate the world has seen. The means had become of more importance than the end. By magic men harnessed the gods to their will, and this magic was the property of the Brahman. As the possessor of these secret charms his position was exalted. The stages are obvious. We have the efficacy of the sacrifice, the sanctity of the sacrificial fire, the magical formula which consecrates the fire, the divine virtue, the *mana*, dwelling in the Brahman who possesses the formula; and, last stage of all, comes the *guru*, the earthly divinity who is the intermediary with the

gods and the gatekeeper of Heaven. Thus every faithful Hindu possesses a god upon earth who is his guide for the here and the hereafter. The force of apotheosis can no farther go.<sup>1</sup>

In other countries, also, priests have often been accredited with supernatural powers, and it was through their priestly office that the Brahmans came to be divine. The divinity of the priest was extended to the whole of his community, for every member had, or might have, this knowledge. But how did these Brahmans, who belonged to different tribes, come to be merged in a single body? With the disappearance of tribal differences among the Kuru-Pañchālas the Brahmans would naturally coalesce for professional reasons, if for no other. The compilation of the hymns of the Rig Veda proves that, for the Rig Veda combines the *carmina*, which were the peculiar property of at least seven distinct families. But another agency, an agency of first-rate importance, was also at work. Two things went to the making of a Brahman. His function was hereditary, therefore he must have purity of descent. But his virtue depended on his knowledge, his knowledge primarily of the magical formulæ and chants. To learn these he went from one teacher to another, for it was the duty of the Brahmans to impart their knowledge. In this way Brahmanic schools came into existence, each claiming some superiority over its neighbour, and these schools or universities became the nuclei of the new organization, they were the most powerful of agents in the development of the world of Brahmans. The Brahmans had never been a tribe, but when

<sup>1</sup> "A feature emphasized by Dr. Oldenberg is the atmosphere of magic in which from the Vedic period religion moves. The priests are entirely magicians. The idea of Brahman grew up on the basis of a world-concept of the all permeated with powers localized here and there, or moving about freely, and producing their effects by magic."—Thomas, JRAS. 1918, p. 321; cf. R. Chanda, *The Indo-Aryan Race*, pp. 14-15.

the germ of caste took root they became the first and greatest of the castes.

The relation of the Brahman to the rest of the community was twofold. The nobles, the Rājanyas and their fighting-men, were professional warriors; they formed a class apart, and their interests and ideals were no longer those of their fellow-tribesmen. Nor were they by any means inclined to yield the palm to the Brahmans, among whom they found numerous adherents, and they bore lightly the bonds of caste. In the early times the Brahmans had been dependent on the bounty of the chiefs; they had competed eagerly for the lucrative post of the *purōhita*, and although these chiefs were now subordinate or had disappeared, the fact was remembered. On the other hand, the Brahmans were subordinates no longer, they possessed lands and villages; if they claimed precedence of the Rājanya they took care to exalt the authority of the Kuru king.<sup>1</sup> The rivalry between the Brahmans and the Rājanyas could only end in the downfall of one or the other, and it was the Rājanyas who fell. The political power of the Kuru-Pāñchālas came to a violent and disastrous end, but how we cannot say for certain.

The Epic and Puranic histories of the great war give one version of their overthrow; and I see no good reason to doubt the essential truth of their story. It was a war of the

<sup>1</sup> Fick has some excellent remarks on the relations of the Brahmans with the nobles, and the rivalry between the various Brahman families for the highest offices. "The deep-seated antagonism between the Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra septs . . . was in reality an expression of the struggle for supremacy between the nobility and the priesthood." "The struggle for the influential and lucrative office of *purōhita*, the all-powerful adviser of the monarch and the ruler of the national fortunes, seems to have intensified the mutual antagonism of the *gotras*; while the Vasiṣṭhas, by their knowledge of the *stomabhāga* maxims, seemed to the Bharatas the most eligible candidates for the office, other *gotras* also made the same claim on the ground of their distinctive scholarship. To each *gotra* pertained a particular deity and a particular Veda. It is obvious that the followers of the Atharva Veda, the magic songs of which are in very many cases designed to meet the needs of kings, had the best chances in the competition for the office of *purōhita*."

--*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vi, s.v. Gotra.

more Dravidianized but more vigorous Āryas of the Southern Doāb, the country where the Dravidians were strongest, against their purer-blooded brethren in the north. These sturdy semi-Dravidians of the lower stream pushing gradually northwards must necessarily have come at some time or other into collision with the Kurus; and in the end they overthrew them. For emigrant Āryas the Kuru-Pañchāla country was the ancient Aryan home; they looked to it with veneration; and its downfall must have created a sensation far and wide.<sup>1</sup> The warrior aristocracy were certainly defeated and destroyed by some external force, and the Brahmans were left in undisputed possession. In this way the country of the Kuru-Pañchālas became pre-eminently a Brahman land.

On the other hand, the Brahmans came into daily contact with the common folk, the Vaiśyas. The Ārya, while he was yet a nomad, was his own priest; as the king sacrificed for the tribe, so he sacrificed for his family. He never lost this privilege entirely, but life in an agricultural village was a more complex business. At this point the Brahman intervened; his presence and his blessing became necessary in the transactions of family life, at birth, at initiation, at

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pargiter's admirable summaries of the Epic and Puranic traditions enable us to judge somewhat of their merits. The most notable thing about them is their utter oblivion of the pastoral stage, the memories of which linger in the laws of Manu. The Dravidians were naturally ignorant of it, and the Aryan adventurers who had become their chiefs were warriors, not herdsmen. I therefore take these traditions to be the traditions of the Southern Doāb. Thus interpreted they yield a fairly credible story. In Buddhist times Kosambī, near the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, was the most important state in the Doāb. It may have been preceded by another nearer the junction of the rivers, a state in which the Dravidians were strong and the hybrid Āryas were chiefs. This state would find the easiest outlet for expansion in the open Doāb north of it; and this is what the legends tell us. I may also note that these semi-Aryan chiefs did remember that they had originally come from the north, i.e. from the Kuru-Pañchāla country. But of course Brahman invention and fabrication have enveloped the whole in so dense an atmosphere that it is impossible to feel assurance about any details.

marriages and funerals. The sacerdotal element gradually enveloped everything, until the Brahman became the law-giver and the director of the common life. In the end the result was wholly beneficial. The Brahmans had laid down certain rules and ideals for the regulation of their own communities. These they applied with some modifications to the classes which submitted to their guidance; the ideal which they prescribed was priestly, but it was also elevating. Life became somewhat formalist, but at the same time it was "grave and lovable,"<sup>1</sup> rather waiting in the more masculine virtues, but abounding in tenderness, sweetness, and kindness. This regulation of primitive society was wholly to the good, and it impressed itself so deeply that the ideals of three thousand years ago are the Indian ideals of the present day.

\* The immense growth of belief in the power of magic, born of the union of Aryas, who believed in magic, with Dravidians, who believed in it still more, was the fertile source not only of the colossal growth of the sacerdotal system, but of asceticism also. The acquisition of supernatural powers was the object of the ascetic; by separating himself from other men, by self-hypnotism and trance and ascetic practices, might he not hope to attain to something greater than humanity itself? Nay, it was not only by sacrifice that the gods had risen to their divinity, but by ascetic practices also. The greater the self-tortures the more certain the reward. Under the influence of such thoughts ascetics began to haunt the forests, intent upon discovering the secret potencies of the supernatural world; so that at the last it became a counsel of perfection for the perfect Brahman to abandon house and home and the occupations of the civil life and join himself to the forest-dwellers. Thus the sacrificial system and the ascetic life sprang from the same root and developed on parallel lines. And as out of the first the Brahmans had emerged with a novel social polity and a new ideal of conduct,

<sup>1</sup> Barth, *The Religions of India*, p. 53.

so out of the forest-haunting ascetic there was developed the philosopher of the Upanishads. The rule of perfection remained in force, the perfect Brahman retired from the world to seek for hidden knowledge. But the knowledge which he sought was no longer the knowledge of magical arts and supernatural powers ; he was in search of the divinity, and the discovery he made was his identity with the Absolute. The divinity he sought for dwelt within him. Hence that wondrous philosophy, half philosophy, half poetry, which has enthralled the intellect of India, and captured solitary thinkers in the crowded cities of the West. According to it the sage beholds in the universe the mirage of the Infinite ; the incessant play of natural forces, the stream of circumstance, the myriad varieties of life, the fears and wants and aspirations of men, life and death, being and becoming and dissolution, all are but the phosphorescence of the unchanging mind ; and the sage, elevated above the bounds of hope and fear, or passion or desire, finds in the silence of his soul reunion with Changeless Being, the ultimate and only true Reality, the Absolute.

The Sannyāsin is the professor of this knowledge, and his is the final stage in the Brahmanic ideal. The philosopher far outclasses the priest, although the priest was the father of the order. The Sannyāsin's philosophy is purely intellectual, because he is dealing with an individual who has renounced all social ties. Certain ethical obligations are incumbent on him, but these do not affect his speculations, nor are they the *raison d'être* of his philosophy. The permission to become a superman was confined at the outset to the Brahman, it then extended to all the twice-born, until at last it reached the Śūdra. In this way Hinduism adapts itself to every class and every individual. Civil life is a theocracy ; it is based on inequality, and it is ruled by aristocratic exclusiveness and the division of classes ; primitive instincts are at its core. But do you desire to lead a religious and not a civil life ? Hinduism recognizes the natural equality of all men. It is

true that this equality is purely intellectual, but the entrance to a religious life is denied to none.

In some such way as that I have attempted to sketch the Hindu world had its origin. Born and developed in complete isolation and without a parallel elsewhere, it has survived these three thousand years and boasts of an antiquity rivalled only by the Jews and the Chinese. It arose from the imperfect fusion of two primitive peoples, and it was entirely an Aryan-Dravidian creation. Of the old Aryan ideals only the joint family and the worship of the ancestors remained. The Brahmins of the Gangetic Valley instituted a theocracy and caste, and caste has been ever since the foundation of the Hindu polity. They created philosophy, and this philosophy is the religion and the refuge of the soul. They set up a standard of the moral life, of mildness, gentleness, and temperance, of reverence and religious observance, and these have become the ideals of the Hindu character. Above all things they cultivated knowledge, for knowledge was their hereditary treasure and by knowledge they had risen. Although this knowledge was largely magical at the outset, it took a nobler flight; the study of the Vedas led to the cultivation of purity of speech, of grammar, and philology; the development of philosophic thought aided the progress of language and of literature. The Brahmins preserved the memory of the old Aryan religion, and they regulated the growing influx of Dravidian religious practices and beliefs. One thing, indeed, they signally failed to do, and prevented others from doing: they created no political society or any feeling of race or nationality. Caste never goes beyond the circle of its own members, it has no regard for outsiders, and where caste is predominant patriotism is unknown. In so far it perpetuated the anarchy out of which it grew. The drawback is serious, but notwithstanding this the merit of these Gangetic Brahmins is great. If Egypt is the gift of the Nile, Hinduism is the creation of the Brahman.

The Indo-Aryans of the Panjab never came completely

under the Brahmanic influence. With comparative purity of blood they retained their tribal constitution and their ancestral spirit. They deteriorated from their ancestral ways only in the matter of religion. For the old and simple nature-worship of the Āryas they substituted Śiva and Krishna and the snake-gods—gods borrowed in part from the hillmen and the aborigines. Otherwise, throughout the whole of this period they remained unchanged. A new epoch began with the annexation of the Panjab by Darius Hystaspes. During the next thousand years North-Western India attracted a succession of invaders, and from the fusion of the Indo-Aryan with these foreign elements a novel power arose which profoundly modified the course of events not only in Hindustan but throughout Central Asia. It is the Scythic period of Indian history, and in it the Indo-Aryan plays a part, but a very different part, from that which the Aryo-Dravidian had done.

## The Hittite Language of Boghaz Keui

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

AFTER a delay of many years certain of the cuneiform texts discovered by the German excavating expedition to Boghaz Keui in 1907 have been published during the War (30 *wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft: Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, parts i and ii—the third part has not yet reached foreign scholars; Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1916). It has therefore become possible to attack the problem of decipherment with a fair show of success, and also to estimate the value of such attempts at it as have already been made. Just before the War Professor Delitzsch published a number of lexical fragments, in which the Hittite words are given with their Assyrian and Sumerian equivalents, and it is from these that every scientific attempt at decipherment must start. The cuneiform originals which were transliterated by Professor Delitzsch are to be found in part i of the *Keilschrifttexte*.

Meanwhile Professor Hrozný, the Viennese Assyriologist, who had received advanced copies of the texts, has been at work upon their decipherment. In 1917 he published an elaborate grammar of them (*Die Sprache der Hethiter*, Hinrichs, Leipzig, in the *Boghazköi Studien* edited by Otto Weber), and in 1919 he has followed this up by translations of the more important inscriptions (*Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi in Umschrift, mit Ueersetzung und Kommentar*, part i; Hinrichs, Leipzig). In his translation and grammar Hrozný has shown great acumen and a genius for discerning the general signification of a passage even where his philological analysis of it must be corrected; his most important discovery, however, is that of the pronominal forms which he has succeeded in detecting and explaining.

Unfortunately he started with a theory which his first volume was intended to support—that the Hittite language was Indo-European, or worse still, "Indo-Germanic." It is the old story of Corssen or Savelberg over again, with their endeavours to turn Etruscan and Lycian into Indo-European languages. It would seem that the historical texts in his second volume, which are the most helpful for the purposes of decipherment, were not altogether at his disposal when the first volume was written, and there are signs that he is now no longer so sure as he was of the purely Indo-European character of Hittite. "Caucasian" influences are admitted, and the indubitably Indo-European element in the Boghaz Keui texts is referred to a "Kharrian" and not a Hittite source.

In the case of an unknown language the first requisite of scientific decipherment is the absence of philological theory. When we have satisfactorily deciphered the language we can compare it with other languages and determine its philological connexions, but the decipherment must come first. And Indo-European languages are easy to recognize—at all events for the comparative philologist; as soon as the Persian transcripts of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions were deciphered there was no dispute about their Iranian character.

As far back as 1907, in my article on the "Cuneiform Tablet from Yuzgat", I had already sketched the outlines of the nominal declension and verbal conjugation in Hittite and identified the chief personal and demonstrative pronouns. But my materials were scanty, consisting only of the mutilated "Yuzgat" tablet and the two Arzawan letters, and my sketch of the grammar can now be enlarged and corrected. It is, however, upon the grammatical forms already indicated by me that Professor Hrozný's Indo-European theory is mainly built. Has the larger mass of material which he has interpreted made it necessary to revise my conclusion that Hittite was a mixed language, and that the coincidences

between Hittite and Indo-European grammar prove nothing more than geographical contact and mutual influence?

He tells us that such is the case. New facts, discovered by himself, which are as "solid as a rock", prove convincingly the Indo-European character of the language. First among these are the existence of the word *waddar* "water" with its genitive *wedenas*, participles in *-nt*, *kuis* "who" and *kuid* "what", *ug* "ego", and *anmug ēμοι-γε*, *zig* "thou" by the side of *tug*, *iya-mi* "I make", *iya-si* "thou makest", *iya-(n)zi* "he makes", *iya-weni* "we make", *iya-teni* "ye make", *iya-(n)zi* "they make".

There is no such word, however, as *widar*. It is written *wa-a-tar* and is formed with the same suffix *-tar* which, as the vocabularies show, denoted abstracts, and had certainly nothing to do with the *-δωρ* of *இδωρ*, where the *d* belongs to the root. Nor can it be identified with the Indo-European *τῶρ*, *τηρ*, which did not denote abstracts. There is another word *watar* found in *wa-tar-na-akh-kha-an-za*, which the vocabularies translate *míleru* "leader"; this may possibly be related to *uttar* which Hrozný has shown to mean "word", so that *watar-nakhkhanza* would be literally "word-issuer".<sup>1</sup> Hrozný is also possibly right in thinking that *u-i-da-a-ar* in the Yuzgat tablet is another form of the same word. If so, the variation in spelling indicates that it is a borrowed foreign word. That *wa-a-tar* really does signify "water" is made clear by a passage in a ritual text. As for *uetenas*, *uetenit*, I agree with Hrozný in believing that in a passage cited by him *uetenit* is intended to be a translation of the Assyrian *me-e* "waters", and that the first syllable was pronounced like the English "wet"; but in this case *வδωρ* must be given up, since the *வδωர* and *watan* stems belong to two different divisions of the Indo-European family. It is possible, however, that *uetenit*, etc., have nothing to do with "water",

<sup>1</sup> *Na-uvar* is "to send", *na-khhh-uvar* "to cause to send". The connexion of *watar* with *ut-tar*, however, is very doubtful, since the root of *ut-tar* is *ut* or *ud*, which is really of Indo-European origin (Skr. *उद्*, Gk. *ύδιω*). *Watar*, consequently, may be an adverb.

since a word *uetin* is used in the ritual texts, which is doubtfully translated "old" by Hrozný, who is haunted by recollections of the Latin *vetus*. The latter word really means "income" or "endowment".<sup>1</sup>

*Watar* is accompanied by two verbs which are also regarded as supports for the Indo-European theory. We find the phrase: *nu NINDA-an eizza-tteni watar-ma eku-tteni*, "so food you eat and water you drink." (NINDA is not merely "bread" as Hrozný translates, but "food" generally; it includes offerings of flesh as well as meal-offerings, see, e.g. K.B. ii, 1, *Obv.* i, 41.) *Eizza* is, of course, assumed to represent the Indo-European stem *ed-* "to eat", which is hardly possible;<sup>2</sup> while in *eku-* the Latin *aqua* is discovered. Unfortunately the root of *aqua* has not produced a verb signifying "to drink" in any known Indo-European language. Moreover Professor Hrozný finds both *eizza* and *eku-* disporting themselves under a Harlequinesque variety of forms; according to him *eizza-* also appears as *azzik-* and *ada-*, and *eku-* as *aku-* and *akku(s)-*. This alone makes us suspicious of his theories. But in the case of both *azzik-* and *akku(s)-* it can be shown that they rest on an erroneous translation. We read in an unpublished text: *nu kissan memai SE-KHAL kitta nebisas AN UD-us azziki tas attas AN-MES azzikandu TE-IM AN-MES azzikkandu*, "So say as follows: O Sun-god (of heaven ?),<sup>3</sup> towards the grain utter incantations! May thy divine fathers utter incantations, may the gods utter

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that *tagds*, also written *dayds*, is the Hittite word for "water", since in one of the texts published by Boissier (*Babylonica*, iv, 4) we read: *eku-zi daydn kuit (?)-gan ul takh[?]wai pakhhas-la nuknansi iyan GIS khukhupal-MES seir apasa takhui nu AN. Manna-gan dagdn-ma kuis-ki arka takhuwai*, "he drinks, but the water (?) he does not pour out; with fire he consumes (?) what has been done in regard to the . . . , and he . . . to the god. Next the water (?) also some one must pour away." In the following paragraph the *khukhupalli* (which are made of wood) are ordered to be "filled with wine". According to Hrozný, *dagan-zipas* is found as the equivalent of KI, "the earth." But is it only *zipas* of which KI is the equivalent?

<sup>2</sup> Hittite *z* is older than *d*, not conversely.

<sup>3</sup> I take this signification from Hrozný.

the incantatory word!" In the line immediately preceding we have: *nu GU-A-GIG GU-SAG zikkanzi*, "so he incantates the . . . and heart," where *zik* must be the *zik* "word" or "speech" frequently met with in the texts and erroneously identified with the second personal pronoun by Professor Hrozný. The Professor, however, has himself shown that this pronoun was *tug*, and even Hittite is not likely to have used two such variant forms as *tug* and *zig* in the same text and in the same grammatical sense. *Zig* or *zik*, in fact, is employed with the 3rd pers. of the verb, as well as in such sentences as *zingga lie istamasti*, "and the command thou didst not obey."

Besides *azzikkandu* we read in an unpublished text: *kuis-gan AN-MI kī AN SIN KI-LIB-BE iyat nu apás AN-MI KAK-zis-kiddu akkus-kiddu*, "whenever the Moon-god makes the omen<sup>1</sup> of an eclipse on a festival, then let them charm the eclipse and interpret (the omen)."<sup>2</sup> In a corresponding passage *khingan* takes the place of the ideograph  $\rightarrow$ , which is also written  $\leftarrow$ . It will be noticed that in *KAK-zis-kiddu* *zik* has become *zis* for *zikis*, while *KAK* "make" is the equivalent of the initial *az*. It would seem, therefore, that the Hittite scribe saw in *az-zik* a compound, the first element of which signified "to make" and the second "words". As for *akkus-kiddu* the passages in which the compound verb occurs suggest that it signified "to interpret (the will of the gods)". Hence in YUZGAT, Obv. 17-19 we read: *Khakkhimas attissi annissi teizzi . . . kī azzi-kkitani akkus-kittani . . . kabbuwa addin*, "Khakkhimas says to his father (and) his mother: In accordance with the incantation and divination I have given the [whole] number

<sup>1</sup> KI-LIB-BE = Sumerian *garas* "omen". But the ideographs may have their more common signification of "camp" (Sum. *karas*), since "to make a camp" is astrologically used of the moon.

<sup>2</sup> In Hrozný, H.K.B., p. 114, *khingan* occurs in connexion with *pankus*, which the Vocabularies explain by *alkakdum* "courses" of priests. *Akkanzi* follows in the next line. *Khinganiya-war* is translated *melultu* "jubilee" in the Vocabularies.

[of them]." From the root of the verb *akkuwar* we have *akkandus*, which Professor Hrozný would translate "the manes of the dead", but which literally signifies "diviners".<sup>1</sup> *Akkandus* is an example of what Hrozný calls a "participle in -nt", -nt and -nd constantly interchanging in the form in question. But the form cannot be separated from the nouns in -a(n)da, also written -(a)nta, which occur so frequently as local names, more especially of mountains. Thus we find the mountain *Arinnanda* by the side of the city *Arinna*, or the city-name *Buranda* by the side of *Burus*. It is obvious that there can be no question of a "participle" here. Nouns denoting parts of the body further assumed the suffix; thus by the side of *khala-nta* "head" given in the Vocabularies we have *khalas-mis* "my head" in the YUZGAT tablet, and in an unpublished text *ziyanda-z* (NINDA-GIS-RA-ya zi-ya-an-da-z) interchanges with *ina pani* "in the face of".<sup>2</sup> -(A)nda also formed adverbs, though here it perhaps represented the nominal suffix -ta with nasalization, which is used in an instrumental sense (e.g. *nas-ta*, *kuttani-t*).

An instructive example of the true character of the suffix is offered by the name of a god, which in the same inscription and within fourteen lines one of the other is written *Innarawantes* and *Innaraowandas*. *Innaras* is the name of a man, and a man's name is not capable of generating a "participle", even when he develops into a god. Both -te and -da or -ta are found without the preceding nasalization (e.g. *ziggates*),

<sup>1</sup> I have assumed in the above that Professor Hrozný is right in translating *eku* "to drink". But there are serious difficulties in the way. In an unpublished text *ekuzzi* interchanges with *akuwanzi*, which would, therefore, have the same meaning. But neither *eku* nor *aku* is given in the Vocabularies as the words signifying "to drink". These are *seldwar* and *isparri-ya-uwar*, the latter of which is construed with *dagán*, on which see above, in an unpublished text—nu (GIS) *la-akh-khar-nu-uz-zi da-ga-a-an is-pa-ra-an-zi*, "he drinks the water through a spout (?)." *Lakhkarnu* is a compound of *lakhkhu* "to pour out", and *arnu* as in *kutassan arnuwar*, which, according to the Vocabularies, signified "to put a question".

<sup>2</sup> The simple *ziyan* "face" is found in the inscriptions.

and my own belief is that they are really suffixed verbs like the *ki* in *azzi-ki*, *akkus-kittani*. However this may be, the only adjectives I can discover approaching participles in sense terminate in *-nna* and *-tta*, as, for instance, *asannas* "seated", and *khandattas* "standing", applied to statues of *sedi* or guardian spirits (K.B. ii, 38, 9, 10). In the verbal form in *-is*, like *pais* "giving", I have hitherto seen a present participle; Professor Hrozny regards it as the 3rd pers. of a tense. I now think we are both right and both wrong; *pais* is neither a present participle nor a 3rd pers. in the Indo-European sense, but corresponds with an English "is giving" or, to a certain extent, with an ablative absolute in Latin. Its use is like that of the verbal form in *-li* in Vannie.

*Kuis* "who" and *kuid* "what" are temptingly like the Latin *quis* and *quid*, and when we further find *kuis-ki* and *kuid-ki* "whoever", "whatever", we are inclined to say that their Indo-European origin can admit of no question. But (1) the newly discovered bilingual Lydian inscription shows that in Lydian also *kudkid* and *kitkid* meant "whatever", and (2) the employment of *kuis* and *kuid* or the accusative *kuin* in the texts is absolutely irreconcilable either with Indo-European syntax or with regarding them as pronouns in an Indo-European sense. They precede instead of following the words to which they refer, they head a sentence to which there is no antecedent, and they are employed as adverbs of place and time. Thus *kuin*, which is generally used with an accusative singular, appears in H.B.K. p. 188, as both singular and plural: *nu-za AN Samsi kuin NAM-RA ina bit sarri uwatenun*, "thereupon to the Sun-god which spoil into the palace I brought"; ALU *Khatta-as-ma-za EN-MES ZAB-MES ANSU-KUR-RA-MES -ya kuin NAM-RA-MES uwateit*, "then of the city of Khattu the infantry and cavalry officers which spoils brought." Or, again, *nu-za KHAR-SAG Askharpaian kuis ALU Gasgas esan kharta nu sa MAT ALU Palā KHARRAN-MES karassan*

*kharta* means "the city of Kaskas which had taken Mount Askharpaias as a station blocked the roads of Palu"; while *namma kuis-a SARR-us kisari nu AKHU-as SAL-KU-as iddlusanakh-zi* (literally, "then who and a king shall be") is "then if there shall be a king who shall injure brothers (and) sisters". What could an Indo-European scholar make of such sentences as: *nu SARRU MAT ALU Kargamis kuit Dudkhaliyas Khalpakhiss-a makhar AN Samsi üleser*, "so the king of Karchemish what Dudkhaliyas and Khalpakhis did not appear before the Sun-god"; *kuis kuit arkuwar iyazi AN Samsi istamas-mi*, "who what petitioning he makes I the Sun-god heard"; *SAL-MES kuit GIR-MES-as kittan khalier*, "the women what embraced the feet"? The only way in which such pronominal forms can be understood is to fall back on the explanation I gave of them in my paper on the YUZGAT tablet. They were originally forms of the verb *ku* "to be", and never altogether lost their original signification. Hence, in the sentences quoted above, *kuit* is literally "it is that", i.e. "namely"; "who makes it-is-petitioning"; "the women it was". That my explanation was correct is now shown by our finding the future of the verb—*kueri* "it will be"—in the published texts.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, instead of supporting the Indo-European hypothesis, the syntactical use of *kuis*, *kuit* is for the scientific linguist the strongest argument against it.

As for the suffixed *ki*, it has nothing to do with the Latin *quid*, but is borrowed from Assyrian, as is proved not only by its length—it is written *ki-i* and *ki-e*—but also by its use in all the senses of the Assyrian *ki* "as", "when", "that", "like", "according to", "thus". A common phrase in the Annals, for instance, is *nu ina MU I KAM ki iyanun*, "so in one year thus have I done," corresponding with the similar phrase in the Vannic inscriptions: *istine inanili arniusinili*

<sup>1</sup> So in Hrozný, H.K.B., p. 212, l. 81: *mânnâ-wa-mu zakhkhiya uwasî nuwalla ûl kuwat-qa ammel A-SAG kueri*, "and if you come to battle with me no portion of my land shall be yours."

MU *zadubi*, "thus have I made this spoil (in) one year."

*Ug* is not *ego*. In the first place, the vowel is long, the word being written *u-ug*. Secondly, the final *g* is the suffix which we find attached to the pronouns *ammu-g* "mine", *tu-g* "thine", as Professor Hrozný was the first to point out. His discovery of the various forms of the personal pronouns is, indeed, the most brilliant part of his work, and his determination of the true nature of the forms in -(e)*l*, *ammel*, *tuel*, etc., has thrown a flood of light on the Hittite language. But in identifying *ūg* with *ēgō* the unfortunate mirage of his Indo-European theory led him astray. It is *ū*, not *ug*, which represents the 1st personal pronoun; the form with final -(e)*l* is found in *u-ell-u* which we have in the YUZGAT tablet (*Obv. 10*): KHAR-SAG-MES-as *u-i-da-a-ar* GIS-SAR-ZUN *u-e-el-lu nu tu-el . . .* "the mountains, waters (?), forests which are mine [I give] to thee." The final -*u* denotes the plural as elsewhere, e.g. *nus* "them", *eseru* "they shall be". In H.K.B. p. 110 we find *ū-g-a* agglutinated with *warus* "them": *abe-wa-mu idalu-ier u-g-a-warus idalu-[iyami]*, "and should they do evil to me, I also to them [will do] evil." *Ammu-g*, also written *ammu-qq(a)*, more usually takes the place of *ū-g*; thus Hrozný quotes a passage: *ammu-g ana AN Istar bitti-ya apát addin*, "I gave them to Istar my lady." Consequently it cannot be equated with the dative *ēμοι·γε*. I have already dealt with *zik* or *zig*, which really signifies "a word".

The verbal forms are more serious. In my YUZGAT paper I had already pointed out that the 1st pers. sing. was expressed by -*mi* and -*i* and the 3rd pers. by -*t*; my materials did not provide the suffixes of the 2nd pers. sing. (-*si*), 1st pers. plur. (-*ueni*), 2nd pers. plur. (-*teni*), and 3rd pers. plur. (-*er*), which have been discovered by Professor Hrozný. I did not recognize the 1st pers. sing. in -*un* and -*nun*, and misinterpreted the suffixes of the 3rd pers. sing., -*nzi* and -*izzi*, the first of which I erroneously made a 2nd pers. sing. and

the second the case of a noun. But I naturally recognized the agreement between the Hittite and Indo-European forms; no one, indeed, could fail to do so.

At the same time I also recognized that the forms are not peculiar to Indo-European. In Vannic, too, the 1st pers. is denoted by *-bi* (or *-wi*) and the 3rd pers. plural by *-tu*, while the 3rd pers. sing. is expressed by the suffix *-ni*. In Sumerian the 1st pers. sing. is *mu*, *ma*, and *mē* (or *mi*), the 2nd *zu*, *zae*, and *si*, the 3rd *ni*, *na*, *in*, while the 1st pers. plur. is *men*, the 2nd *zine* or *zien*, and the 3rd *nē* and *ene*. Moreover, the suffixes of the Hittite verb are not always distinguished from one another in sense as they would be in Indo-European. Thus *-ta* and *-ti* represent both the 2nd and the 3rd pers. sing., while *-ta* is also found with a plural subject, *-i* denotes the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. indifferently as well as the 2nd pers. sing. of the imperative, *-t* appears as the suffix of the 1st pers. sing. in *eskhat*, "I seated myself upon," and *-(n)zi* means "they" as well as "he" (*Keilschrifttexte*, ii, p. 48, l. 10). The chief verbal suffixes are attached also to nouns which can be used in the place of verbs. A noun with the suffix *-(n)za*, for example, which usually denotes a noun of agency, can take the place of a 3rd pers. sing. in *-(n)zi*. The use of the verbal suffixes, in short, approximates to that of the Caucasian rather than that of the Indo-European languages. The most strikingly Indo-European feature in the Hittite verb is the 3rd pers. plur. in *-er*, while the 1st and 2nd pers. plur. might be claimed by advocates of the Semitic origin of the Hittites, if any such still exist.

If we are to attain scientific results we must apply to Hittite the only legitimate method through which an unknown language can be deciphered, and proceed from the known to the unknown. In the case of Hittite we have fortunately a solid basis from which to start. The Vocabularies furnish us with the Assyrian and Sumerian translations of a large number of words, as well as of a few phrases. Next to them come the ideographs in the texts themselves, which are

accompanied by phonetic renderings or of which the phonetic renderings are found in parallel passages. As the signification of the ideographs is known, the signification of their phonetic renderings becomes known also. Determinatives tell us to what class a particular word belongs, whether it is personal or geographical, the name of a woman, of a vessel, an article of wood, and the like. With these various aids we can attack simple texts, more especially those of a historical character, and by a comparison of passages not only fix the meaning of individual words, but also the sense of the grammatical forms. What is not legitimate is to start with a theory of linguistic relationship and use this as a key, so determining the meaning of words. And this is what Professor Hrozný has done, thereby marring his work of decipherment, which is solid and brilliant as long as he keeps clear of this "Indo-Germanic" theory. It does not seem to have struck him how comparatively few of the words, the signification of which has been ascertained by legitimate means, lend themselves to it, and what desperate efforts are needed in order to discover an Indo-European origin for them. Thus *te* "to speak" is identified with the Indo-European *dhe* "to place", though it might have been thought that the Mitannian *ti-wi* "a word" was a more obvious relation. But such comparisons, however absurd, are innocuous where the signification of a word has already been determined in a scientific manner. It is otherwise where the signification is obtained by resort to an Indo-European dictionary.

Thus *karú* (which is found in the compound *karú-ariwar* "morning", literally "day-spring") is referred to the Latin *cūr* and explained as an adverb with the signification of "early". The word, however, interchanges with the Assyrian *yumi* "day" and means "to-day", e.g. MAR-SU-ma-wa-ssi-za-gan kuis ana GIS-GU-ZA ABI-SU esat nu-wa apíss-a *karú* AMEL KAL-anza ésta, "but as regards his son also who occupies the throne of his father, now he too is to-day a powerful man"; *nu karú MU X KAM khassuizna-*

*nun*, "so 10 years to-day I have been king." From *karú* was formed *karúlis*; *kuwabi-wa karúlēs khassus* (LUGAL-MES) *makhkhat uwanzi nuwa-za MAT-yás saklāin makhkhan kabbuwanzi*, "the kings of the day return in succession<sup>1</sup> and thereupon afterwards number (the people ?) of the country."

There is, again, a word *naui*, also written *nawi*, of uncertain meaning. With the Greek νέος before his eyes Professor Hrozný renders it "new", and identifies it with a word which is written *na-a-GESTIN* in the ritual texts. He assumes that GESTIN "wine" was pronounced like the Latin *vinum*, and very ingeniously supposes that it was used phonetically with the value *wi*. But, in the first place, the first syllable of the Indo-European word for "new" is short, and secondly, it so happens that we know the Hittite word for "wine". In K.B. ii, 7, *Obv.* 18, the name of the city called Oinoanda by the Greeks is written ALU GESTIN *Yanuanta*, showing that the word for "wine" was *yanis* (Heb. *ydyin*, Ass. *inu*). *Na-GESTIN* occurs in a phrase which comes at the end of a list of endowments given to different temples or chapels by the king; e.g. K.B. ii, 1, *Rev.* iii, 6: AN *Samsi dais* (ME-*is*)<sup>2</sup> I *bit-ilim uedin AMEL SANGU massi ná-GESTIN*, "(all this) the Sun-god (i.e. the king) ordains as the endowment of one chapel; (also) the investiture of a priest." Instead of the last sentence we sometimes find *AMEL massis watku* "a priest is absent", *watku*, as Hrozný has seen, being the simple form of the (causative) *watku-nu-t* "he expelled", in the historical inscriptions. *Massis, massiyas* "a priest" is a common word in the ritual texts and is borrowed from the Assyrian *massu*, while the

<sup>1</sup> The signification of *kuwabi* is fixed by such passages as *nu-za-gan ana GIS GU-ZA ABI-YA kuwabi ḫekhat*, "and then on the throne of my father I seated myself in succession."

<sup>2</sup> In some of the ritual texts ME has its theological meaning of "prophesying". Its equivalence with the Hittite root *da*, which has been already noted by Hrozný, shows that the latter has nothing to do with the I.E. *dā* "to give", as he supposes, nor with *dha* "to place", as I once suggested. Accordingly, *nat-gan khassit dái* is literally "and this he ordains for the king", *dakhhun* "I decreed", i.e. "assigned to".

signification of *náyanin*<sup>1</sup> (*ní-GESTIN*) is approximately fixed by K.B. ii, 2, *Obv.* i, 31-2 : *kuit-man-z-as-gan khassueznanni ná-GESTIN esari*,<sup>2</sup> "at what time he also shall have election to the sovereignty." It may be added that the word *pankus* "of unknown signification", which is mentioned by Hrozný in connexion with his "nawi-réos", is explained in the Vocabularies by *alkakadu* "the courses" (of the priests) (K.B. i, 35, 11-12). Cf. *ina UT II KAM sa AN-MES mi-nu MAR-ZUN*<sup>3</sup> ME-antes nat MAKH-ni SEG-antes *ina UD III*

<sup>1</sup> *Yani(s)* as the phonetic reading of GESTIN furnishes an explanation of the colophon of the inscription I have published in the JRAS., October, 1912, p. 1036, where the third character in the second line is not a corrupt form of *qi* but GESTIN used phonetically. The character to be supplied is more probably AMEL than SARRU, so that the translation will be: "Of Arnuanda(s) the *Khuoiyanis*, the contents of the House of Stone Monuments."

<sup>2</sup> *Esari* has nothing to do with the root *usa* "to sit", which is vouched for by the Vocabularies. ANA GIS GU-ZĀ ABI-SU *esat* is "he occupied" (or perhaps, "mounted to) the throne of his father"; *nu-za KHAR-SAG Askharpaian kuis ALU Gasgas esan khurta*, "then the city of the Kaskians which had taken mount Askharpaia in (literally, as) occupation." In the Vocabularies *es-zi* is translated [i]es "to have", and "a day-labourer" is UT-KAM-as *aniyān kuis éssai*, "he who receives a day's reckoning." On the other hand, the root *es* corresponds with our substantive verb in a phrase like ALU *Iyaruwattas ALU-us sa MAT ALU Barya ésta*, "Iyaruwattas is a city of Barga"; while AKHU-MES-SU AMEL-MES *gaeuā-ssis* AMEL-MES *khassana-ssas ñ ZAB-MES-SU taruppantes eser* means "his brothers, his priests, his royal family, and his soldiers were assembling", and in the Vocabularies the Assyrian *tukultu* is rendered by *makhkhat eswear* "to stand behind". Either two verbs, *es* and *éssai*, one signifying "to be" and the other "to have", have been confused together, or verbal forms borrowed from Indo-European have been confounded with forms of native origin. Perhaps the key to the difficulty is to be found in the Arzawan letters, where *ésta* is followed by an accusative: SEG-in *es-tu* "may they have prosperity". Similarly in Greek *έχω* has acquired the sense of "to be".

The city of Iyaruwattas, by the way, appears to be the Yarimuta or Yariwuta of the Babylonian and Tel el-Amarna inscriptions, possibly Qarmatia in the geographical list of Thothmes III, and certainly Armuthia in classical geography, which Tomkins identifies with Khan Karamata on the descent from the Beilan Pass to the plain of Umk.

<sup>3</sup> The ideograph MAR means "a gift". *Minu* must be the Assyrian *minu*. In K.B. ii, 2, *Obv.* i, 28, we have *minumarra*, which shows that the whole compound had been borrowed by the Hittite scribes. Hrozný refers it to the Latin *minus*!

KAM *pankus-za GUB-la-tar khulliya* ME-as “on the second day assigning the stated (?) gifts of the gods, giving them to the Great Goddess, on the third day in the services they prophesy (or decree) evil on the left side” (K.B. ii, 6, *Obv.* ii, 1-2). It should be noticed that *dás* is plural, *dais* singular.

Another illustration of the false conceptions Professor Hrozný's Indo-European theory has introduced into his work is his explanation of the common verbal form in *-ki*. As this is very frequently preceded by *s*, he will have it that we have here the Indo-European verbal formative *-sk*, in defiance of the Hittite scribes themselves, who carefully separate the *k* from the *s*, as in the word *akkus-kittani* quoted above. As a matter of fact the *k* follows not only *s*, but also *n* (as in *khurnin-kun* “I attacked”, “I conquered”) and a vowel (as in *sip-anza-kir* “they offered”), and it is evident that it is really a separate verb attached to the accusative singular and plural of a noun and coalescing with them into a compound. *Tales-kit* stands on exactly the same footing as *tales-du* (H.K.B., p. 142). As in Vannic, such verbal compounds are plentiful in Hittite; *nu*, which forms a causative, is one of them; so, too, are the compound verbs in *te*, *ti*, or in *ya*, *iya*, and it is possible that the reflexive *-khkh-* was originally an agglutinated verb *kha*, *khu*. In *ya*, *iya* we plainly have the verb *iya(uwar)* “to make”, *ki* may be the verb which, according to Hrozný, means “to lay”, or less probably *ku* “to be”; *te* or *ti* is a verb of common occurrence which signified “to approach”, “join”. The form in *-s* assumed by the first element of the compound occurs again in *és-ta* “he has”, “he is”, *baras-ta* “he fled”, *pais-ta* “thou gavest” (H.K.B., p. 180), the latter of which is parallel to the nominal *memis-ta* “thy speaker”. By the side of *pais-ta* we find *pais-ti*, and a prefixed nominative could even intervene between the two elements of the compound as in *tuzziyas-mis khüllt-iyānun*, “I made my army assemble.” The application of the categories of the Indo-European conjugation to the Hittite forms can lead only to a misconception of them,

and would fail to explain forms like the compound *iyann-ianun* (H.K.B., p. 180), *sarnin-kis-ki* (H.K.B., p. 128), or even *sakuwan-dares-kir* "they neglected" (H.K.B., p. 168).<sup>1</sup>

The Indo-European element *-smas*, which Professor Hrozný parades, is similarly a figment. *Nusmas* is merely *nus* + *mas*. *Nus*, the plural of the 3rd pers. *nas*, is of frequent occurrence; so, too, is the particle *más*, which is the "nominative" of the particle *mán*. Both *nus* and *más*, like *mán*, are used separately. Besides *más* we have *mas* and *man*, of which *ma* is a shortened form, as *anda* "towards" is of *andan*, final *-n* being probably pronounced as in French. It is possible that *més* in *sumés* "you" is the same word as *más*, since we also find *sumás-ma*, though it could be the borrowed Sumerian *mes*; at any rate, it affords no support for Hrozný's theory, not does the conglomerate *sumes-mas-mas*.<sup>2</sup>

The Latin *tepor*, again, suggests to Hrozný that *tapa-ss-as* in an omen-tablet (K.B. ii, 2) signifies "fever", and accordingly he translates the verb *uemiyazi*, which occurs in connexion with it "erfasst", making it a compound of "a preposition" *u*, and the root of the Latin *emere*! *Uemiya(nzi)*, however, is given as the equivalent of the ideograph KAR, which means "to carry away", and *tapa-ss-as* "his *tapa*" cannot be dissociated from *tapal* "couple", which has been borrowed from Assyrian and treated as a Hittite noun in *-l*. *Tapal* itself is a word borrowed from the Sumerian *tap* "double", and assimilated to the Semitic *kapalu* "to double"; and

<sup>1</sup> Between a Vannic *amas-tu-bi*, "I made piecemeal of"—a compound of *amas* "pieces" and the verb *tu* or *du*—and a Hittite *akkus-kit* the parallelism is exact. A good example of the results of Professor Hrozný's "Indo-Germanic" obsession is his translation of the word *khameskhanza* in the historical inscriptions, which he refers to Skt. *samá* "summer" or Lat. *hiems* "winter". The Vocabularies, however, tell us that *khamen-kuwar* is the Ass. [ku]zzurnu "to be gathered together", so that *makhkhan-ma khames-khanza kisat* must mean, not "when the spring came", but "after that mobilization took place".

<sup>2</sup> In K.B. ii, 7, *Obr. 17*, *mas-mas* takes the place of ZUN, the ideograph of the plural: AN-MES TAK-ZI-QI-*mas-mas*, "the gods belonging to the sacred stone."

*tap-pu* is found in the Hittite texts. The passages where Hrozný discovers his "fever" refer to the "double" or "representative" of the royal Sun-god and should be translated as follows: *kuit-man-gan AN Samsi SAG MAT Neriqqa kuit-man-as-gan surá uizzi mán-ma AN Samsi : tapa-ssa-s anda úl uemiyazi nu ŠU-MES DUMUQ-ru NU DUMUQ*, "both when the Sun-god is within the country of Neriqqa, and when he goes into (it), but the Sun-god's representative there carries him away, will the flesh-omens be propitious? Unpropitious"; *tapa-ssa-s kuis ana AN Samsi \*<sup>1</sup> kuit-man-as abiya SAG MAT ALU Neriqqa nan tapa-ssa-s abiya uemiyazi*, "he who is his representative \* to the Sun-god; when he is (*kuit*) there in the city of Neriqqa, his representative there carries him away."

My last example of the dangers of a false method of decipherment is the word *lingain*, which Professor Hrozný connects with the Latin *ligare*. That it means "oath" is pretty clear, and Hrozný is certainly right in coupling it with *linkiyas* and similar words. But an unpublished text proves that it is really a compound. Here we read: *Kas-a AN Marduk AN Innaraowantess-a lien gaoen*, "and so the gods Merodach and Innaraowantes make an oath" (?), and three lines further: *namma AN Marduk AN Innaraowantess-a GIG-ya lie tiyanteni*, "then, O Merodach and Innaraowantes, do not draw near to the liver" (?). One of the most brilliant of Professor Hrozný's discoveries is that *li* or *lie* denoted the negative, and we must accordingly infer (1) that this negative can be declined like a noun, and (2) that in combination with the verb *gauwar* it has the sense of "swearing", thus giving rise to a compound *lingain*, *linkiyas*, etc. Consequently, it is not surprising that we find what appears to be the plural *lit* in YUZGAT, Rev. 4, or that the negative *úl* can be treated like a noun and provided with a pronominal suffix, e.g. *úl-watta*, literally "the not-of-thee" (H.K.B., p. 212). It is needless to

<sup>1</sup> Unidentified ideograph.

say that the categories of Indo-European grammar do not apply here.<sup>1</sup>

I now pass to the numerals. Here Professor Hrozný has demonstrated that *khante-izzis* means "first"; hence *l-edani* must be read *khantedani* and "one" must be *khante*.<sup>2</sup> I believe there was also another word for "one", since it seems to be the equivalent of the ideograph *l-EN* "one" in H.K.B., p. 210; *namma l-Bikhkhuniyas il sa ALU Gasga iwar taparta, khudak makhkhan ina ALU Gasga il sa l-EN tapariyas ésta, asi-ma l-Bikhkhuniyas sa sarruttim iwar taparta*, "then Bikhhuniyas was not alone master of Kaska; until afterwards in Kaska there was not a single master, but subsequently Bikhhuniyas was alone master of the kingdom." However this may be, Hrozný has shown that *iugas* and *tú-iugas* correspond with the ideographically written "one-year old" and "two years old", *i* and *tú* being respectively "one" and "two". The word for "three" terminates in *-és*, and it is therefore worth noting that my decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions makes *tua* and *kés* "two" and "three".<sup>3</sup> An interesting list of numerals, which, however, are not Hittite, has been published by Professor Hrozný from a vocabulary in which their Hittite equivalents are given ideographically. We learn from it that *aika* = 1,

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian equivalent of *lingain*, etc., is *nies iláni*, literally "the lifting up (of the hand to) the gods". *Lien-gaowar* would be literally "to sanctify non(-deceits)", *gaowar* being related to *gaennas* "priests" (see above, p. 61). *Gaennas*, *gaenas* is the *kavev* of the Greek Lydian inscriptions, the *kuanis* of the Hittite hieroglyphic texts, written *𒋩* in the Ördek-burnu inscription and borrowed by Hebrew, i.e. Canaanite, under the form of *kohen*.

<sup>2</sup> The word occurs in one of my fragments: [*kha]-an-ti-i ni-an-zi*, and in the next line *kha-an-ti-i kab-bu-[uanzi]* "he counts one".

<sup>3</sup> "Four" is *mi* and *kar* "ten", while "six" is probably *nati-ni*. In Vaanic *susi*, *tara*, and *sis-ti* are "one", "two", and "three". The Hittite word for "seven" must be *is-khan*, since in the second Arzawan letter the Tel el-Amarna formula "seven times seven I prostrate myself" is rendered *iskhani-ttara-tar iya-ueni*, "we perform the seven-fold," i.e. the ceremony of the sevenfold prostration.

*téra* = 3, *panza* = 5, *satta* = 6, *ná* = 9.<sup>1</sup> The words belong to an Indian rather than an Iranian language, and consequently to the dialect of which the divine names Indara, Aruna (Urumna), and Nasatiya are evidence. Hrozný supposes it to be Kharrian, but the name of the "Kharri" is more probably to be read Murri, and I see in them the Amorites of the Babylonian texts.

In close contact as it thus was with Indo-European languages of various types—Indian, Iranian, Greek, and perhaps Kelto-Latin—it is not surprising that Hittite was largely influenced by them, while they in turn were influenced by Hittite and other Asianic forms of speech. Javan, according to Genesis, was the brother of Meshech and Tubal. But, as Dr. Bork has remarked, no student of linguistic science who examines the structure of the sentence can imagine for a moment that it is an Indo-European language. Few Assyriologists, however, are also comparative philologists. Its most notable peculiarity is the conglomeration of all the pronouns and pronominal particles into a single word at the beginning of a sentence, reminding us of the American languages or of the Basque verb. Conglomerates like *arakhzenas-wa-mu-za* (KUR-KUR AMEL-KUR *kuie*), "among-to-me-also-numerous (hostile countries being)," *pándu-waz asandu*, "in-that-they-might-go (and) settle" (H.K.B., p. 110), or the forms in *-l* quoted by Hrozný (S.H., p. 54), *sarnikzi-el* "(he) clears (himself)", *ispatuzzi-ela-ss-az* "and they . . . (themselves)", would be impossible in a language of the Indo-European type. Gender, again, is unknown to it; in many cases, especially in the verb, no distinction is made between the singular and the plural; there is no clear distinction in use between the verbal and nominal forms, the nominal suffixes *-nza*, *-is*, *-i*, etc., being employed in a verbal sense, not to speak of the suffix *-l*; and postpositions take the place of prepositions. The only prepositions are the borrowed

<sup>1</sup> The numerals occur in the compound *aika-wartanna* "in two layers", etc.

*ana*, *ina*, and *istu*, though the demonstrative particle *nu* occasionally follows the analogy of the Assyrian *ana*, and is used in its stead. But this was doubtless merely in "the language of the scribes".

It is now plain that *ana* and *ina* can no longer be regarded as borrowed by the Babylonians from the Hittites. But the fact remains that they are not Semitic. They were originally *ana* and *in*, the final vowel of *ina* being due to the analogy of *an*; in the inscriptions of Sargon of Akkad the word is still *in*. Now *in* and *ana* are the Greek *ἐν* and *ἀνα*; and the conclusion therefore follows that they have been borrowed by Assyro-Babylonian from an Indo-European source.

All this opens up a new vista in philological history. The Indo-European languages must have been moulded into their leading forms, not in Europe or Central Asia, but in Asia Minor. Here, where bronze seems to have been first invented and from whence the use of iron spread through the Oriental world, would have been a *primaeva* meeting-place of languages, as the Caucasus still is to-day. We already knew that a considerable part of the Greek vocabulary must be traced to Asia Minor; we are now at liberty to believe that its grammar was shaped there as well. Even the hexameter, which implies a long preceding period of artificial development, first appears on Asianic soil. And what is true of Greek must be also true of the other Indo-European languages.

On the other hand, the Asianic languages must have been profoundly influenced by their Indo-European neighbours. Future research will have to determine on which side the borrowing has been in individual cases. The facts are only just rising above the horizon. Among these facts is the position of Sumerian. We knew that the Sumerians must have originally come from the Armenian highlands, for they brought the vine with them from the mountains of the north from which they had migrated. And between Sumerian and the newly revealed Hittite there are points of contact almost as striking as between Hittite and Indo-European; the personal pronouns, for example, *mi*, *si*, *ne*, *enzen*, and *bi*.

Boghaz-Keui, or Khattu, which is interpreted "Silver"-town in the tablets, was not the original capital. This had been Arinna, which is interpreted "the Well"-city. It would, therefore, have derived its name from a sacred well; an offering to such a well is described in B.K. ii, 9, *Rev.* iv, 2, where it is associated with "Istar of Nineveh". Arinna consequently appears to be the Phreata or "Wells" of Ptolemy's *Geography* which was in Garsauria, and near Archelais, now Ak Serai. The name may be preserved in the neighbouring Arianzos, the hereditary property of Gregory of Nazianzen (see Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 284-5). The site would suit that of Arini, captured by Tiglath-pileser I, which was not far from Komana.<sup>1</sup> The "Silver"-city took its name from the silver-mines of the Taurus, and was known to the Greeks in the Homeric Age. According to the *Catalogue* (Il. ii, 856-7) Hodios, "the (commercial) Traveller," the *dangar* of the Cappadocian tablets, and Epistrophos, "the Agent," came to the aid of Troy from distant Halybē among the Halizōnians, "where is the birthplace of silver." The Halizōnians are the Khalitu of an inscription of the Vannic king Rušas II, who mentions them after the Muski-ni or Moschians and the Khatē or Hittites.<sup>2</sup>

Istar of Nineveh, like the other anthropomorphic deities of Asia Minor, was introduced there along with the other elements of Babylonian culture. But the old fetish-worship

<sup>1</sup> Iron images of the sacred wells, who were "daughters" of Tessub, were made by the city of Mammantas, according to K.B. ii, 13, *Obv.* 21-4. The eldest was called "the excellence (*dub*) of 'the well Altannis, the Komanian'" (*Qumayannis*), while another well or spring bore the name of *Tarkhana(s)* from the god Tarkhu. The river Siga-sigas was connected with them, but how the mutilation of the tablet prevents us from knowing. Siga-sigas is written Sīkassikas in K.B. ii, p. 44, l. 25, where Altannis is stated to be "its excellence" (*dub-sas*).

<sup>2</sup> Hittite *z* later becomes *t*, as in Melitu (Malatiyeh) from Meliz. Hence, if Hrozný is right in identifying the Indo-European locative suffix *-d* with the Hittite *-z*, it must have been borrowed from Hittite after the *z* had become a dental.

continued to survive. The ritual texts, for example, make frequent mention of the "ZI-QI stones" of various gods to which the same adoration was paid as to the images of the divinities, and in one instance at least the determinative of "stone" is replaced by that of "god". ZI-QI is literally "spirit messenger"; the stone, in fact, was the embodiment of a spirit who delivered his messages through it. In the Hittite hieroglyphic texts the sacred stone is the ordinary symbol for "a god" or "goddess", and it is depicted as being bound round with the consecrated coloured wool which made its way into Greek ritual. The cult of the sacred stone long survived in Asia Minor and the regions influenced by it. The meteoric stone of Ephesus which later ages identified with Artemis is well known, and as late as the reign of the Roman Emperor Elagabalus a similar stone was worshipped in Syria. At Boghaz Keui the sacred stone seems to have been the embodiment of Attys, and we read in a ritual text (K.B. ii, 6, Obv. ii, 34) : *ina UD III KAM AN A-ti-is DU-is nu sa SARRU a-tam-ma<sup>1</sup> MU-an-na ME-as nan AN MAKH-ni pa-is*, "on the third day Atis comes, to whom the King's son is committed for a year; he gives him to the great goddess."

In conclusion, it may be asked whether the Semitic languages also were affected by contact with the languages of Asia Minor. That Hittite was influenced by Assyro-Babylonian we know; the Cappadocian tablets from Kara Eyuk show that there were Babylonian colonies in eastern Asia Minor as far back as the age of the third dynasty of Ur (2400 B.C.), and when the Hittites adopted the literary culture of Babylonia some two or three centuries later they borrowed plentifully both Assyrian and Sumerian words. But there is little evidence of borrowing in the opposite direction. The Hittite occupation of Canaan brought a few words like *kohen* "priest" or *yayin* "wine" into the Hebrew lexicon, as well,

<sup>1</sup> According to K.B. i, 57, 3, *atam-AN ZE*, "the child of the storm-god," is a synonym of *zurratti*.

probably, as the tendency for *u* (or *w*) to become *i* (or *y*). It is possible that the Aramaic dialects of Northern Syria were more largely influenced by their Asianic neighbours—the change of *z* (originally *t̄* to *d*) seems to testify to this—but at present it is nothing more than a possibility. At all events, the non-Semitic pronunciation of *m* as *w* in Assyro-Babylonian (and Sumerian) must be traced back to Asia Minor.

The YUZGAT inscription in which the Royal Asiatic Society has a special interest can now be translated to a large extent. In fact, the chief obstacle to a complete and satisfactory translation is its mutilated condition. The text is an interesting one. It embodies a mythological poem which was recited during a religious ceremony, and in which the Sun-god, Tessub, and a local hero named Khakhkhamas were the chief figures.

- Obv. 2. . . . tu-el MAR-MES-KA SAL [+ KU-MES] .  
       . . .      *thy sons*           (*and*) [*daughters*] . . .
3. . . . zi AN IM-as a-na NIN-[MES-us] . . .  
       . . .      *Tessub*          *to*      *the ladies* [*says*] . . .
4. . . . as nu-wa-ra-at-mu te-it mi (?) . . .  
       . . .      *so it*   *to me*      *he says* . . .
5. . . . MAR-MES-ya tak-ku AMEL-is ku-na-an-za . . .  
       . . .      *my sons*      *if*      *the man a butcher (?)<sup>1</sup>* [*is*]
6. . . . LU-us ku-na-an-za na-an a-ap-pa khu-is-[nut] . . .  
       . . .      *the sheep*   *he kills (?)*, *him thereupon he (?) serves.*<sup>2</sup>
7. [nu-wa-] ra-at MAR-MES-KA ku-in sa-ga-in i-ya-an-zi  
       *As to it*      *thy sons*      *what* . . .      *they do,*  
       Kha-[akh-khi-mas]  
       *Khakhkhamas*

<sup>1</sup> In Hrozny, H.K.B. p. 72, *kunanzi* is used of killing a pig.

<sup>2</sup> In the Hittite translation of an Assyrian astrological tablet, published in K.B. ii, 19, Obr. 10, MAT GAL ana MAT TUR *khu-is-[nut]* represents the Assyrian “a great country shall serve (*ikannus*) a small one” (see Virolleaud, *Astrologie Chaldéenne* (Adad), p. 8, l. 14).

8. ud-de-e khu-o-ma-an ti-nu-ut u-i-da-a-ar  
*the estate*<sup>1</sup> all inherits ; water (?)  
 kha-ad-nu-te-[es]  
*providing (?)*
9. Kha-akh-khi-ma-as GAL-is khu-wa-an-ti a-na  
*Khakhkimas, the chief of the family, to*  
 SIS-SU SIL-as ki-iz-zi . . .  
*his brother the roads bequeathes [saying] :*
10. KHAR-SAG-MES-as u-i-da-a-ar GIS-SAR-ZUN  
*the mountains, the water (?) (and) the forests*  
 u-e-el-lu nu tu-el . . .  
*are mine ; to thee . . .*
11. wa-ar-su-la-as SE-MES pa-is-ga-ta-ru nu-us  
*the growing*<sup>2</sup> grain shall be devoted<sup>3</sup> ; this  
 lie ti-in-nu . . .  
*I did not inherit.*
12. nu-u-ZUN-an XX KUR-MES GUD-ZUN  
*As to these 20 lands, the cattle,*  
 LU-ZUN UR-KU-ZUN SAKH-ZUN ti-in-nu [-zi]  
*sheep, dogs, (and) pigs he inherited ;*
13. MAR-MES kar-ta-as-ma khal-ki-us  
*but the sons of the sanctuary*<sup>4</sup> the wheat  
 [u-ul] ti-in-nu-zi tak-ku . . .  
*he did not inherit. If . . .*

<sup>1</sup> Mursilis states that when his father died the throne was seized by a boy, who MAT Khatti ZAG-ZUN MAT Khattiya-ia *ül timuzi*, "did not inherit the frontiers of the land of Khattu or the Hittite country" (Hrozný, H.K.B. p. 168). As to *uddé*, King Telibinus says : [nu *uddé* *khurnin-ki* ?] *is-kit nu uddé arkha tarranut*, "so the lands he attacked, the lands he devastated"; *nu uddé maniyakhkhes-kir*, "so the lands became tributary." Hrozný quotes a passage : *mân abédani uddé mân dumédani* MAT-e, "if their estates or other countries" (H.K.B. p. 96).

<sup>2</sup> According to the Vocabularies the verb *wasri* means "to exist" (Assyrian *basu*).

<sup>3</sup> A compound of *pais* ("giving") and *ga*, *gao*, for which see above, p. 65. The verb has no connexion with *pasganwar*, which the Vocabularies interpret "to erect" from *pasgas* "a stake".

<sup>4</sup> Related to *kartamm-iyau-wanza* (compounded with *iyau* "make"), which seems to have something to do with an oracle (K.B. ii, 2; Rev. ii, 44; iii, 25).

14. nu-ma-as-ta-an      gu-un      DAR (?) URUD  
       . . .      a talent of      . . . copper  
     tu (?)-uz-zi-ya-an-za      khur-zi      . . .  
     the army (?)      shall      take . . .
15. nu-us u-ul ti-in-nu-zi ma-a-an-ku-it-ta-khu-o-ma-an . . .  
     these he does not inherit. And thus the whole of it<sup>1</sup> . . .
16. a-pa-a-sa pa-it AN IM-ni te-it ki-i ku-it ki-sa-at . . .  
     and he {goes; to Ramman he says That thus it is done . . .  
                                 gives;}
17. a-si Kha-akh-khi-ma-as at-ti-is-si an-ni-is-si  
     Then (?) Khakhkhamas to his father (and) his mother<sup>2</sup>  
     te-iz-zi . . .  
     says: . . .
18. ki-i az-zi-ik-ki-ta-ri ak-ku-us ki-it-ta-ni . . .  
     in accordance with charms (and) incantations . . .
19. kab-bu-wa-at-tin ku-tu-un u-ul ku-it-ki  
     count . . .<sup>3</sup> nothing at all,  
     AMEL SIB-LU AMEL SIB-GUD . . .  
     shepherd of sheep (and) shepherd of oxen . . .
20. a-pa-a-sa ud-de-e ti-ni-nu-ut AN IM-sa  
     And he the estate inherited, and Tessubas  
     u-ul sa-a-ak-ki-[it]  
     did not know.<sup>4</sup>
21. AN IM-as AN UD-i bi-i-e-it i-id-din-wa  
     Tessubas to the Sun-god speaks "he has given".  
     AN UD-un u-wa-te-it  
     The Sun-god he brought.

<sup>1</sup> *Kuit-mān* is used in the sense of "when", Ass. *adi* in the Vocabularies. *Mān-kuit* would be literally "this it is (that)". -*a* is the suffix of the copulative conjunction.

<sup>2</sup> Notice that the words for "father" and "mother" are Asianic, and not the Indo-European. The suffixed -*s* is the possessive pronoun.

<sup>3</sup> *Kutun* may be related to the *kutassan* of the Vocabularies: *kutassen arnuucar* = Ass. *uzzuzu* "to put a question".

<sup>4</sup> In the Vocabularies *sakkī* is translated *idu*.

22. pa-a-ir AN UD-un sa-an-khi-es-gan-zi  
*They march. The Sun-god he establishes (there).*  
 na-an u-ul u-e i-ya-[zi]  
*Him he does not carry away*<sup>1</sup>
23. AN IM-sa te-iz-zi nu-wa-ra-an ku-it  
*and Tessubas says : Him thus*  
 kha-an-da u-ul u-e-mi-ya-[mi]  
*for ever*<sup>2</sup> [I] do not carry away.
24. [a-pa-] a-sa-wa am-me-el tu-e-ig-ga-as mi-e-es  
*And he my . . . even mine (?)*  
 a-a-an-ta  
*shall share (?)*<sup>3</sup>
25. [a-pa-] a-sa-wa ku-wa-bi khur-ak-ta  
*And he in succession has received (them).*  
 nu -> Za-gâ-gâ bi-i-e-it  
*Then Zababa he addressed :*
26. . . . wa AN UD-un u-wa-te nu  
*[Hither also] the Sun-god bring. So*  
 AN Za-gâ-gâ Kha-akh-khi-ma-as its-bat  
*Zababa did Khakkhimas take.*
27. [zi-]jik-wa AN Lamas-an khal-zi-is-tin<sup>4</sup>  
*By word the Guardian-spirit they summon,*  
 a-bu-u-un-na-wa ti-nu-zi  
*and him he inherits.*
28. . . . wa-ra-as gi-im-ra-as i-as nu a-bu-un-na  
*He . . . all (?) the lands (?)*<sup>5</sup> *So him also*  
 Kha-akh-khi-ma-as its-bat  
*Khakkhimas took.*

<sup>1</sup> *Uemiya* is the Hittite representative of the ideograph KAR "to carry away" (see above, p. 63). <sup>2</sup> Literally "fixedly".

<sup>3</sup> There is a word *anta* with short initial vowel which seems to signify "a consort", but it makes no sense here.

<sup>4</sup> *Khalzis-ti-n* is a 3rd pers. pl. of a "verb" compounded with *ti* or *te* (like *sidiis-ti* in Vannic). The verb is shown by a comparison of passages to signify "to summon", "call". In H.K.B. p. 180, *nu-ia-mu-za TUR-lan khalzesesta* is, "And against me you summoned a youngster."

<sup>5</sup> In K.B. ii, p. 45, l. 30, we have: KÜ-zî NAK-zî *kha-kan-zi GESTIN*, "they eat, they drink, they enjoy themselves with wine," while a

29. . . . id-din-wa AN Te-li-bi-nu-un khal-zi-is-tin  
       . . . he gave and Telibinus they summoned :  
       a-pa-a-as-wa TUR-YA [es-ta (?)]  
           He also my son [is (?)]
30. . . . [na ?]-ak-ki-is khur-as-z<sup>1</sup> te-ri-ib zi  
       The . . . receives him ; he enters (?) ;  
       wa-a-tar na-i khal-di-in-na  
           word he sends and the . . .
31. . . . [its-] bat TAK bi-ru-lu u pi-ri nu  
       . . . he took the beryl and ivory. So  
       a-bu-u-un-na Kha-akh-khi-ma-as its-bat  
           him also Khakhkimas took.
- 
32. . . . wa AN Gul-as-sa-an AN Makh  
       . . . belonging to Gula the Supreme Goddess  
       khal-zi-is-tin tak-ku-wa a-bi-e a-ki-ir . . .  
       they summoned. Now if they die . . .
33. . . . e-ya im-ma a-ki-ir MU l-as a-bi-e-el  
       . . . ever they die for one year their  
       DUP (?)-KA<sup>2</sup> -as Kha-akh-khi-ma-[as . . .]  
           titles (?) Khakhkimas [shall have].
34. . . . Kha-akh-khi-ma-as AM IM-ni te-iz-zi  
       [Then] Khakhkimas to Ramman says :  
       ku-u-si-wa bi-is-sa-at-ti . . .  
       As to the dowry (?) of thy daughter (?)<sup>3</sup>
35. . . . nu-si khu-o-ma-an-te-es a-ki-ir MU l-as  
       . . . to her all-belonging are dead ; for one year  
       ki-i-ni GAL-ri . . .  
       the inheritance to the head (of the family) [give].

corresponding passage (p. 48, l. 10) has: III GAR-GI-RA I DUK khu-ub-bar KAS AMEL-MES kha-kan-zi GESTIN-ya-as, "three food-offerings, one barrel of beer, the men enjoy themselves with wine."

<sup>1</sup> With encapsulated pronoun.

<sup>2</sup> KA "gate" cannot be used ideographically here, but must have some phonetic value derived from its name in Hittite.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *kutsata* TUR-SAL-*ti* in the first Arzawan letter.

36. . . . nam-ma khur-si MU ḥ-as  
     . . . *Afterwards you receive (it). For one year*  
     AN Kha-sa-am-mi-li-as SIS-MES-SU . . .  
     *the god Khasammilias his brothers . . .*
37. . . . an-ni-ik-ni-es MU ḥ-as a-bu-u-us  
     . . . . . *One year them*  
     Kha-akh-khi-ma-as u-ul its-bat  
     *Khakkhimas did not take.*
38. . . . a-bu-u-us khal-za-is AN IM-as  
     . . . *them summoning Tessubas*  
     Kha-akh-khi-im-mi  
     *to Khakkhimas*
39. [te-iz]-zi ki-is-sa-ra-as-mi-is-wa GAL-ri-ya an-da  
     [says] : *My hands<sup>1</sup> indeed for the head (of the family)*  
     da-me-in-[kir]  
     *are sufficient ;<sup>2</sup>*
40. . . . ya da-me-in-kir tak-ku-wa ku-u-u-sa  
     *for . . . they are sufficient. But if it is the dowry*  
     NIN-MES-us SU-ZUN-us  
     *of the women<sup>3</sup> the coins*
41. . . . IGI-ZUN mi-ta-wa  
     . . . *the presents<sup>4</sup> are mine (?) ;*  
     lie e-ip-si  
     *you must not carry (them) away.*
- 
42. . . . AN IM-ni SIL-as ki-iz-zi a-ut-ti-wa  
     . . . *to Ramman the roads he bequeathes, and . . .*  
     TUR-MES-as ma-as . . .  
     *my (?) sons . . .*
43. . . . wa-as-sa-an ne-bi-si pa-i-mi  
     . . . . . *I have given*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the first Arzawan letter : *kissarissi Arsappa* "by the hand of Arsappa".

<sup>2</sup> In the Vocabularies *dameda* is translated "rich".

<sup>3</sup> The grammar of this passage is not clear to me.

<sup>4</sup> Ass. *mikhirti*.

44. . . . NIN-MES-us khu-is-nu-ut  
       . . . . the women              serve

\*        \*        \*        \*        \*        \*

- Rev. 1. . . . ta na-is AN EN-ZU-na IGI-e-it<sup>1</sup> . . .  
       . . . . thy . . . sending and the moon-god is first . . .

2. [AN-MES-an ud-da-ja-ar KA-GAL-as kas-man  
       the word [of the gods]        at the gates  
       IGI-e-it                    AMEL-MES su-gi SAL[-MES su-gi]  
       is first;                    the priests        (and) priestesses  
 3. . . . an-zi u-ug-ga SAL An-na-an-na-as e-es-mi  
       . . . . they . . . and I Annannas<sup>2</sup> have (it).

4. . . . sa-li-it akh-kha-ti sa-at<sup>3</sup> u-ul da-akh-khu-un  
       . . . . the sister . . . I did not assign;  
       zak-ni-ta . . .

5. . . . akh-kha-ti na-khat da-[akh]-khu-un  
       . . . . the sister forthwith I assigned;  
       AN-MES-an ud-da-a-ar ne-iz-za-an . . .  
       of the gods the word, of the . . . .

6. . . . su-ukh-kha-akh-khu-un a-is-mi-it<sup>4</sup> kha-la-as-mi-is  
       . . . . I conveyed: with . . . my head  
       khat-ta-lu . . .

7. . . . ma is-ga-ra-aq-qa-as na-as-sa-an se-ir  
       . . . . bond-servants (?); to them  
       te-ekh-khu-un GU-KHUR e-[ip . . .  
       I said: The back-bone take [away].

<sup>1</sup> Khanteit.

<sup>2</sup> "She who is attached to the mother(-goddess)."

<sup>3</sup> Sat can hardly be the possessive pronoun, as it is separated from akhkhati. Possibly it signifies "these things" (cf. Rev. 16).

<sup>4</sup> The passages containing mit indicate a signification like "together with". The word has nothing to do with the enclitic he, "a second time," "again," with which Hrozný would identify it.

8. . . . [AN-]MES-as ud-da-a-ar u-ul-ku-it-akh-khur-ni-  
     . . . as to the [gods] the word     *I did not oppose,*  
     in-ku-un<sup>1</sup> ma-a-n-s-an . . .  
         *and it* . . .
9. . . . AN Te-li-bi-nu-sa ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki na-ak-ki-es-zí  
     . . . and *Telibinus* at length (?) . . . ed.  
     u-ga   AN-MES-as ud-[da-a-ar]  
     *and I* as to the gods the [word]
10. . . . ma-akh-khi-ta-an mu-ga-mi   AN UD-sa  
     . . . . . praised (?), and the Sun-god  
     te-iz-zi   AN MES-as ud-da-a-ar pa-it . . .  
     *says: As to the gods the word marches . . .*
11. . . . na-az-mi-sa ku-wa-a um-ma<sup>2</sup>   AN MAKH  
     *And . . . . . thus the Supreme goddess;*  
     nu ma-a-an   AN UD-us a-as-su ku-e-it . . .  
     *This the Sun-god as a possession . . .*
12. . . . ti li-ga<sup>3</sup> IX-an pa-a-u   ku-is  
     [receives], and to him 9 times let him give; he who is  
     AMEL MAS-DU nu-ut-ta I LU pa-a-u  
     *a peasant to thee one sheep let him give.*
13. . . . wa-as AN Te-li-bi-nu-wa-as-sa mu-ga-u-wa-as  
     *Of . . . and of Telibinus the praises (?)*  
     qa-ti<sup>4</sup>  
     *I have copied.*

<sup>1</sup> *Al-kuit-d khurnainkan*, literally "and it was not (that) I opposed".

<sup>2</sup> The Hittite kissan.

<sup>3</sup> In V.R. xx, 4, 57, *li* is given as equivalent to *utta* "thou", and in xx, 35, *la* as equivalent to *sa* and *li* to *suatum* in languages that are presumably Asiatic.

<sup>4</sup> *Qati* is the Ass. *qati* "my hand", which came to be used in Hittite with the meaning "my hand-writing", and to be conjugated as a verb. It must be distinguished from another domesticated Ass. word *qatamma*, abbreviated to *qatam*, with the particle *be* "again" often attached to it, which is from the root **QT** "in front".

14. . . az ki-i. I DUK GIR-GIR ZABAR  
*In . . . thus one bowl of bronze*  
 GUL na-ak-dam-su ZABAR . . .  
*together with its cover of bronze, . . .*
15. . . ZABAR a-n- na-ak-dam-mi zi-ig-ga-te-es  
 . . . of bronze to the cover affixed;  
 I GIS-GAL ZABAR . . .  
*one door<sup>1</sup> of bronze . . .*
16. [I GIS a-ri-im-] pa-as ZABAR II GIS DUP  
 [one vase] of bronze, two seals  
 ZABAR I GIS-IR ZABAR I  
 of bronze, one chain of bronze, one  
 GIS-MAR ZABAR . . .  
*car of bronze . . .*
17. . . ZABAR II GIS AL (?) ki-is-ta-as ib-bi-as  
 . . . of bronze, two signets (?) of white . . .<sup>2</sup>  
 GIS-AL ki-is-ta-as . . .  
*a signet (?) of . . . kistas . . .*
18. . . I GIS su-u-zal-las-a GIS-DUP-akh-khu-ra-as  
 . . . one . . . signet-stones (?),  
 TUR GAB-EDIN dakh-khu-u-[zi]  
*the offspring of the field he has given*
19. . . as III DUK ku-ku-ub is-tu III PU-ZUN<sup>3</sup>  
 . . . jars with three holes  
 wa-a-tar<sup>4</sup> ku-it-ta . . .  
*in front (?) and it was . . .*
20. . . an-zi GUL III GIS bu-o-ri-ya-as-mi-is  
 he . . . along with my three . . .

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps "lock".

<sup>2</sup> *Kistas* cannot be "silver" as I formerly conjectured, as this we now know was *khattus* in Hittite.

<sup>3</sup> *Arias* or *aris* in Hittite.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *watar-nakhkhanza*, which, according to the Vocabularies, signified "an ambassador" (*mideru*).

<sup>1</sup> In an unpublished text *eeskhan-ta* interchanges with *istu* ZAL DUGGA "with oil". *Eeskhar*, however, signifies "white blood".

<sup>2</sup> The Ass. uk̄m was borrowed according to K.B. ii, p. 22, l. 25.

<sup>3</sup> "House" was *biras* in Hittite (Lydian *bira*). The Hittite suffixed pronoun is attached to the Ass. verb *imakh[kh]ar*.

\* Ass. *quatu.*

<sup>5</sup> Literally "assigns".

- 26 . . . ku-wa-bi-ya I GAR-GI-RA da-a-i  
     . . . and next one food-offering he gives ;  
     nu-us-sa-an a-na I GIS BANSUR  
         and these to a table
27. ki-i u-nu-te-es<sup>1</sup> da-a-i I DUK GIR-GIR  
         as furniture he assigns. One bowl  
         ZABAR qa-du na-ak-dam-mi GIS-GAL ZA[BAR]  
         of bronze with the cover, the door of bronze,
28. GIS a-ri-im-pa-as ZABAR II GIS DUP ZABAR  
         a vase of bronze, 2 tablets of bronze  
         i-na I GIS BANSUR a-na AN UD da-[a-i]  
         on a table to the Sun-god he assigns.
- 
29. GIS NIG-GUL ZABAR I GIS-SITA ZABAR  
         An axe of bronze, one water-holder of bronze,  
         I GIS-KAK a-na I GIS BANSUR I na-an . . .  
         one peg for a table, one . . .
30. da-a-i a-na II GIS BANSUR-ma is-star-na  
         he assigns : to 2 tables also in front the  
         IX GAR-GI-RA-GAL i-na GIS ma-ki-iz<sup>2</sup>  
         9 chief food-offerings in a . . .  
         da-[a-i]  
         he assigns.
31. se-ir-ra-as-sa-an<sup>3</sup> im-zu     GA-QI-AK-ya da-a-i  
         Of sweet wine a jar and a milk-jug he assigns.  
         nu TAK-ZUN si-ti-is-si-[ya-as]  
         So stones bright (precious),

<sup>1</sup> Ass. *mindu*.

<sup>2</sup> The final -z is the Hittite locative corresponding with the Ass. *ina*. Instead of *maki* we could read *kuki*.

<sup>3</sup> Borrowed by Assyrian under the form of *seras*, *tirbsh* in Hebrew. As we have seen, the usual word for "wine" in Hittite was *yamis*, but another word was also employed, *niniyandas*, which is a derivative, probably from the word for "vine". *Uiniyandas* is found in one of the tablets published by Boissier : *khalzissan-zi-ma [u]niniyandas u-i-ni-ya-anda-an eku-zi*, "he calls also for wine ; he tastes (?) the wine." *Uintar* is found in the same inscription.

32. III DUK-ZUN GESTIN-NA MAR nu AN  
 3      vessels      of wine      a gift      for the god  
 KAS-EDIN III DUK ku-ku-ub-ZUÑ  
 of native beer, 3      goblets  
 u-e-te-na-as<sup>1</sup> qa-du . . .  
 for water (?)      with . . .
33. RAB ZAL DUG-GA RAB EDIN  
 a measure of good oil, a measure of common (oil),  
 ZAL LU sa-ni-iz-zí<sup>2</sup> ki-na-an-ta ki-i  
 mutton-fat,      he . . . . . according to  
 khu-u-pa . . .
- . . .
34. I GIS BANSUR u-nu-wa-an-ta a-na  
 One      table      by way of furniture to  
 AN-UD da-a-i I GIS BANSUR  
 the Sun-god he assigns; one      table  
 u-nu-wa-[an-ta]  
 by way of furniture
35. a-na AN Te-li-bi-nu da-a-i ma-a-an AN-lum  
 to      Telibinus he assigns: this      the god  
 a-sa-a-si zi-in-ni-e . . .  
 . . . completes . . .
36. ne-khu-uz me-khur-ma DUK pa-akh-khu-i-na-li-az  
 At the hour of sunset      in a fire-brazier  
 pa-akh-khur pa-ni AN-lim da-[a-i]  
 the fire      before the god he places.

<sup>1</sup> Hrozný quotes a passage: DUK ME-E *sikhillas u-i-te-e-ni*, from which it would appear that *uitēni* is equivalent to the Ass. *mē* "water". On the other hand *-nas* is an adjectival suffix, and the stem *ute* signifies "to bring".

<sup>2</sup> *Sanizzi* or *saneizzi* may signify "set on fire", or something similar. *Kinanta*, also written *kinunda*, is an adverb like *unucanta* or *ziyanta* ("in the face of"). So *gasunda* "for ever" in the Arzawan letters.

37. sa-ne-iz-zi sa-me-se-iz-zi nu SAL SU-GI be-el  
*He . . . he . . . so the priestess of the lord*  
 AN-lim khu-uk-ku-us  
*of the gods the omens (?)*
38. khu-uk-zi II Su ir-kha-iz-zi bit-AN-lim kha-ad-ki  
*examines (?) ; twice she . . . (?) The temple she opens.*  
 na-as-ta khat-ra-a  
*Then forth*
39. u-iz-zi a-bi-ya UD-ti u-ul ku-it-ki i-ya-zi  
*she goes. My father to-day nothing at all does.*
40. ma-a-an lu-uk-kit-ta be-el AN-lim  
*When on the morrow the lord of the gods*  
 pa-ni AN-lim iz-iz-zi sa-ne-iz-zi  
*before the gods appears (?) she . . .*
41. sa-me-se-iz-zi khu-uk-ku-us khu-uk-zi III  
*. . . the omens (?) examines(?) ; thrice*  
 ir-kha-iz-zi  
*she . . .*
42. I GAR-GI-RA . . . a-na AN UD  
*one food-offering . . . to the Sun-god*  
 mas-si-ya i-na BANSUR da-a-i nu  
*my lord. on the table she assigns ; then*  
 MAR  
*as a gift . . .*
43. GESTIN-an a-na AN-UD si-pa-an-ti I  
*wine to the Sun-god she offers ; one*  
 GAR-GI-RA . . . a-na AN Te-li-bi-nu-[un]  
*food-offering . . . to Telibinus*
44. a-na GIS BANSUR AN Te-li-bi-nu da-a-i  
*for the table of Telibinus she assigns.*  
 MAR nu AN KAS EDIN GESTIN-an . . .  
*As a gift to the god of native beer wine . . .*

45. si-[pa-an-] ti I MAS-GAL I LU a-na  
*she offers. One full-grown kid, one sheep to*  
 AN UD AN Te-li-bi-nu-ya tak-sa-an  
*the Sun-god and Telibinus duly*  
 [da-a-i]  
 [*she assigns*].
46. . . . khu-i-su<sup>1</sup> sa LU GU ZAG-LU GU GAB  
 . . . . . *a sheep's loin, breast (and)*  
 SAK-DU NIN-MES . . .  
*head the women [shall offer ?]*
47. . . . da-a-i sa MAS-GAL-ma GU-GAB  
 . . . . . *assign. And a grown kid's breast*  
 GU ZAG-LU SAK-DU [AMEL-MES . . . ?]  
*loin (and) head [the men shall offer ?]*
48. [a-na AN Te-] li-bi-nu AN UD ma da-a-i . . .  
 [To] Telibinus and the Sun-god assign (them) .

POSTSCRIPT.—Besides *iwar*, “single,” “sole” (if such is its meaning), we find a postposition *iwar* which is explained by the Assyrian *itti*, “with,” as well as a verb *iwar*, which the Vocabularies interpret “to seize” (*liaku*) by the side of *iwaru*, interpreted “seizure” (*liqdu*).

*Eeskhar* or *éskhar* (above p. 79, note 1) is interpreted “red blood” (*dammu*) in the Vocabularies, *mánis* being “white blood” (*sarku*) and *muwas* “breath” (*pupukhdu*). *Eskhar* explains the origin of the Greek *λύωρ* (for *λυχώρ*), for which an Indo-European etymology has been sought in vain.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in an unpublished text: AN-as-sa istu GU-GIG khu-i-su-wa-z wa-a-ku-e-en, “and the gods taste (?) the flesh in the chaldron.” Has *wdku* any connexion with *aku* (p. 54)?







EGYPTO-KARIAN BILINGUAL STELE IN THE NICHOLSON  
MUSEUM, SYDNEY.

# An Egypto-Karian Bilingual Stele in the Nicholson Museum of the University of Sydney

By A. ROWE

(With Plate.)

## EGYPTIAN TEXTS

(a) Over Deceased

(b) Before Osiris

(c) Before Isis

(d) Three Horizontal Lines

(1)

(2)

(3)

## KARIAN TEXT

NOTE.—For the sake of uniformity, the Egyptian hieroglyphical texts have been placed so as to read in the same direction. The Karian text is shown as it appears *in situ*.

ONE of the most interesting and valuable of all the objects which were presented half a century ago by the late Sir Charles Nicholson to the University of Sydney, for the purpose of forming a nucleus of a "Museum of Antiquities", is a stele inscribed in two kinds of writing, Egyptian and Karian.

It was not until September of 1918 that I had an opportunity of examining this monument, and as its two inscriptions seemed at first glance to show certain important philological features, it was felt advisable to go fully into the matter, and the present paper contains the results of my investigations. By means of the kind help and advice of the Curator of the Museum, Professor W. J. Woodhouse, who has also read my manuscript and made many valuable suggestions for its improvement, I have been able to make these investigations much more complete than would have been possible without his aid; but it must be understood that I alone am responsible for the opinions expressed and the theories arrived at in this paper.<sup>1</sup>

From what can be gathered it appears that the slab originally came from Memphis, and was purchased by Sir Charles Nicholson in Egypt, whence it was conveyed by him to Europe, and there, to quote his own words, "although it was submitted to several distinguished philologists, no certain meaning could be attached to the obscure alphabetic character."<sup>2</sup> The date of the purchase has not been ascertained, but it must have been prior to 1870, the year in which the first published account of the object appears. This account, which is contained in the *Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities of the Sydney University*, Sydney, 1870, p. 90, reads as follows: "Sepulchral Slab with a Bilingual Inscription.

<sup>1</sup> This is published by kind permission of the Sydney University authorities, to whom I am also greatly indebted for furnishing me with the photograph reproduced in this article, and for allowing me to inspect closely the stele and to copy its contents.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Egyptiaca—a Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the Sydney University* (London, 1891), p. 141.

The upper portion of the Inscription (in hieroglyphics) is the ordinary funeral dedication for 'Isi' (*sic*) the son of 'Petisi' (*sic*), to Osiris. The lower inscription has not yet been deciphered, but the letters have been thought to show some affinity with the Early Phœnician."

Two years subsequently, when Professor Sayce was preparing his first work on the Karian language, Sir Charles Nicholson sent him from Sydney a squeeze of this tablet, the Karian text from which he incorporated in his paper. This paper was published the year following in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*.<sup>1</sup> Sayce laments the fact that the engraver had unfortunately spoilt the text from the Sydney stele, and it was not until 1886 that he was able, as he states, to "publish it accurately for the first time" in his monumental work, "The Karian Language and Inscriptions," which appeared in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. ix, pt. i, his paper having been previously read at a meeting of the Society on February 3, 1885. This last edition of the text, however, by no means presents a correct idea of the Karian inscription as it appears *in situ*, for on the stele itself the characters read from right to left, while in Sayce's copy they are placed in the reverse order; also, certain characters are incorrectly given, but this fault is excusable, as Sayce did not have the original monument to work from. It was in this second paper that a translation of the entire Egyptian inscription was first published, but as a facsimile of the hieroglyphs is not given, the reader is left in entire ignorance of the fact that the text contains many errors and peculiarities.<sup>2</sup> Sayce was evidently puzzled by the unusual appearance of the word RA-STA written under the name of Osiris, for he left it untranslated, his rendering of the sentence in which it appears being: "Said by Osiris, the lord of . . ." Dr. Birch supplied

<sup>1</sup> "The Karian Inscriptions": *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, n.s., vol. x, pt. iii, 1873.

<sup>2</sup> The author makes no mention of this circumstance.

Sayce with the following very free version of the last three lines : "Act of homage to Osiris who dwells in the West, the Good Being, who has given sepulchral meals of bread and beer, oxen, geese, incense, linen, all things to the worthy Osirian Pet-Asi (Petisis), born of Tat-Osar (Taosisris)."

The next and final reference to the stele occurs in *Ægyptiaca*,<sup>1</sup> pp. 140-1, which was published five years after Sayce's last-mentioned article had appeared. In the former work the donor of the stele says he has now learnt from Professor Sayce that the "inscription probably commemorates in his native idiom, as well as in the popular form, one of the Greco-Asiatic mercenaries engaged in the service of the Psammetici during the eighth (*sic*) century B.C." It is quite evident Sir Charles Nicholson must have misunderstood Professor Sayce, for the article in the *Transactions* before quoted clearly shows that the latter scholar was well aware that the two inscriptions were not inscribed to the memory of the same person.

Having been able to examine closely the monument, the present writer is in a position to correct certain mistakes in detail which former scholars have made in connexion with both scripts, due, no doubt, to the fact that they had to work from a squeeze, and he is also able to point out some original errors in the Egyptian inscription. The hieroglyphic text and the vignettes are here published for the first time

The stele is formed of a slab of soft white limestone, and measures  $28\frac{3}{4}$  inches in its extreme length by  $12\frac{1}{4}$  inches in breadth. The Egyptian vignettes and texts occupy about 20 inches in depth from the top of the stele to the last line of hieroglyphs, thus originally leaving  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches of space, of which the first 3 inches were utilized by the Karian sculptor, the balance of  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches remaining uninscribed. As will be seen from the photograph, the Egyptian words under the vignettes are contained in three lines, the first two lines of which occupy the full breadth of the slab, while the third

<sup>1</sup> See footnote *supra*.

and last line, for some unaccountable reason, and in striking contrast to the Egyptian love of symmetry whereby every line of a sepulchral stele inscription was usually completed, suddenly leaves off about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches from the end. Both lines of the Karian inscription commence  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches from the right side of the stone, from which end, as before-mentioned, the text is to be read, the first line extending to the full breadth of the object, and the second finishing about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches from the left side.

Taking into consideration the circumstance that so large a portion of the stele was unused by the Egyptian engraver, we are surely warranted in assuming that the monument was meant, from the first, to contain the two different writings we now see on it, and that therefore the Karian inscription is not merely a *graffito*. Also, the face of the whole of the slab is exactly on the same plane, and this proves that no Egyptian work had been obliterated to make room for the Karian characters. Some importance must be attached to the space left at the end of the last line of hieroglyphs, for it almost seems as if the sculptor of the Egyptian words thought that the Karian ones would follow on where his left off. All the above evidence, I submit, certainly shows that the two texts were cut at about the same time.

Now from the style of the Egyptian sculptured work on the monument I have no hesitation in dating this work to between 650–550 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and the Karian inscription itself must also be attributed to this period, for it is quite likely, as Sayce has stated, that such inscription was made on behalf of one of the Karian mercenaries who were first imported into Egypt by

<sup>1</sup> It is certainly evident from the use of the epithet AMAKH (line 2 of the hieroglyphical text) that we are dealing with an Egyptian inscription of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, for it was in the beginning of this era that the custom grew up of following the archaic style of the Early Empire texts. In these older texts the deceased was commonly termed AMAKH, i.e. "loyal follower".

Psemthek I,<sup>1</sup> shortly after the rise of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (i.e. after 664 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

Immediately underneath the rounded top of the stone are depicted the vault of heaven and the winged solar disk, with pendant uræi, of the god Behudet. Below these objects are represented a male person with arms uplifted in act of adoration, standing before a table of offerings, and a seated Osiris wearing the plumed white crown, and holding the flail and crook; behind the god are the standard  AMENTA, which is emblematic of the abode of the dead in the western hills, and the goddess Isis with her left arm uplifted and her right hand holding the symbol of life. The general outline of her headdress is that of the goddesses and queens of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, e.g. that of Ankh-nes-nefer-ab-Ra.

Above the deceased is his name (*a*)<sup>3</sup> PEDA-AST<sup>4</sup> written in hieroglyphs; before the god the words, (*b*) "A prayer to Osiris, the lord of Ra-Sta", and in front of the goddess, (*c*) "Isis, lady of heaven." The three horizontal lines of Egyptian read, (1) "May give a royal offering Osiris, the governor of the Western Land, Unennefer; may he grant (2) the offerings which come forth at the voice—cakes, ale, oxen, geese, incense, garments, and things [all]—to the Osirian PEDA- (3) AST, born of TA-DA-ASAR."

The errors of the hieroglyphical text tend perhaps to show that the engraver of the inscription was a foreigner, and therefore possibly a Karian. First of all, in line (*a*) he writes

<sup>1</sup> Portion of a statue of Shep-en-Upt, the wife of Psemthek I, is preserved in the Sydney University Museum. Vide *Egyptiaca*, p. 19, where the queen is erroneously described as the wife of "Psammetichus III—the Pharaoh-Hophra of the Bible".

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus (ii, 154) says that Amasis II (570 B.C.) founded a Karian camp or settlement at Memphis, and as this is where the stele came from, it is probable that the monument is to be assigned to this reign.

<sup>3</sup> The ensuing numbers and letters in brackets have reference to the same distinguishing signs placed before each line of text in the accompanying plate.

<sup>4</sup> The Περησις or Περισις of the Greek *grafitti* in Egypt.

the last portion of the deceased's name as -ASTET in error for -AST, which latter form he gives correctly in line (3). Line (b) contains a bad mistake; we get for RA-STA. Here the engraver has wrongly used for and has also reversed the order of the first two signs in the group. We also see another mistake in line (c), where the name of Isis is spelt instead of . The position of the feather on the large standard in front of the goddess in the vignette should have been reversed; we find it placed accurately in the standard-sign in the first line of the horizontal inscription. In the second line appears for ; and the omission of the determinative after , and of "all" will be noted. The T forming part of the name of the deceased's father, <sup>1</sup>, of course, equals TA, unless the sculptor, in keeping with the somewhat bad orthography of his work, has carelessly inserted a T in place of a P, in which case we should read PEDA-ASAR. The absence of "to the double of" is remarkable.

Professor Sayce<sup>2</sup> gives the following transliteration and translation of the Karian text: Ä-V-E-TH-O M-A-V-N-A-Ü-W-H(E) AI-D O-V-U-Z-H-E, "Avetho the Maunaiwian<sup>3</sup> and Ovuzian." He says that "Mavnaüw"

<sup>1</sup> The sculptor made a mistake in the course of engraving this determinative, for he first of all placed the left arm of the man in a downward position, but afterwards, realizing his error, obliterated the fault as best he could, and rectified matters by placing the arm in the usual uplifted position. This fact can quite easily be ascertained from the accompanying photograph.

<sup>2</sup> In *Karian Language*, pp. 145-6.

<sup>3</sup> A misprint for "Mavnaüwian".

reminds one of the tribe of *Maurritai* at Olymos, but concerning the meaning of "Ovuz" he is silent.

Considering that Sayce's published copy was taken from a squeeze it must be allowed that it is a comparatively good one, in spite of the text being reversed, but from a close comparison of this copy with the Karian inscription on the stele I discovered that two signs had been incorrectly transcribed by him; these are both in the lower line. The first of such signs, to which he gives the provisional value of AI, is shown by him as , whereas on the stele I find that it is really , keeping the character here in the same position as it appears on the stele, that is to say, reading from right to left. We must, of course, read the latter character as  $\ddot{o}$ <sup>1</sup>. The other of the two signs in question, the consonant z, depicted by Sayce as , is actually written thus .<sup>2</sup>

There was just enough room to add the last sign of the undoubted adjectival termination,  X, to the end word in the first line, for the  E is slightly on the slant, being partly on the face and partly on the edge of the stone. The squeezing on of this character proves that it formed the end of a word, which fact is also substantiated by the similar ending of the last word in the inscription, which is likewise an adjective.

"AVETHO" may be a Karian name, or perhaps an Egyptian one assumed by a Karian and written with Karian characters. In the latter case we might possibly identify

<sup>1</sup> See the Karian signs in "The Formation of the Alphabet", Petrie (Brit. School of Arch., in Egypt, vol. iii), where the value of  is given as  $\ddot{o}$ . The inner curved line in the character on the stele is undoubtedly an engraver's error.

<sup>2</sup> This fact is clearer from the stone than from the photograph.

it with some name like  AF-THOTH.<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Manetho" from the supposed  MA-EN-THOTH.

Although Sayce's suggested identification of "Mavnaüw" with the Olymos tribe may be correct it seems to me that a more probable reading is "the Memphite", because it does not need a big stretch of imagination to connect the word with Men-nefer, the Egyptian form of "Memphis". Now as the Karian  (variants , ) really has the value of PH<sup>2</sup> (which sign would also be used by careless scribes for F or V), instead of U or W, as Sayce believed, the word in question should actually be read as "MAVNAPHPH", or, perhaps, "MAVNAFF," which is a closer approximation to "Men-nefer" than is the incorrect rendering "MAVNAÜW".

In Etruscan, to many characters of which certain Karian signs bear some resemblance, the value of  or  is PH or F. Compare also the Greek  or , which, as Sayce himself states, is found in all the Greek alphabets, except those of Théra, Mélos, and Krete, with the value of PH. Evans<sup>3</sup> says that the  in its archaic form  recurs in the South Semitic series with the closely allied value of V (or W), and Gardiner,<sup>4</sup> in referring to the so-called additional letters of the

<sup>1</sup> As Thoth was the name of the Egyptian god of language, literature, etc., it is just the kind of name we should expect a foreign dragoman or an interpreter, such as Ävetho probably was, to choose when taking over an Egyptian appellation.

<sup>2</sup> Petrie, "Formation of the Alphabet," transliterates the Karian  and  by PH.

<sup>3</sup> *Scripta Minoa*, vol. i, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> "Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet": Journ. Eg. Arch., vol. iii, Jan. 1916.

Greek alphabet,  $\times$ ,  $\phi$ , and  $\psi$ , mentions that Pratorius had previously identified them with certain letters having very similar forms in the Safa alphabet. The table in Gardiner's article bears out what Evans says, and clearly shows that the early Greek  $\phi$  or  $\phi$  (PH or F) was taken from a similar shaped character,  $\bigcirc$ , with the value of V<sup>1</sup> or W, which appears in all the four groups of the South Semitic alphabets, viz. Sabæan, Lilyânite, Thamûdenic, and Safâitic. This discovery was made, of course, long after Sayce had written his article on the Karian language. It is quite evident therefore that the symbol  $\bigcirc$  on the stele was employed for a PH or F,<sup>2</sup> as the originators of the Karian alphabet must have obtained this letter from the same source as that from which the Greeks obtained their PH.

The words in Karian inscriptions are usually separated by small points, and it will be noticed that there are two of these placed after the name of the deceased, but for some reason or other the sculptor only used a single point to divide the two words in the second line, and this particular mark, being only a slight indentation in the stone, seems to have been inserted as an afterthought.

Sayce transliterates the  $\times$  on the stele by H, whereas

<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.*, equates the Sabæan  $\bigcirc$  with "V".

<sup>2</sup> Although the true Karian F was  $F$   $f$  or  $\exists$  (Petrie, *op. cit.*),

it is certain that in view of the phonetic similarity this consonant was sometimes represented by the sign generally used to indicate "PH". This would especially be the case if the sculptor were living in a foreign country and therefore not in everyday touch with the speech of his native country.

according to Petrie<sup>1</sup>  is H and  KH; also, the value of  is given by the former as U, but Petrie's rendering is Y. The weight of evidence is strongly in favour of the latter identifications, and these I accept without question.

In view of the arguments put forth above, I consider the following to be a correct transliteration of the Karian text on the stele: Ā-V-E-TH-O M-A-V-N-A-F-F-KH-E Ō-D O-V-Y-Z-KH-E, i.e. "Af-Thoth (?), the Memphite and Ovyzian". ŌD, of course, is a conjunction.

I have been unable satisfactorily to identify the word "OVYZKHE", but, subtracting the adjectival ending -KHE, the root "OVYZ" is not unlike the name of the town of Ephesus. It would, indeed, be instructive to us if it could be proved that "OVYZIAN" is the Karianized form of "Ephesian", in which case we must doubtless understand that ĀVETHO was a Karian whose birthplace was in the above-mentioned Lydian town.

Sayce has shown us in his article how some of the Karian dragomans of the time bore two names, a Karian one and an Egyptian one, and also that the name Psemthek is apparently present<sup>2</sup> in a Karian inscription from Abu-Simbel.<sup>2</sup> Such being the case my attempt to connect certain of the words written in Karian on the stele with Egyptian ones should not seem unreasonable.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Karian Language*, p. 134.



## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

MOSES B. SAMUEL OF SAFED, A JEWISH KATIB IN DAMASCUS

In the April number, 1919, of this Journal (pp. 155 ff.) Mr. Jacob Mann published six poems by the above-mentioned Katib, which are of great interest. They tell us of persecutions from which "the people of the tribute" (أهل الضراء. אנשי הם), i.e. Jews and Christians, had to suffer; further, how the poet was compelled to accompany his master, the Emir of Damascus, on a pilgrimage to Medinah and Mekkah, and thus had to adopt Islām. Whether Moses was able to return to his former religion, as Mann thinks, must be left undecided, since he would have then made himself liable to capital punishment. But he could have been a Jew in secret.

Mann has carefully edited and interpreted the text of the poems. But two questions have still to be discussed, viz. the time of these events and the religious persuasion of Moses, i.e. whether he was a Rabbanite or a Karaite. As regards the time, Mann thinks that the MS. of the poems appears to be of the fourteenth century, but, unless we have an autograph before us, Moses could, of course, have lived much earlier. At any rate he must have lived, as Mann rightly remarks, in the post-Fatimid period. Mann finds two dates when such stringent laws against Jews and Christians were decreed, one in the year 1290 and the other in the year 1301. But Moses' time can be quite exactly ascertained. MS. Berlin 198 contains a collection of Karaite hymns, and among them, on fol. 96, verso, an extract from the Diwan of Moses of Safed (see *Catalogue Steinschneider*, ii, 47 : *בשם אל עולם נעשה ונצליח נבחרין אלאין בתרתיב כראם נקל מן דיוואן ר' משה הצעפי וכת אן אסתבשועה בעיר אלתיאירה וכברה (sic!) לברכה*). This extract contains, according to Steinschneider, a long poem about a calamity in the year

755 H. (1354), each strophe of which has as a superscription the name of a Biblical book, from which the fourth and last hemistich is taken. The last point renders it a certainty that the poem in MS. Berlin is identical with those edited by Mann.

Accordingly the events narrated by Moses took place about 1354 C.E. It is the time of the Mamluk Sultan as-Salih Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Ṣalīḥ,<sup>1</sup> in whose reign indeed very strict rules were ordained against Christians and acts of violence were committed on them (see Weil, *Geschichte des Abbasiden-chalifats in Egypten*, i, 498). Of course, these laws were applied also to the Jews. Mostly hit by them was Damascus, where the days of tranquillity under the Sultan al-Nūṣir and his governor Tengiz (1340) were followed by a time of chaotic rule under the praetorians of Emirs that were fighting each other.

The fact that Moses' poems were inserted into MS. Berlin 198, a collection of exclusively Karaite hymns, also allays Mann's doubts in Moses' Karaism. The poems edited by him certainly contain nothing Karaitic, because there was no occasion for it, but neither is there anything anti-Karaitic in them. Moreover, other Karaite collectanea have also preserved some of Moses' liturgical compositions. They are, as far as known to me, as follows: (1) A piyyut beginning *את נבי שמע נא*, with the accr. *מלךינו צפתי*, in Bodl. 2378, No. 19. (2) A piyyut with the superscription *רצה שיח אדון רוחי צפתי זל*, beginning *לך משה צפתי זל*, MS. Brit. Mus. 728, No. 107. (3) A piyyut for Passover, beginning *משה צפתי חוק*, with accr. *אודה צורי יה לבדו*, MS. Brit. Mus. 729, i, No. 9. (4) A piyyut for Sabbath Bo with the superscription *לדי איש צמ לאלח הכהן*, MS. Brit. Mus. 730, i, No. 16. Probably also the Selicha, beg. *אנא יי כי אני עבדך*, alphabetical with a subsequent verse commencing *חוק יי עבדך משחנן שמואל*.

<sup>1</sup> I also think that under *המלך* the Caliph is not meant, as Mann maintains, but the Sultan.

MS. Brit. Mus. 724, xvii, No. 17, emanates from him; likewise a poem in honour of the famous Karaite philosopher Aaron b. Elijah (1300-60), his contemporary, beginning בְּבֵית אַחֲרָן, תָּבוֹרֶךָ הַקְּלָלָה <sup>1</sup> משֶׁה בֶּן רַבִּי שְׁמַעְאלָל (printed in Aaron's *Keter Torah*, Eupatoria, 1866, behind the editor's Introduction).

Accordingly Moses b. Samuel was a Karaite, having been at the same time the only representative of this sect in Palestine at that time. The Karaites flourished in the Holy Land about 940-1060, but afterwards no name of importance is known from amongst them. The Karaite traveller Samuel b. David found in Jerusalem in 1642 altogether twenty-seven of his fellow-sectaries (see Gurland, i, 12); likewise small was their number also later in the eighteenth century (see l.c., 36, 48; *Jerusalem*, ed. Luncz, vi, 240; Hastings, *Ency. of Rel. and Ethics*, vii, 667a). The example of Moses shows now that the spiritual life of the Karaites in Palestine was not entirely extinct even after their period of flourishing. Yet it is possible that Moses had raised himself to an intellectual height only through his stay in Damascus, where in the Middle Ages there existed a flourishing Karaite community. At any rate Mann's publication is to be appreciated also in this direction, and it would be desirable that he should pay attention to the other poems of Moses b. Samuel still preserved.

SAMUEL POZNANSKI.

WARSAW.

#### KURU-PANCALA

Much has been written about the Kuru-Pāñcālas and theories have been put forward about them, but it may be well to show what historical tradition discloses about them.

As pointed out in former papers,<sup>2</sup> in the Pūru or Paurava

<sup>1</sup> Similar acrostics are to be found also in some of the poems published by Mann (Nos. II and IV).

<sup>2</sup> JRAS. 1910, p. 21; 1914, pp. 283-4, 288-9.

race arose the famous king Bharata, and his descendants were the Bharatas. One of them, Ajamidha, king of Hastināpura, divided his territories among his three sons and so formed the three kingdoms of Hastināpura, N. Pañcāla, and S. Pañcāla. Pañcāla was originally a nickname of certain princes of N. Pañcāla and in time superseded Krivi, the old name of that country. The names of the royal families were commonly extended to designate their peoples and countries.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards in the Hastināpura dynasty arose king Kuru,<sup>2</sup> and his descendants were the Kurus<sup>3</sup> or Kauravas. The Bharatas thus comprised the three families of the Kurus, N. Pañcālas and S. Pañcālas; the N. Pañcālas produced the two sub-families of the Śrījayas and Somakas, and the Kurus afterwards developed the sub-family of the Pāṇḍavas.

In the Pāṇḍavas' time Drona conquered Pañcāla, kept N. Pañcāla for himself, and transferred its king Drupada and his entourage to S. Pañcāla. With Drupada went the Śrījayas and Somakas. Pañcāla then comprised all the country from Ahicchattra to Kāmpilya and to the R. Chambal, N. Pañcāla being the portion north of the Ganges and S. Pañcāla that south of the river.<sup>4</sup>

When the Pāṇḍavas were victorious in the great Bhārata battle, Yudhiṣṭhīra gained the Kuru throne, and he and his successors became kings of the Kurus.<sup>5</sup> So far the Kurus, the N. Pañcālas and S. Pañcālas were distinct.

His sixth successor is said to have abandoned Hastināpura, because it was carried away by the Ganges, and he moved to Kauśāmbī, which he made his capital.<sup>6</sup> The reason is absurd,

<sup>1</sup> Much as we speak of Rhodesia and the Rhodesians.

<sup>2</sup> His name has nothing to do with *Kriri*, which existed long before him.

<sup>3</sup> These Kurus have nothing to do with the Uttara Kurus. It was not uncommon for persons to have the same names as countries and peoples, cf. e.g. Kirāta, Pastyāvant, and Plakṣa in the Vedic Index, and also Aja, Vatsa, etc.

<sup>4</sup> MBh. i, 138, 5507-16.

<sup>5</sup> MBh. xiv, 39, 2079; xv, 37, 1012; xvii, 1, 8; etc.

<sup>6</sup> Vāyu 99, 271. Matsya 50, 78-9. My *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 5, 65.

because, if that were the whole truth, he could have chosen some other town near by as his capital, and there was no necessity to move more than 300 miles south across *S. Pañcāla* to Kauśāmbī. Manifestly he abandoned all the Kuru territory in the northern part of the Ganges-Jumna doab, and there can be no doubt that that long move was not voluntary but was the result of severe pressure.

That there was such pressure is suggested by the early chapters of the *Mahābhārata*, which, though in ridiculously fabulous form, brahmanic on its very face, yet seem to be based on actual occurrences. The purport is this—there was a Nāga kingdom with Takṣaśilā as its capital, it came into direct conflict with Hastināpura in the reign of Yudhiṣṭhīra's successor Parikṣit II, he was killed, and his son, Janamejaya III, defeated the Nāgas but made peace.<sup>1</sup> This suggests that the intervening Panjab kingdoms, the Śivis, Madras, Kaikeyas, Sauviras, etc., which play so prominent a part in the epic, had fallen, and it is not improbable after the great slaughter of princes and kṣatriyas in the Bhārata battle. If so, Hastināpura was face to face with danger from the north-west.

Apart from this explanation, however, the fact remains of the abandonment of Hastināpura and the Kuru territory and the retreat to Kauśāmbī. That mixed up the Kurus with the *S. Pañcālas*, and the new kingdom became that of Kurus and *Pañcālas*, the united Kuru-*Pañcāla* nation.<sup>2</sup> It is that nation which is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and among whom the great Brāhmaṇas were composed.<sup>3</sup> That event took place rather more than a century after the great battle. It shows when and where those works were formed and fixes an upper limit for the period of their composition. The political conditions described above reveal why those books have so little to say about the Panjab nations that are so

<sup>1</sup> MBh. i, 43, 1786 to 44, 1807; 50, 2007 to 53, 2175.

<sup>2</sup> N. *Pañcāla* apparently continued to exist separately.

<sup>3</sup> Vedic India i, p. 165.

prominent in the *Mahābhārata*, and the books corroborate the conditions.

This is the simple explanation of the united Kuru-Pāñcālas. It elucidates the various points noticed under the words Kuru, Pāñcāla, etc., in the Vedic Index. Historical tradition thus makes clear what brahmanical books leave in uncertainty.

F. E. PARGITER.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

It is hoped to reopen the regular work of the Royal Asiatic Society, which has been interrupted by the move, by a reception to be held on March 30 in the new premises of the Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1. The Libraries will be open for students and for the loan of books immediately after Easter. The new house is a handsome and commodious building, with a comfortable lounge and Council room, a large lecture room, and library in which the books will be arranged according to the countries with which they deal. The work of re-cataloguing is in progress, and the Assistant Librarian will be constantly in attendance to get the books required by members. There is a silence room for students wishing to copy or collate books and manuscripts. It is hoped that the advantages offered by the new premises will not only make 74 Grosvenor Street a more frequent place of resort by our present members, but will lead to a large increase of membership, so that the Society, now approaching its hundredth anniversary, may be looked upon as the natural centre of Oriental studies and Oriental interests in London.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF THE BANTU LANGUAGES. By ALICE WERNER. 346 pp. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 7s. 6d.

This is an effort by an accomplished linguist and practised teacher to explain the intricacies of the grammar of the various Bantu languages. Specializing in East African languages, Miss Werner's study is mainly based on these, and it cannot be said that her task is made easier by the fact that she pays less attention to those spoken in West Africa, and very little indeed to those spoken in the central part of the Continent, which latter would have in many cases illustrated her points more clearly than Zulu, Nyanja, and Swahili. Naturally, the book deals with the spirit of the languages and not with the sound, consequently the author is quite justified in using Steer's simple spelling, instead of a complicated phonetic alphabet, the study of which would require a book for itself. The main difficulty, the various tenses which have no equivalent in English, is handled with great lucidity, and the chapter on word-building is especially to be commended as promising to be of the greatest use to translators by showing the flexibility of the Bantu tongues, which permits of the unlimited formation of new words for the expression of new ideas. Miss Werner deprecates speculations concerning the definition of the various noun classes, but cannot quite resist the temptation herself, and succumbs to their fascination.

For anyone who wants to acquire the general elements of Bantu grammar, or intends to learn some particular language belonging to this family, Miss Werner's study will be invaluable.

E. TORDAY.

Miss Werner asks us to draw attention to an erratum, on p. 59, l. 2, where for "labial" should be read "nasal".

STUDIES IN BIBLICAL PARALLELISM. Part I: Parallelism in Amos; by LOUIS I. NEWMAN. Part II: Parallelism in Isaiah, chapters 1-10; by WILLIAM POPPER. viii, 57-444 pp. University of California Press, Berkeley. August 6, 1918.

This book, which forms Nos. 2 and 3 of vol. i of the Semitic series of the University of California Publications (hence the curious pagination, which starts with p. 57), is an important and valuable contribution to the exegesis of the Bible. These two parts are in a way the outcome of lectures held at that University, and they show the high standard of qualification of the lecturers, and speak also highly for the class of students that attend these lectures. They are studies on a vast scale, undertaken for the purpose not only of showing that the prophetic portions of the Bible rest on a fundamental principle of internal parallelism, but they go much further, for on the strength of that principle the authors endeavour to interpret the Hebrew text, to smooth out obscurities and difficulties which have hitherto baffled the students of the Hebrew Bible. They are bold in the application of the parallelism, for not only do they not shrink from altering the words, but they go so far as to change the places of the verses so as to reconstruct the verse into a harmonious parallelism. In this process of reconstruction, of alteration, and modification they seek first for identical passages in other parts of the Bible or even in the writings of the same prophet, and with the means of these parallel passages new readings are substituted for the old ones. This, of course, is not higher criticism, but keeps within the limits of the lower criticism, which attempts the emendation of the text, through the removal of alleged scribes' errors and other paleographic reasons.

The fact that the prophets' utterances rest on a rhythmic balance of imagery which divides each verse into two parallel halves, in which the same thought found in the first half recurs slightly altered and varied in the second half, has been recognized long ago, and the authors are fully aware of the

labours of previous scholars in the same direction. They are abreast of the literature connected with the modern interpretation of the Bible, and they are also fully aware of the attempt of applying a metrical system to the prophetic and poetic portions of the Bible. But they prefer to apply only parallelism for the elucidation of the text. On the other hand, they are enforcing that principle rather too rigidly, for after all the cantillation by the prophet when delivering his message allows for break of symmetry, and being carried away by his fervour the prophet may sometimes omit one half of that parallel. It would, therefore, be wrong to expect in every sentence a complete parallelism between the two sections. In his introduction Mr. Newman has extended his investigations over the whole field of ancient Eastern literature, and has carried his studies even down to a late period of Hebrew poetry. He has proved the system of parallelism prevailing almost in every one of these literatures. It is the transition stage between prose and rhyme, or metrical poetry, and it is the most fitting expression for that poetical vagueness and for the rhythmical flow of the language among Eastern writers and poets.

The authors have written a very elaborate commentary on the Book of Amos and upon the first ten chapters of Isaiah, apparently prolix but none the less necessary for elucidation of the various problems, and for the justification of their attempts at the reconstruction and alteration of the original Hebrew texts.

One more cause for it was the typographical difficulty, inasmuch as they were not able to introduce Hebrew type into the book. But in spite of it the book will not fail to attract the attention of the biblical scholar. It will be helpful in raising the difficulties even if it does not solve them all and showing, at any rate, the way in which some of them could be encompassed.

One can only express the hope that Professor Popper will not allow his commentary on Isaiah to remain a torso,

restricted as it is now to the first ten chapters, but will complete the book, which, judging from his first part, will also be considered as a valuable contribution to the interpretation of the Bible. Save for the absence of the Hebrew type the book is beautifully printed, and a credit to the California University, under whose auspices it has been published.

M. GASTER.

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THE NEW CHINA REVIEW. Edited by SAMUEL COOLING, M.A.  
Vol. I, No. 1. Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd.  
March, 1919.

With this number Mr. Cooling launches his *New China Review*, and steers into the broken waters of a Periodical adventure. But nothing venture nothing have, and the editor's good courage and cheerful outlook deserve both sympathy and practical support. For, as he says in his Foreword, "It will be admitted that for a magazine, first projected in England in September, to be actually issued in China in the succeeding March and under war conditions, shows that the work is done *con amore*; it also provides a hope that what has been begun, however imperfectly, in such stressful times, may look forward to a fine career in the better days that are to come."

Mr. Cooling has done his part, but, as Dr. Herbert Giles adds in "A few remarks", following the editor's Foreword, "the success of this enterprise is not wholly in Mr. Cooling's hands. He must be supported not only by ready contributors to its pages, but also by a long list of subscribers." And there, of course, is the rub.

The first number starts well with a total of 110 pages, comprising ten articles, besides the Editorial Preface, and Professor Giles's "Few Remarks", and presents a portrait of the late Edouard Chavannes as Frontispiece, and a reproduction of an etching of the Entrance to Silver Island Monastery

by Major W. Perceval Yetts, who also contributes "Taoist Tales".

Among the remaining articles, Dr. Morse recounts the curious vicissitudes of *A Short-lived Republic* of Formosa, a never well-known and now quite forgotten episode of 1895, in which during a fortnight a tragic-comedy played itself out on a stage set on the very brink of disaster—and just missed it.

Père Dore, S.J., gives us the first part of *Le grand pèlerinage Bouddhique*. Mr. Cornaby contributes *Notes on the Chinese Drama and Ancient Choral Dances*, originally written as a reply to inquiries by Professor Ridgeway. Dr. H. Chatley writes on *Studies in Chinese Psychology*, and Mr. Christopher Irving provides an interesting Review, under the head of *Early Chinese Art*, of Professor Foucher's *Beginnings of Buddhist Art and other Essays*, translated by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas.

Such is the initial number of a Review to which all must wish well who care for the intellectual life of the Far East.

L. C. HOPKINS.

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A SUMERO-BABYLONIAN SIGNLIST. . . . Compiled by SAMUEL

A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew at Western Theological Seminary, Chicago. Cloth ; 11½ by 8½ inches. New York : Columbia University Press. 1918.

An exceedingly useful book for those studying the earliest texts and stages of Babylonian inscriptions. The first portion, of 10 pp., gives the archaic (line-formed) signs, which are practically hieroglyphics, turned with the right-hand end downwards so as to show them as they were used by the Sumerian scribes of Babylonia. These are accompanied by the Assyrian forms, but the modest extent of the book has not allowed the author to add their meanings, which would not only have increased the interest, but also the value of

the work. The second part gives the Sumerian signlist from Ur-Nina to the Neo-Babylonian period, and occupies 211 pp. In this the characters are given as written, and are accompanied by the Assyrian forms and values, without the meanings. Lists of numerals, weights and measures, and Assyrian signs (20 pp.) close the volume.

The list of authorities ("Select Bibliography") is very complete and will enable the lucky possessor of these works to control the comparisons, but references in certain special cases in the book itself would have added greatly to the value of the work. In the first section the system of turning the archaic signs with the right-hand side downwards seems not to have been carried out in every case, but this makes no real difficulty to the student, as he can easily detect these exceptions and set them right himself.

The numbers indicating the periods and districts of the various forms used will enable the student to refer them to their right period and province. It is a handy book, as complete as its limited scope allows, and in conjunction with the more detailed works of Amiaud and Mechinau, Thureau-Dangin, Scheil, and Barton, fills a gap in the field of Assyriological research.

T. G. PINCHES.

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A GUIDE TO TAXILA. By Sir JOHN MARSHALL, Kt., C.I.E.  
Calcutta, 1918.

A GUIDE TO SĀÑCHI. By Sir JOHN MARSHALL, Kt., C.I.E.  
Calcutta, 1918.

During the last year two very useful guide-books have been brought out by Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology in India. They are based on the excavations and researches carried out by Sir John Marshall personally at Taxila and Sāñchī, of which the full details will be found in the annual reports of the Archaeological Survey of India for several years past. These guide-books are intended to

be used by visitors to these sites ; they are light and portable and may be studied with profit not only by those able to visit Taxila or Sāñchi, but by all persons interested in archæology who have not the leisure or the opportunity to study the detailed reports. All essential matters are dealt with, and with the assistance of these little books it is possible to form a very clear idea of the results of the systematic examination of these celebrated sites have been.

Taxila stands out as the first great Indian city which became known to Europeans, and also as one of those most celebrated in Buddhist legend. The situation is in the valley of the little Haro River, a tributary of the Indus, partly in the north-west corner of the Rāwalpindi District of the Panjab and partly in the Hazāra District of the North-West Frontier Province. This valley is an undulating plain dotted with mounds, and before the commencement of the recent excavations there was little to be seen in it to suggest that the remains of three distinct cities lay hidden beneath its surface. The upper portions of a few Buddhist stupas were visible ; one of them split through the centre, locally known as the Chhir-tōp or Split Tope, a witness to the misdirected zeal of former explorers, alone reminded the visitor that this almost deserted valley had once been the scene of human activity.

In this valley Sir J. Marshall has identified the remains of three distinct cities as well as of several important groups of Buddhist buildings. The three cities are known by their modern names as Bhir (i.e. "the Mound"), the most southerly, Sirkap (or "the Severed Head"), rather more to the north, and at about a mile still further north, Sirsukh. The first-mentioned, Bhir, is considered by Sir J. Marshall to be the earliest occupied, and to go back to the period previous to the Greek and Saka occupation. This town awaits complete excavation, and is not described in the work under notice, which is concerned principally with Sirkap and Sirsukh, and with certain of the more important stupas and monasteries

outside their walls. Sirkap is considered on the evidence of style and archæological finds to be the capital of the Greek and Saka-Pahlava period, and Sirsukh of the Kushan period. The principal religious buildings excavated are the Dharmarājika Stūpa (the Split Tope mentioned above) and the adjoining monastery ; the temple at Jauḍiāl, which Sir J. Marshall believes to have been devoted to Zoroastrian worship ; the monasteries and stūpas of Mohrā Morādū and Jauliān on the ridge east of Sirsukh ; and the very conspicuous Bhallaṛ Stūpa, which, as I remember, is visible on the high ground to the north from the southern side of the valley. Mohrā Morādū and Jauliān are exceptionally well preserved, and some good sculpture is still in situ. Sir J. Marshall ascribes the original building of the Mohrā Morādū Monastery to about the close of the second century A.D. If this is the case it must be supposed that the excellent statue of a Bodhisattva (pl. xxiv) is earlier than the building. It may be added that judging from the long hair and the remains apparently of a water-vase below the left arm, this figure may be considered to represent Maitrēya rather than Gautama.

The towns of Sirkap and Sirsukh have been the scenes of the principal excavations, and in each case a considerable part of the outer walls and of the buildings has been laid bare. In Sirkap the most interesting discoveries are the large Buddhist apsidal Chaitya Hall and the elaborate palace built perhaps in the time of the Saka kings, in which Sir J. Marshall finds a strong resemblance to the Assyrian palaces of Mesopotamia. Here, too, some Hellenistic work of great value has been discovered. The most important is the silver repoussé head of Dionysus, figured in the frontispiece. This Sir J. Marshall considers the finest piece of Hellenistic work yet found in India. The bronze statuette of Harpocrates, as a child with a finger to his lips (pl. xv), is also very fine work.

Sirsukh, the latest of the three cities supposed to have been built by the early Kushans, possibly by Kanishka,

and destroyed in one of the Hun invasions about the fifth century, has not been so completely examined as Sirkap, as a considerable number of the most prominent mounds are covered by shrines, graveyards, or modern villages. Enough has been discovered to show its later character.

The Taxila known in Alexander's time, and the subject of so many Buddhist Jātakas, must evidently be identified with the earliest town, Bhir, and the result of further excavations on this site may be looked forward to as likely to afford much information as to the conditions prevailing at the earliest period of occupation.

The remains of the Buddhist buildings at Sāñchi form a remarkable contrast to those at Taxila. Here there was no great capital of ancient renown nor was the site hallowed, like those at Bodh-Gazā, Sārnāth, and Barāhat, by an intimate association with the life of Buddha. The Sāñchi Stūpas owe their existence to the neighbourhood of the once populous but nearly forgotten town of Vidēśā (Bēsnagar) near the modern town of Bhilsa in Bhōpāl, and the Sāñchi remains have been often alluded to under the name of this town which is several miles away from the village of Sāñchi. Buddhist legend ignores them, and yet, as Sir J. Marshall points out in this manual, they are the finest examples now extant of early Buddhist art, and from the time when they first became known have attracted the attention of European investigators. The principal authority on them has hitherto been Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, published in 1854. General Maisey, who made an examination of the ruins in 1849–51, published a work entitled *Sanchi and its Remains* in 1892. This is of great value, as it contains a reproduction of his original drawings of the sculptures made at the time of his first examination of the site, although his views as to their Mithraic origin cannot be accepted in view of the results of modern research. Earlier explorations from 1818 onwards had not been very profitable, and had led to much damage to the monuments. No attempt at preservation

or protection was however made till 1881, and it was not till 1912 that this task was undertaken by the Archaeological Survey, under the direction of Sir John Marshall. The results of this work have been described in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey, especially that for the year 1913-14, and are succinctly summed up in the guide-book now under consideration, published in 1918, a work which supplies a great desideratum for students and travellers.

Up to 1912 visitors to Sāñchi could see nothing practically but the great Stūpa, and although other stūpas and buildings in the group had been discovered by Sir A. Cunningham, they had never been excavated, and very few fragments of masonry were visible above the debris with which they were covered. The great work carried out by Sir J. Marshall comprises : (1) the clearing of the whole site down to the rock on the south side of the hill and down to the ground-level of the existing buildings on the east side, although there are further remains of monasteries at a lower level not yet touched. (2) The complete excavation of the ground round the great Stūpa, and its repair and restoration where possible. (3) The complete excavation of Stūpa No. 3 (shown as restored in pl. ix), the reconstruction of its ruined dome, the re-erection of its fallen gateway, with its sculpture (the only *tōrana* at Sāñchi in addition to the four of the great Stūpa), and the restoration of the staircase and of the balustrade of the plinth. (4) The recovery of several interesting sculptures and other fragments from the balustrade of Stūpa No. 2, which stands further down the hill at some distance from the remainder of the group. (5) The conservation of several temples, especially No. 17, a chaitya temple with semicircular apex, which Sir John Marshall dates about A.D. 650, the little Gupta temple, No. 18, and the mediaeval temple (No. 45), ascribed to the tenth or eleventh centuries, which is certainly the most recent building on the Sāñchi Hill. The above are the principal points to which attention is drawn, although the list is by no means complete.

Perhaps the most important result of Sir J. Marshall's discoveries is the determination of the date of the Stūpas and of the sculptures on the gateways. The discovery that the original stūpa, built by Aśoka, was not the great Stūpa as we now see it but a much smaller structure of brick, built of bricks of the size and style of those used in similar buildings of the Maurya period, and that this formed the core round which the present building was constructed about a hundred years later, puts off the erection of the four great gateways and the execution of their sculptures to the latter part of the first century B.C., and that of the gateway of Stūpa No. 3 to the first century A.D. The sculptures on the balustrades of Stūpa No. 2 are assigned to an earlier period than those of the great Stūpa. These considerations are of great importance in connexion with the history of Indian art. Sir John Marshall has compressed into these little volumes the result of a long period of investigation and inquiry, and there can be no doubt as to their value.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

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MAHARANA SĀNGĀ, THE HINDUPAT, THE LAST GREAT LEADER  
OF THE RAJPUT RACE. By HAR BILAS SARDA, M.R.A.S.  
Ajmer, 1918.

This volume, as the author informs his readers, is the second of a series of monographs relating the lives of the great men of Rājputāna who have made their mark on the history of India. It is much better than the earlier volume dealing with Mahārāna Kumbha, published in 1917, and may be heartily commended. An index has been provided. The author has made use of much unpublished manuscript material in addition to the printed books, and his frontispiece offers an interesting portrait of his hero. Rānā Sanga, or Sangrām Singh, was almost exactly of the same age as his victorious rival, Bābur, who won the decisive battle of Khānnu in March, 1527. The Rānā survived his wounds,

and two years later was poisoned by his ministers. The authorities differ as to the exact date of his death. The author spells the name Sāngā, with long vowels, which may, perhaps, represent the local pronunciation. Other people write Sanga, with short vowels.

A correction of some importance concerns the biography of Mīrā or Miran Bāī, the famous poet princess. She was not the consort of Rānā Kumbha, as stated by Tod, who has been followed by Grierson and other authors. Her husband was Prince Bhojrāj, to whom she was married in Samvat 1573 = A.D. 1516, long after the death of Kumbha, who was killed in Samvat 1524 = A.D. 1467. The lady, who was born about A.D. 1490, died at Dwarka in Kāthiāwār in A.D. 1546 = Samvat 1603. The account of her life, given in section 20 of Sir George Grierson's treatise, *The Modern Literary History of Hindustān* (JASB. part i, for 1888, special number) consequently requires considerable correction.

The author, I think, is mistaken in asserting that the Chagatai Turks, before their conversion to Islam, were Buddhists. So far as I know they were Shamanists, followers of the vague Mongolian magic practices.

The author's success in the preparation of the volume now noticed justifies him in proceeding with the series as designed.

V. A. S.

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CORPORATE LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA. By RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, M.A. Calcutta, 1918.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA. By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1919.

These two books cover almost the same ground, both dealing with corporate life in ancient India, the title of the first describing its scope rightly, while the second has assumed too ambitious a title.

Corporate activities manifested themselves in trade and industry, in popular assemblies from the village council upwards, in religious bodies, and in the manifold development of caste. Mr. Majumdar deals with all these subjects under the heads of economic, political, religious, and social life. Dr. Mookerji treats them according to their organization as guilds, etc., their functions, administrative, judicial, and municipal, and their constitution, with special notice of some important corporations and public institutions. Both base themselves on much the same materials, drawn from Sanskrit and Buddhist literature and from inscriptions ; and both give good accounts of the various forms in which corporate life existed. But when they deal with what may be called the constitutional history of those forms, the two books differ widely.

Mr. Majumdar seeks to explain his subjects as Indian problems, without bringing them into too close comparison with their English counterparts. Dr. Mookerji's treatment is less satisfactory. Thus his title " local government " may hold good for large popular councils where they existed, but certainly does not apply to all the other corporate activities, social, economic, and religious. He also lays down the dictum, " The truth is that India is fundamentally one physically and culturally " (p. xii)—an assertion that requires qualifications at the present day and is absolutely wrong when applied to ancient times, and that vitiates the whole of his treatment. He also remarks with disapproval, " Others again have sought to interpret and appraise Indian culture in terms of the fundamental concepts of Western social progress and civilization " (p. xiii). If he does not himself do that ostensibly, yet he does not escape that error, for he admits, " I have been driven to the necessity of using, for instance, such familiar terms of Western political experience as guilds (craft-guilds and merchant-guilds), partnerships, municipalities, and the like, but they do not always imply precisely corresponding institutions in Indian politics with

an exact identity of structure and functions" (p. xiv). Now there was no such necessity, because he could have expressed himself in other words. This preference for inexact Western terms has blurred the differences that he acknowledges, and he has even needlessly indulged in other Western terms, such as "sanitation", "administration of the Poor Law", "ranchmen" (for those who raised cattle), with the result that Indian institutions are presented in what is hardly their true appearance.

Mr. Majumdar on the whole treats his subjects chronologically, tracing their nature and modifications as far as possible with regard to historical sequence. But Dr. Mookerji throws historical consistency aside. He points out "that the evidence derived from South Indian inscriptions is far more copious and elaborate than that from the northern"; hence, the northern evidence being deficient, he adds, "The gaps and deficiencies of the northern evidence are, however, supplied and made good by the southern" (p. 147). Accordingly he says: "Another point requiring mention is that in citing South Indian evidence I have had reasons to depart from the chronological limits of the ancient period of Indian history and to bring within its purview certain passages of what is generally regarded as the mediaeval period of that history" (p. xv). The northern evidence begins with the Vedas (which he calls eternal documents ! p. 35), and closes much earlier than the southern evidence is available, which begins about the ninth century A.D. (p. xvi). Also there is much difference between the Aryan north and the Dravidian south. To ignore the historical and ethnic differences and lump the two classes of evidence together is unjustifiable and misleading.

Both authors speak of the *popular* assemblies or councils as "democratic", but the constitutions do not warrant that description. It is highly improbable that the lower classes ever had elective power along with the upper classes, especially after the brahmans established their theories

about the degradation of the lower castes. Even supposing, however, that the people generally did elect the members of those assemblies, the rules that defined the qualifications of members required a knowledge of sacred and legal books that could rarely have been found outside the brahmans, and so must have given the brahmans an assured preponderance in those assemblies. Brahmanic claims and real democracy would have been a strange couple.

This brings us to a subject of essential importance. Mr. Majumdar treats of the castes historically, and offers evidence and makes many sound comments about them, and especially about the brahmans and their claims, though he has hardly scrutinized popular corporate life with reference thereto. Dr. Mookerji practically ignores this subject, and a perusal of his pages would rather suggest that caste had little bearing on such popular life. This subject and possible differences between Aryan and Dravidian require more elucidation. It seems that the northern evidence of marked corporate activities is most copious before brahmanic power became supreme (both authors drawing largely from Buddhist sources), and fails about the time when Brahmanism finally established its sway in North India, and similar coincidences seem discernible in South India. This comment is not put forward as a definite assertion, but to suggest a line of further investigation.

Both authors quote Sanskrit passages, and those in Mr. Majumdar's book are not free from mistakes, but those in Dr. Mookerji's book contain many errors; thus on p. 117, in one note of four lines, there are three errors. Mr. Majumdar's book has the serious defect that it has no index. Dr. Mookerji's book has been printed at the Clarendon Press and possesses all the perfections of the products of that Press (except those errors), and it has received a too commendatory foreword from Lord Crewe. Mr. Majumdar's book was printed at Calcutta and lacks all those outward advantages; nevertheless, it is certainly the better and more trustworthy

treatise, written more sanely and with no political flavour, such as is perceptible in the other book.

F. E. P.

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**THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF HINDU JURISPRUDENCE.** By PRIYANATH SEN, M.A., D.L. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1918.

This book contains the Tagore Law Lectures delivered in 1909, which have at length, after serious mishaps, been published nine years after the author's death. It is not customary to review law books in this Journal, but this volume deserves an exception because it deals with and expounds the principles that form the basis of Hindu jurisprudence, modern decisions being noticed only in so far as they affect those principles. The various departments are handled in turn, as ownership, transfer, prescription, succession, parental and marital relationships, contract, torts, etc. The work is an excellent exposition of Hindu principles, written with insight and lucidly, and it is conducted in at times a rather too appreciative spirit.

F. E. P.

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**SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES.** By Professor JADUNATH SARKAR, Indian Educational Service. pp. 508. Calcutta : Sarker & Sons ; London : Luzac & Co. 1919. Price 10s.

The reputation of Professor Jadunath Sarkar as a sound critical historian which was established some years ago by the early volumes of his *History of Aurangzib*, still incomplete, will be confirmed and extended by his new volume on Shivājī or Sivājī, the famous Marāthā chieftain.

The author is fully justified in his assertion that "a new and critical study of Shivājī's life and character has long been due", much material having accumulated since Grant Duff published his standard *History of the Mahrattas* in 1826,

nearly a century ago. The silence of the author's preface, dated in April, 1919, concerning the first volume of *A History of the Mārāthā People*, by Messrs. Kincaid & Parasnīs, published in 1918, amounts to a tacit condemnation of that partisan book.

Although it is true that Professor Sarkar's treatment of the thorny subject of Sivājī will enhance his reputation with dispassionate readers, it will have a different effect upon the ardent admirers of the creator of the Marāthā nation, and may be expected to goad them to fury. Indeed, angry criticism has begun already. The professor, an Eastern Hindu, detached from the influences which mould opinions in Western India, does not mince his words. In justification of the minute detail and considerable length of his treatise he observes that : "From the purely literary point of view the book would have gained by being made shorter. But so many false legends about Shivaji are current in our country and the Shivaji myth is developing so fast (attended at times with the fabrication of documents) that I have considered it necessary in the interests of historical truth to give every fact, however small, about him that has been ascertained on unimpeachable evidence, and to discuss the probabilities of the others."

The critical Bibliography (pp. 500-507) is still more outspoken. The author reviews all the sources, Marāthī, Hindī, Persian, English, and Portuguese, giving first place to the English records as being "extremely valuable", and "absolutely contemporary with the events described and preserved without any change or garbling". On the other hand, he has a poor opinion of nearly all the Marāthī books. An alleged old chronicle, known as the *Mahābleshwar Bakhur* and published by Mr. Parasnīs, is roundly denounced as being "full of palpable historical errors and deliberate fabrications", probably the result of the efforts of the Rājā of Sātāra in 1840. Few people are in a position to form a well-founded judgment on that proposition. The absence of an index

is a serious deficit in Professor Sarkar's book, which should be remedied in the next edition.

So much may suffice concerning the author's work regarded as a conscientious presentation of recorded facts. A few words may be devoted to his frank expression of opinion on certain matters concerning which much controversy has been aroused. He affirms boldly and truly that : "the acquisition of Jaoli (Jāoli) was the result of deliberate murder and organized treachery on the part of Shivaji. His power was then in its infancy, and he could not afford to be scrupulous in the choice of the means of strengthening himself. . . . The only redeeming feature of this dark episode in his life is that the crime was not aggravated by hypocrisy. All his old Hindu biographers are agreed that it was an act of murder for personal gain, and not a human sacrifice needed in the cause of religion. Even Shivaji never pretended that the murder of the three Mores was prompted by a desire to found a 'Hindu *svarāj*'.

" This last touch of infamy it has been left to the present generation to add . . . none of the genuine old historians of Shiva could anticipate that this line of defence would be adopted by the twentieth century admirers of the national hero ; they have called the murder a murder. It is pitiful to find Mr. Kincaid trying to persuade himself and the public that his hero is entitled to the 'benefit of the doubt'. There is no doubt."

Professor Sarkar gives a good account of the assassination of Afzal Khān, but his acceptance of the Marāthā notion that the Bijāpur general first tried to stab Sivājī seems to be inconsistent with the known facts. The author appears to be right in differing from Ranade, and in holding that the great raid on the far south was a "campaign of plunder", not an operation of high policy. He quotes a Madras official record to prove that the whole of the Carnatic was "peeled to the bones".

Professor Sarkar's bold and deliberately provocative book

merits the closest study. Critics who may dispute his statements of fact or controvert his opinions will find difficulty in confuting an opponent so well equipped with first-hand knowledge.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

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#### NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF EL-YEMEN

The Life of the imam el Qasim (B.M., Or. 3329) quotes largely from the sayyid Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Salâh esh Sharafi, who is not mentioned by Brockelmann. The Life attributes to him the following books :—

شرح البسامية الصغرى   سيرة اهل البيت  
شرح الاساس الكبير   شرح الاساس الصغير

This information is confirmed by the Buriat ul Murid (B.M., Or. 3719).

The Life of Qasim attributes to Ahmed the verse :—  
“To him who tells of what happened in Muda‘ and Thula  
I say : This was not the deed of man.”

This verse is quoted in a MS., of which Edinburgh University possesses a modern copy, as the work of the author. This MS. is only the second part of a book, and has no title, but as it tells the history of Qasim and his son Muayyad billah it may be presumed to be the conclusion of the

سيرة اهل البيت.

A. S. TUTTON.

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**REPORT OF THE JOINT SESSION of the  
Royal Asiatic Society, Société Asiatique,  
American Oriental Society, and Scuola  
Orientale, Reale Università di Roma,  
September 3-6, 1919**

IN accordance with the agreements concluded between the above-named Societies and published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1917, pp. 186-7), *Journal Asiatique* (1918, pp. 168-78), Journal of the American Oriental Society (1918, vol. xxxviii, pp. 310-17) a Joint Session was held in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society on Wednesday to Saturday, September 3-6, 1919. The arrangements had been made by the Standing Committee, acting under the authority of the Council of the Society and in correspondence with the allied institutions. The following is a skeleton of the programme :—

- Sept. 3. 11-12.30. Reception.  
12.30. Joint Meeting of the Standing Committees of the Societies.  
2.30-4.30. Plenary Meeting.
- Sept. 4. 10.30-12.30. Sectional Meetings, the Sections being designated respectively: I. The Near East, Persia, and Islam. II. The Indian Sphere. III. Central Asia and the Far East.  
2.30-4.30. Visit to the Oriental Religions Rooms in the British Museum.
- Sept. 5. 10.30-12.30. Sectional Meetings.  
2.30-4.30. Visit to the School of Oriental Studies.  
5. Joint Meeting of the Standing Committees of the Societies.
- Sept. 6. 10.30. Joint Meeting of the Standing Committees of the Societies.

11-12.30. Plenary Meeting, Discussions and Resolutions.

2.30-4.30. Visit to Kew Gardens.

7.30 for 7.45. Banquet at the Imperial Restaurant, Regent Street.

The following is a list of participating Members of the French and American Societies and of Members of the Royal Asiatic Society announced from abroad :—

SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE

M. Émile Senart, President.

M. Anesaki.

M. J. Bacot.

M. R. Basset.

M. P. Boyer.

M. Clermont-Ganneau.

M. Henri Cordier (and Mme. Cordier).

M. A. Danon (and M. Vitali Danon).

M. Dautremer.

M. Finot.

M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes.

Miss Alice Getty.

Mlle. Suzanne Karpelès.

M. Sylvain Lévi.

Mme. Denise le Lasseur.

M. L. Massignon.

M. A. Moret.

M. Pelliot.

M. J. Roeské (and Mme. Roeské).

M. D. Sidersky (and Mme. Sidersky).

M. Fr. Thureau-Dangin.

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

Professor J. H. Breasted (ex-President).

Professor J. H. Woods (representing the President).

Professor A. T. Clay.

Professor W. H. Worrell.

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Dr. G. G. Furlani (Italy).

Professor Sten Konow and Fru Konow (Norway).

Professor E. Naville (Switzerland).

Professor J. Ph. Vogel and Mme. Vogel (Holland).

## RECEPTION

A large company was present at the opening of the Session on September 3, at 11 a.m. In the regretted absence of the President, Lord Reay, and the Director, Sir Mortimer Durand, the chair was taken by SIR CHARLES LYALL, Vice-President, who said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I stand here as an unworthy substitute for our President, Lord Reay, who, greatly to his regret and ours, is unable through ill-health to be present on this auspicious occasion. He has, however, sent me a letter, which I will read to you.

LAIDLAWSTIEL, GALASHIELS.

*September, 1919.*

MON CHER PRÉSIDENT,—Je regrette infiniment ne pouvoir me rendre à la Session des Orientalistes, mais mon état infirme rend tout déplacement difficile.

Nos Collègues du Continent sont sûr de trouver un accueil cordial de la part de la Royal Asiatic Society, qui est bien heureuse de pouvoir leur souhaiter la bienvenue. Elle est convaincue qu'il y a un vaste champ ouvert aux études des Orientalistes. Les rapports avec l'Orient sont de plus en plus intimes. Pour une appréciation réciproque une enquête continue est nécessaire dirigée par des savants qui se consacrent à la solution des problèmes que nous trouvons en Orient. Si une Ligue des Nations est appelée à faire disparaître les causes de différends internationaux, la Ligue des Orientalistes contribue à dissiper des préjugés qui sont le résultat de l'ignorance. Le bolchevisme qui menace l'Orient et l'Occident nous oblige à redoubler nos efforts pour établir l'entente entre l'Orient

et l'Occident, tous deux menacés par ce flot sanguinaire d'anarchie. Avec la bénédiction de Dieu nos études pourront contribuer à donner des garanties de paix dans l'époque de restauration que nous venons d'inaugurer. Nos travaux forment un échelon entre ceux de nos prédecesseurs et ceux des générations futures.

La Session exercera, j'en suis sûr, une influence salutaire sur la reprise de nos recherches en leur donnant une direction qui augmentera leur valeur.

Avec mon meilleur souvenir à nos collègues et les assurances de ma cordiale amitié.

REAY.

The last time the triennial International Congress of Orientalists assembled was at Athens in 1912. A meeting was to have taken place at Oxford in 1915, but the War made it impossible. The great catastrophe of the War has overthrown many other things besides empires. During its continuance study was impossible. Now, with the advent of Peace, is the epoch of reconstruction, and this, in Oriental Studies in the West, is the inaugural meeting for the establishment of fresh effort.

The proposal for this reunion, as you have no doubt read in the papers published in the *Journal Asiatique* and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, came to us from M. Senart, whom we rejoice to welcome here to-day. It was his view that the triennial Congresses of Orientalists had become rather occasions of entertainment and amusement than serious reunions for the purpose of a review of progress achieved and plans for future work in common, and that it was advisable that Orientalists should meet more frequently for the purpose of keeping in touch with one another, and considering the plans most likely to advance the cause of Oriental research among the nations which the War has brought together in a bond of the closest friendship and common aspirations. These representations, as you have

seen, were warmly received by the Royal Asiatic Society, and the present gathering is the result.

We are all most happy to welcome you here; and we trust that our discussions will be fruitful and full of promise for future work in common.

Among the changes wrought by the War is the severance from the Turkish Empire of most of its outlying provinces, and, contemporaneously, the entry of India as a nation upon the field of politics. It is not my business to discuss these two great political facts, but the former opens to scientific and archaeological research vast tracts hitherto in a great measure closed; and the latter makes it more than ever the duty of European students to endeavour to realize the true nature of Indian mind, thought, and aspiration, and to trace and record the history of progress in that great country before change has obliterated all the salient features of its past. “The unchanging East!” Never was a less accurate phrase put forth among the commonplaces of journalism. My own near contact with the East, in India, dates from fifty-two years ago. I left it after thirty-one years spent in the midst of its peoples, in an endeavour to realize their needs and natures. Now twenty-one more years have passed since I left it, and I feel that any judgment I may pass on questions now pressing for solution there is almost entirely out of date. No doubt the same is the case with other fields of study in the East, even Arabia, the land where the conditions of climate and physical features make the life of the people subject to a standard which seems to present little variation from age to age. Yet there also, in the Arab renaissance, there is a wonderful change setting in, the end of which none of us can foresee.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have only again to wish you a cordial welcome, and to express a hope that your visit here may be pleasant and profitable.

In gracefully acknowledging the welcome M. ÉMILE SENART, President of the Société Asiatique, stated the reasons which

led him to put forward the proposal for a federation of Asiatic Societies in the Allied countries, and dwelt upon the opportunities for fruitful co-operation.

On behalf of the American Oriental Society PROFESSOR J. H. BREASTED (ex-President) and PROFESSOR J. H. Woods (representing PROFESSOR LANMAN) conveyed the good wishes of their Society for the success of the gathering, which had the hearty concurrence of their Society. Professor Woods mentioned that, having been resident in Paris while the plan was under consideration, he had been a witness of the enthusiasm which had attended its inception.

On behalf of Italy DR. GIUSEPPE FURLANI made a cordial response.

MR. F. W. THOMAS, in recommending the programme to the attention of the gathering, dwelt upon the difficulties of time and distance which had rendered it anything but concerted. He referred to the large number of eminent savants representing the French Society; America also, though the absence of Professor Lanman through illness was greatly to be deplored, had sent a number of distinguished scholars, while Italy, in spite of the unfortunate detention of the Principe di Teano, its officially nominated delegate, had nevertheless furnished a spokesman.

After the Reception a joint meeting of the Standing Committees of its Societies was held, M. SENART in the chair, and various projects for combined literary effort were made the subject of a preliminary discussion.

#### PLENARY MEETINGS

The afternoon meeting was devoted to the reading of selected papers having a special interest or covering a wide field. There was no discussion, but M. SENART, who was in the chair, expressed his acknowledgments to the several speakers. The following are abstracts of the papers read:—

1. SIR CHARLES LYALL: *Some Recent Editions of Old Arabic Poetry*.—Sir Charles Lyall drew attention to the important

work which, since the date of the last Congress of Orientalists in 1912, had been carried out in England in the publication of hitherto unedited texts of ancient Arabic poetry. In this, as in other things, the War had had a disturbing and delaying effect. In 1913 the Gibb Trustees published the *Dīwāns* of 'Abid b. al-Abraṣ and 'Āmir b. at-Tufail, the former one of the oldest poets of whom we have remains, and the latter a contemporary of the Prophet. But for the outbreak of war the same series would have included the *Dīwāns* of Tufail al-Ghanawī and at-Tirimmāḥ, the former pre-Islamic, a master in the description of horses, the latter a poet of the first century of Islam. In both cases the text, edited by Mr. Krenkow, was in print, but the rest of the edition could not be completed owing to War delays. At-Tirimmāḥ's *Dīwān* is one of the most curious productions of this class of literature; the poet, a man of the tribe of Tayyi', was for some time a schoolmaster at Bamm in Southern Persia, and was a townsman all his life; but his poems throughout ape the Beduin manner, and use, often in amusing misapplications, the idioms appropriate to the desert. He is essentially an imitator and a copyist; but the confidence with which he utilizes the material of others, sometimes in the most incongruous combinations, affords us a measure by which we may judge the originality of the older poetry which he attempted to rival.

Then we have to thank the devoted labour of Mr. Macartney for the *editio princeps* of the *Dīwān* of Dhu-r-Rummah, issued this year by the Cambridge University Press, a splendid piece of work, both in the industry with which the text has been prepared for the press from a great variety of MS. sources and in the typography in which it has been expressed.. No poet is more often quoted by lexicographers and authors of works on belles-lettres than Dhu-r-Rummah; but hitherto his poetry, except for the long first ode rhyming in -bu, has been little known to Western scholars. He lived towards the end of the first century of Islam, and died early in the second, after

a short life of some forty years. The native critics give him a high place among poets of the nomad life, especially in the great variety and appropriateness of his similes and in the felicity of his language. In panegyric and satire, on the other hand, he was less successful. To us this disqualification will not be to his discredit.

Another poet of the remotest antiquity whose compositions have now for the first time been published is 'Amr b. Qami'ah, who was Imra' al-Qais's companion in his journey to Constantinople some time between A.D. 530 and 540. As he was then, according to tradition, about 90 years of age, most of the pieces now printed must date from the fifth century. He belonged to a family of poets, which included among others the great names of Tarafah and Maimūn al-A'shā ; there is, therefore, no difficulty in accounting for the survival of his poems, which must have been transmitted by the established agency of the family *rāwīs*, or rhapsodists. This small volume, edited by the speaker, is also published by the Cambridge University Press.

It was hoped that it would have been possible to present to this Conference complete the edition, with translation, of the great anthology of ancient Arabic poetry called the *Mufaddalatīyat*, on which he, Sir Charles Lyall, had been engaged for several years. The two volumes were exhibited on the table. The second, containing the translation, was finished ; but of the first, comprising the text with the commentary of al-Qāsim al-Anbārī, something over a hundred pages were still lacking. Since the Armistice it has been possible to renew relations with the printers at Beyrouth, and there is now a prospect of the edition being soon completed. On the importance of this anthology, which, with the celebrated collection of long odes called the *Mu'allaqāt*, generally ascribed to the famous Hammād ar-Rāwiyah, a contemporary of al-Mufaddal, constitutes the oldest and largest body of selections from the mass of the old Arabian poetry, it is unnecessary to dwell. An account of it was given in a lecture

addressed to the British Academy on May 22, 1918, which was probably known to most of those present.

There still remains much to be done before the great body of ancient Arabic poetic literature can be said to have been thoroughly explored. The most important work is perhaps the edition of the *Dīwān* of Maimūn al-A'shā, on which Professor Rudolf Geyer, of Vienna, has been engaged for many years. Another very interesting author is 'Adī b. Zaid, the Christian poet of al-Hirah, on whose *Dīwān* Mr. Krenkow has for some time past been busy.

2. M. HENRI CORDIER read *Some Notes on Chinese Studies* (1902-19). At various times he had reported on the progress of Chinese Studies down to the year 1902 ; to-day he would bring down his paper from 1902 to the present year, without aiming at completeness by reason of the War ; however, with *T'oung Pao* it would be possible to fill the inevitable gaps. *T'oung Pao* had weathered the storm, and in spite of the exorbitant price of paper and printing had reached the age, ripe for a periodical, of thirty years. Chavannes, who, with the speaker, was joint editor of *T'oung Pao*, died on January 29, 1918, and the loss of this great Chinese scholar was severely felt not only in France, but also wherever Oriental studies are prosecuted. M. Cordier mentioned also the deaths of the two promising scholars, Robert Gauthiot, a victim of the great War, and Raphaël Petrucci, who had made a special study of Chinese Art. Dr. H. A. Giles had given (1918) a new edition of his *Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art* ; he had with a great delicacy of feeling founded at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres a prize for works by French scholars on China, Japan, and the Far East at large.

M. Cordier then gave an account of stone sculpture in China, and spoke of the special labours of Dr. Victor Segalen, who had recently died, and of Chavannes. Music had not been neglected, and had been the object of research on the part of Maurice Courant, Laloy, Soulie, and Matthieu. Very

useful work had been done by the much-to-be-regretted W. W. Rockhill and F. Hirth in translating the *Chu fan chi*, the work of the thirteenth century Chinese traveller Chao Ju-kwa, and by the former in giving in *T'oung Pao* his notes on the *Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago during the fourteenth century*, while the latter had translated from Se-ma Ts'ien the story of Chang Kien's voyages in Western Asia. The discovery of fragments of tortoise shells in 1899 in the Nou had called forth valuable papers by Chavannes and Lionel C. Hopkins. The travels in Central Asia of Sir Aurel Stein, Paul Pelliot, and von Lecoq had had important results with regard to the archaeology and the knowledge of forgotten and lost languages. Phonetics has been studied by Bernhard Karlgren and Henri Maspero. The Jesuit missionaries in China had done valuable work with their series of *Variétés Sinologiques* and with the books of Father Wieger on Buddhism and Taoism, while the veteran sinologue Father Couvreur had given new translations of the *Ili* and *Ch'un Ts'ew*. Special mention should be made of the innumerable and learned papers of Dr. Berthold Laufer, of Chicago. Space does not permit us to enter into more particulars; M. Cordier's paper will be printed in full in *T'oung Pao*.

3. PROFESSOR A. T. CLAY, lecturing on *Semitic Studies in America*, said that in the past his countrymen had been mainly dependent upon German textbooks and translations. During the last few years they had discovered that they had in the country a considerable number, say twenty-five, of young scholars capable of doing first-class research work in Assyriology. He proposed to muster these forces and organize the work. They wished to have a school of their own and compile their own manuals and lexicons. Already there was in the American universities the greatest enthusiasm for the plan, and about twenty volumes of transliteration and translation had been produced. The University of Yale had taken over the work of Sir William Ramsay at Antioch, and the American School of Oriental Research in Palestine,

closed through the War, was about to reopen on an extended scale. At least one professor and several students would be sent annually from Yale to carry on the work. He looked forward to close and fruitful co-operation with the Palestine Exploration Fund and other British agencies.

4. PROFESSOR FINOT read a paper entitled *Les études indo-chinoises en 1919*. After pointing out that in Burma and the Malay Peninsula England had taken the initiative, whereas France had been first as regards Eastern Indo-China, and in Siam both had participated, he stated that he would confine himself to the work of France. The first task of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, upon its foundation in 1889, had been to compile a catalogue of the monuments of which the existence had become known through the investigations of such men as Henri Mouhot, Doudart de Lagrée, Louis Delaporte, and Aymonier. For Cambodia this task, carried out by Lunet de Lajonquière, was accomplished in the publication of the three volumes which appeared in 1902–11 under his name; while for Champa an analogous service had been rendered by M. Parmentier (2 vols., 1909–18). The ruins of Angkor, placed in 1907 under the charge of France, were cleared and described by M. Jean Commaille, whose work was being continued by his successor, M. Henri Marchal. The Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-chine, founded at Paris in 1908, had issued works of importance relating to the Bayon and other Cambodian monuments. In this task General de Beglié, M. A. Barth, and M. Delaporte had laboured. Museums had been established at Phnom-Penh for Cambodia, at Tourane for Champa, at Hanoi for foreign art and the local art of Tonkin. The history and geography of the Indo-chinese countries had been illuminated by the study of inscriptions, commenced by MM. Aymonier, Bergaigne, and Barth, and continued by MM. Finot, Coedès, and Huber, and of the literature, in which connexion mention must be made of the work of Professor Pelliot, of M. Georges Maspéro, MM. Henri Maspéro and L. Cadière. In addition

to the great library of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi a "Royal Library" of Lao MSS. had been established at Luang-Prabang, and in connexion with the same branch of learning a School of Pali at Phnom-Penh. In respect of geography and cartography we are indebted to the work of Jean-Marie Dayot, Doudart de Lagrée, Francis Garnier, and the Pavie Mission, culminating in the great map called the "Carte Pavie". After referring to the statistical atlas of M. H. Brenier, and the geographical, meteorological, and medical services and the Institut Pasteur at Nhatrang, Professor Finot proceeded to deal with the complicated ethnographical and linguistic conditions of the peninsula, mentioning among other names those of Lunet de Lajonquière, Gustave Dumoutier, L. Cadière, Henri Maitre, Professor Cabaton, MM. Guignard, Diguet, Henri and Georges Maspéro. He concluded by referring to the practical difficulties attending such researches among the wilder races, as illustrated by the assassination of MM. Odend'hal and Henri Maitre, and by mentioning the activity of the École in the dispatch of special missions, such as those of Professor Chavannes to Northern China and Professor Pelliot to Central Asia, M. Péri to Japan, M. Parmentier to Java, M. Huber to Burma, and to the position and important work of M. Coedès at Bangkok. The real, though transient, success of the Hanoi Congress of 1902 encouraged the idea of a scientific federation for research among the countries of Eastern Asia.

*THURSDAY, September 4*

2.30. In the afternoon of Thursday the company visited the British Museum, where by the kind permission of the Trustees and the Director, the entrée of the rooms devoted to Oriental religions had been reserved. MR. LONGWORTH DAMES, who had superintended the recent rearrangement of the rooms, acted as cicerone. In the department of Prints and Drawings MR. LAURENCE BINYON exhibited a collection of fine paintings

on silk of ancient date, obtained from China and Central Asia, and DR. L. D. BARNETT, Keeper of the Oriental Books and MSS., had prepared an exhibition of notable MSS., while MR. L. C. HOPKINS showed some extremely ancient Chinese inscriptions on bones.

The company was very kindly entertained by SIR HERCULES and LADY READ at tea in their house at the Museum.

*FRIDAY, September 5*

2.30. The afternoon of Friday was spent at the School of Oriental Studies in Finsbury Circus, the Governing body having kindly approved of arrangements for lectures by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON and CAPTAIN R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, and having also invited the company to take tea.

In his address of welcome SIR E. DENISON Ross, the Director, said :—

“It is my privilege to give you a very warm welcome to this School, and in so doing to express my gratitude to the organizers of this meeting for including a visit to this School in their programme, and thus giving me an opportunity of receiving so many distinguished orientalists beneath a roof, which, though itself more than a century old, contains an institution which may, perhaps, be called a ‘war baby’.

“Among my distinguished audience there are many who have, I know, been interested in the success of this School from the first. There are some who have shown a keen interest in the foundation of such a school as this one for many years past.

“Speaking as one who was formerly a pupil of the School of Oriental Languages in Paris and a student of the Sorbonne and the Collège de France, I may perhaps be permitted to express my special pleasure in welcoming here to-day some of my French friends : Monsieur Senart, the eminent French Sanskritist, and President of the Société Asiatique ; and Professor Boyer, the distinguished head of the French School of Oriental Languages. I take this opportunity also to say what pleasure it gives me to meet my old friend and teacher,

Professor Sylvain Lévi, who has shown a keen interest in the establishment of this School for many years past.

"I trust that in referring especially to the representatives of France I may not appear to be in any way withholding our welcome from those of America and Italy. I may mention incidentally that during the course of the War we have received visits from a number of distinguished American scholars, and that I have been in correspondence with several Italian orientalists who have expressed their interest in the School. It was a matter of great interest to all of us to hear from Professor Breasted that an oriental institution had been started in Chicago, and I am sure we all wish it the best of success."

Sir Denison Ross then proceeded to describe the efforts and negotiations which had culminated in the foundation of the School, making special mention of Lord Reay, the late Lord Cromer, and Mr. P. J. Hartog, Secretary of the two successive Committees. He spoke of the building and the Library, which was being adapted to Orientalist purposes. The number of students during the past session had been 230, divided into three classes: (1) those taking sessional courses, (2) those undergoing an intensive course of five or six months, (3) those acquiring a slight knowledge of languages before proceeding abroad. For regular students a First Year and Second Year Certificate had been instituted, and for advanced studies a Diploma. Of the Bulletin, started on the lines of that of the École Française of Hanoi, two numbers had been issued, and it was proposed to continue the publication at irregular intervals, as the material should become available.

SIR GEORGE GRIERSON exhibited an interesting selection of gramophone illustrations of Indian dialects, drawing attention to characteristic features of pronunciation and tone. Meanwhile, in the large theatre CAPTAIN R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON had commenced to show a series of lantern slides from photographs taken during the campaigns in Mesopotamia, where he had been present in both a military and archæological capacity.

The photographs showed excavations being carried on during the War at the great mound of Abu Shahrain, an ancient site of Elamite and Babylonian civilization, in the desert some distance from Bagdad. After expounding these operations the lecturer passed in review a considerable number of scenes in illustration of modern conditions and incidents in the War.

After the excellent tea, when the company had the pleasure of conversing with several representatives of the School, a meeting of the Standing Committees was held, under the chairmanship of Professor Sylvain Lévi, for the purpose of discussing the literary projects which had been mentioned at their former gathering.

*SATURDAY, September 6*

The concluding general meeting was preceded by a rather prolonged reunion of the Standing Committees, held, under the Presidency of Professor Clay, for the purpose of drafting resolutions. The business of the general meeting opened with a statement by Professor Clay, who continued upon invitation to occupy the chair.

1. The first resolution was moved by PROFESSOR A. A. MACDONELL: "That a sub-committee of the Oriental Societies taking part in this Joint Session be appointed to consider the best means of realizing the scheme of establishing an institute for International Research in India; such Committee in due course to report the result of its deliberations to the Standing Committees of the associated Societies."

THE CHAIRMAN having spoken of the international and American aspect of the proposal, PROFESSOR J. PH. VOGEL seconded it, laying stress upon the same feature. PROFESSOR STEN KONOW urged that in the constitution of the proposed Institute no difference should be recognized between scholars of European and those of Oriental birth. MR. P. P. S. SASTRI having concurred with Professor Konow and having deprecated a duplication of the government institution contemplated prior to the War, the resolution was unanimously carried.

2. MR. F. W. THOMAS moved in the name of the Joint Standing Committee: "That a Committee consisting of Professor Cabaton, Professor Finot, Sir George Grierson, Mr. Blagden, Mr. F. W. Thomas, together with one or more representatives of the International Phonetic Association, should be appointed to continue the work of the Committee on Indo-Chinese Transliteration, which was nominated by the International Oriental Congress of Copenhagen (1908) and reported to that of Athens (1912); the Committee to deal with the representation of the Tones." The proposal was adopted *nem. con.*

3. THE CHAIRMAN proposed that a Report of the Joint Session should be published in the Journals of the Societies.

MR. P. P. S. SASTRI having advocated a publication of all the papers *in extenso*, the BISHOP OF SALFORD recommended a publication of abstracts only, and SIR PERCY SYKES concurred, adding that in the case of papers whose publication in full should have been arranged references should be given to such publication. MR. F. W. THOMAS having represented the delay and heavy responsibilities involved in the larger project, and having pointed out that a single Report, and not three Reports, would be issued by the Societies, the resolution was carried.

4. MR. THOMAS proposed a resolution drawn up by M. Senart on behalf of the Committees in the following terms:—

"That a committee consisting of Messrs. Sylvain Lévi, F. W. Thomas, and J. H. Woods (with possible extension later) should be formed with a view to studying and preparing the publication of a general dictionary of Buddhism.

"The Joint Standing Committee makes a point of stating further that it has considered two propositions, aiming (1) at a publication of the Tibetan *Dul. va*, (2) at a publication concerning the ancient cartography of India and the Far East. These enterprises appear to the Committees extremely interesting, and they consider it a duty to place them on

record at once with a view to proceeding with their execution as soon as circumstances shall permit."

The resolution was adopted with one dissentient.

5. MR. THOMAS proposed in the name of the Joint Standing Committees :—

"That the Joint Session urges upon the Government of India the extreme desirability of procuring, when circumstances permit, facilities for the archæological exploration of Balkh and the adjacent regions. These countries, the ancient Bactria and Ariana, played a supreme part in the history of Central Asia during its most important periods, and represent probably the most interesting region in the world yet unexplored by archæology. The policy of exclusion hitherto necessitated by political considerations in Afghanistan has hindered all scientific investigation of the area, although scholars from the time of Cunningham have fully recognized its great importance."

After a speaker had suggested the substitution of the name Bamian for that of Balkh the resolution was adopted.

6. PROFESSOR STEN KONOW moved that the proceedings of the federated Societies should be regularly communicated to the scholars of the smaller countries, e.g. to the Orientalist Members of the Academies of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium.

Professor Sylvain Lévi deprecated any step at variance with the basis of the federation, and pointed out that the scholars in question could become members of the several societies. After an explanation from PROFESSOR KONOW that the scholars, while not sufficiently numerous to form societies of their own, did not desire to merge their nationality, M. SENART, in an eloquent address, dwelt upon the character of the alliance as a combination of societies, not of unorganized individuals after the manner of the old Orientalist Congresses. The meetings now initiated were of an entirely different nature, as was evident from the mere fact of their annual occurrence. The movement, moreover, was at its commencement, and it

was highly inadvisable to compromise its development. He appealed to Professor Konow to give it time to consolidate upon definite lines.

PROFESSOR ANESAKI undertook to make inquiries with a view to the accession of Japan to the federation.

The matter then dropped.

After an announcement concerning the afternoon visit to Kew and an appeal from Mr. P. P. S. SASTRI for a publication in India regarding the proposed British, or International, Schools of Studies, the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

2 o'clock. For the afternoon a visit to Kew Gardens had been arranged, and about forty members proceeded luxuriously thither in motor-cars which had been procured by the generosity and resource of MR. ROBERT MOND. SIR DAVID PRAIN, the Director, had kindly undertaken to conduct the party, which under his guidance traversed the lawns and visited the hot-houses and other points of interest. The excursion, which provided opportunities for personal meetings and conversation, terminated with a very well-appointed tea, provided by the Royal Asiatic Society at the Kiosk. The return to town was again facilitated by the liberality of Mr. Robert Mond.

7.30. The Banquet, to which the Royal Asiatic Society had invited the visitors from America, France, and Italy, was also honoured by the attendance of the Chinese Minister, Signor Balsamo (representing the Italian Embassy), Sir David Prain, and Sir Hercules Read. The Chairman, MR. LONGWORTH DAMES, in proposing the toast of the Visitors, read a letter from Lord Reay, whose regret for his inability to be present was the more keen as he thereby missed an opportunity of meeting M. Senart, a friend of long standing. The toast was acknowledged by the CHINESE MINISTER, M. SENART, PROFESSOR J. H. WOODS, and SIGNOR BALSAMO. M. SENART, in an impressive and eloquent speech, congratulated the English and French Societies upon the fact

that after about a century of coexistence and many vicissitudes they had found it possible to come together in close and friendly alliance, and to associate with them younger and daughter societies. He dwelt upon the purely scientific and inoffensive purpose of their union, and upon the vast fields of study which lay open to their researches. PROFESSOR WOODS expressed on behalf of the American Oriental Society the satisfaction felt at the association with bodies with such venerable standing, and gave some amusing illustrations of European misunderstanding of American ways. PROFESSOR NAVILLE spoke in English of his student days as a contemporary of Sir Charles Lyall in London, and continued in French to narrate some interesting incidents in connexion with his studies and the progress of Egyptology. SIR PERCY SYKES proposed the health of the CHAIRMAN, who in reply referred to the services of Sir George Grierson, one of whose titles to his personal regard was his Irish nationality, a qualification shared also by the Royal Asiatic Society's Secretary, Miss Hull. PROFESSOR A. T. CLAY proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. F. W. Thomas and Miss Hull for their labours in organizing the Joint Session, which had been an unqualified success. After MR. THOMAS had replied, a picturesque finale was provided by the young Madras Brahman, Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, who volunteered a benediction in sonorous Sanskrit.

During the days of the Session the visiting members were accorded the privileges of temporary membership of the Royal Societies' Club, 63 St. James' Street, and an exhibition of Oriental MSS. was on view in the Library of the India Office. To the authorities of these institutions, as well as to those of the British Museum and the School of Oriental Studies, the Royal Asiatic Society has in due course expressed its thanks.

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**SECTIONAL MEETINGS*****The Near East, Persia, and Islam***

THURSDAY, September 4

10.30 a.m. BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES having been elected Chairman, and DR. BÜCHLER Secretary, of the Section, papers were read as follows :—

1. M. RENÉ BASSET, *doyen* of the Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, read a memoir on the French researches in Northern Africa from 1830 onwards, entitled *Les Études de l'Afrique du Nord*. He insisted particularly upon the support given by the various governments, and called attention to the results obtained in the various fields of study by the École Supérieure, later known as the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Algiers.

THE CHAIRMAN having thanked M. Basset for his paper (of which a more extensive resumé is unfortunately not available), a vote of thanks was passed.

2. PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH read a paper on *The Historical Content of the Diwān of Buhturī*, wherein he showed how the Chronicle of Tabarī could be supplemented from this source for the anarchical period of the third century of Islam, and collected some materials from the poet's statements for the history of the clerical profession in Baghdad.

A vote of thanks to Professor Margoliouth was passed.

3. DR. R. A. NICHOLSON : *The Asrār-i-Khudī, a Moslem interpretation of Vitalism, by Sheikh Muḥammad Iqbāl of Lahore.*—The *Asrār-i-Khudī*, a Persian Maṣnavī, was first published at Lahore in 1914. The author has studied modern European philosophy and holds degrees from the Universities of Cambridge and Munich. His aim is to bring about the regeneration of Islam, and with this vision before him he demands that every Moslem shall reform himself. Inasmuch as reformation depends on self-knowledge, the question arises whether *khudī*—self-consciousness, in its individual aspect individuality, personality—is real, or merely an

illusion of the mind. Iqbāl sees that Hindu philosophy and Islamic pantheism have destroyed for their adherents the capacity for action which distinguishes the Western peoples. He affirms the reality of the self and vigorously attacks the doctrine of self-negation. Against the idealism of Plato and the pseudo-mysticism of Hāfiẓ he sets the moral energy of Jalāl ud-Din Rūmī, whose *Masnawī* he takes as his model. He lays great emphasis on the value of love—love of Allah and the Prophet—for strengthening and developing the self. Following Bergson, he teaches that reality is not found in Being, but in Becoming ; not in changeless calm, but in life and strife. In describing the highest stage of self-development he adapts to his own ends the doctrine known to students of Sufiism as that of the *insān al-kāmil*, namely, that every man is potentially a microcosm and that, when he has become spiritually perfect, all the Divine attributes are displayed by him, so that he becomes the *Khalifa*, or Vicegerent of God. The poet bids his readers emulate the Caliph 'Ali, in whom the character of the Prophet Man is portrayed. Iqbāl is no friend of nationalism. The Moslem's heart, he says, has no country except Islam. What he has in view is a theocratic Utopian state, with the Ka'ba as visible centre, a state in which Moslems of every race are eternally one.

A vote of thanks to Dr. Nicholson was passed.

4. DR. M. GASTER: *Organization of Archaeological Researches in Asia Minor*.—Owing to the mutual rivalries of the Powers it was not often easy to obtain concessions from the Porte ; for let it be remembered that such a concession constituted a privilege. It gave for a time, as it were, the right to dispose of, or at least to retain, the objects discovered, which the excavators treated as their own property. Thus the fairest and most important monuments of olden times have been scattered among the museums and libraries of Europe.

It was owing to the local beliefs and traditions that these ruins of the past were left intact. Nobody ventured to break into them or to touch anything found therein. Through

the intervention of European excavators the old spell was broken. If they dared to disturb the old resting-places with impunity, why should those living round about not follow their example? And the result has been that wholesale thieving set in, and it was often by a miracle that some of the stolen objects had come into proper hands and thus been saved.

Finally, through the carrying away of all the valuable objects found, only an empty shell was left, which was more or less allowed to fall into ruin or to be covered mercifully by the sand of the desert.

For these reasons it was now submitted :—

(1) That a special international committee should be appointed, on which all the principal states of Europe as well as of America should be represented, for the purpose of centralizing and systematizing the work of exploration and excavation. The Committee should be charged to prepare a scheme for the guidance of those entrusted with the work, and should be able to make representations to the various Governments, which shall have obtained mandates.

(2) That local museums should be established near the places where the excavations should be carried on, wherein all the objects found could be deposited ; or, if found more satisfactory, one central museum should be established for each province, following therein the examples of the Governments of India and Egypt. This would at once reduce to a minimum the tendency to pilfering and secret destruction of valuable finds, and it would also prevent the scattering of objects found in a single spot over many parts of the earth. The objections hitherto raised against such a plan, viz. distance, difficulty of travelling, and insecurity for the objects themselves; no longer hold good. Moreover, the objects found could easily be reproduced by photography and other means, so as to bring them within the reach of scholars in other parts of the world.

The establishment of such local museums would also have

very important results of a moral character. Moreover, by appointing, whenever possible, local members to these local committees engaged in exploration, excavation, or trusteeship of the museum they would win their hearty co-operation.

DR. GARSTANG emphasized the necessity of collaboration by scholars in the conduct of excavations, and referred to suggestions made by himself during his visit to Palestine concerning the preservation of the Palestinian monuments and the appointment of a keeper and inspector of antiquities. He suggested a modified resolution to the effect that :—

" It is desirable that, whatever Power receives the mandate for the Near East or a part thereof, there shall be associated with the Director of Antiquities a Board representing the archaeological interests of America, France, Great Britain, and Italy, which shall advise, and in some cases decide, upon questions of general interest to be submitted to it."

PROFESSOR J. H. BREASTED stated that similar resolutions had already been submitted to the Peace Conference for embodiment in the Treaty with Turkey. SIR CHARLES LYALL called attention to the resolutions presented to the Peace Conference by the British Academy. MR. OFFORD suggested that in view of the insecure conditions monuments should not be left in the charge of the countries where they are found. PROFESSOR NAVILLE welcomed the resolution, and illustrated the difficulty of preserving archaeological finds intact among populations initiated into their monetary value.

A vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Gaster.

5. M. DANON read two papers, entitled respectively *Légendes turques sur les Kizil-Baches* and *Fragmens de versions turques de la Bible*.

The first paper dealt with two unpublished Turkish documents (end of the sixteenth century) concerning the religious organization of the Kizil-bashes, or of a Muhammadan sect among them, their sexual communism and weekly rite in its celebration.

The three MS. fragments treated in the second paper belong to the Bible and the post-Biblical literature. They are (1) six leaves of a Karaïte version in Hebrew characters of the Proverbs of Solomon, the author being probably Abraham b. Samuel Firkovitz, author of a similar version of the Pentateuch (published at Ortakeuy-Constantinople in 1832-5), as is shown by the absence in both translations of the inversion proper to Turkish syntax; (2) a version of Ecclesiasticus, or the Book of Wisdom of Ben-Sira, perhaps due to a Greek speaking the Turkish dialect of Kaisarië in Asia Minor, dating from the sixteenth century *circa*, and accompanied by a French translation of the eighteenth (?); (3) the romance falsely named after Haigar (Akhiakar) in Turkish, probably a translation from the Arabic, but abridged, as appears from the absence of several proper names found in the Greek original, and having the edifying purpose of showing a pagan minister of Sennacherib, after numerous trials, embracing Islam, or rather monotheism.

A vote of thanks to M. Danon was proposed, supported with some interesting observations by PROFESSOR HAGOPIAN, and carried.

*FRIDAY, September 5*

10.30 a.m. SIR PERCY SYKES in the chair. The following papers were read :—

1. PROFESSOR A. T. CLAY, dealing with the Empire of the Amorites, showed that a much greater importance than had hitherto been recognized attaches to the part played by the Amurru, or Amorites, in the history of the Near East. The information contained in the Old Testament required amplification from other sources, which lent a considerable significance to this people. It was scarcely an exaggeration to speak of a North-Semitic empire under their names.

PROFESSOR GARSTANG, congratulating the lecturer, referred to the co-operation of the American, French, and British archaeological schools in Palestine, and advocated a common organization of libraries, curricula, and plans of work.

Professor Clay was cordially thanked.

2. DR. A. COWLEY: *A Passage in the Mesha Inscription and the early form of the Israelitish Divine Name.*—In the ostraka from Samaria the name is יְהוָה; in the Elephantine papyri it is יְהוָה. It was suggested that these forms both represent the same sound, and that at some time, probably in the fifth century B.C., the practice arose of writing a ה to represent a long vowel. This view was supported by the examination of other names occurring in the papyri. The final ה of the Tetragrammaton (expressing a final *a*) was added to ease the pronunciation, much as in other stems in Hebrew ending in *i*. The longer form of the name, therefore, is developed from the shorter, and not vice versa. It is hardly possible that the full form should be found so early as the time of Mesha. In l. 18 of his inscription, if it is not the name, it must be the verb "to be", and the phrase is probably to be completed לִיהוָה נַשֵּׁת, "that which should be for me," i.e. "my share".<sup>1</sup>

PROFESSOR CLAY remarked upon the great interest of Dr. Cowley's investigation. PROFESSOR LANGDON continued this discussion, and a hearty vote of thanks was passed.

3. M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU gave an account of a Jewish inscription on a mosaic found during the War. The mosaic was brought to light by the British bombardment on a spot near the Mount of Temptation at Jericho. It invited the Jews to maintain their faith by liberal contributions, the character being that of the Galilean synagogues of the first and second century. The "holy place" for which contributions are invited was identified by the lecturer with the *iepos τόπος* of the Essenes, so that the mosaic probably appertained to an Essene synagogue. The site is probably that of the Maccabean fortress of Dok, where Simon was assassinated, or Naära, near Jericho. Probably a scientific excavation would yield important historical information.

M. DANON, commenting on the paper, dwelt upon the reliability of Massoretic tradition, and went on to discuss

<sup>1</sup> This paper will appear in the April Number.

the questions raised by Dr. Cowley and Professor Clay concerning the Tetragrammaton. A vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

4. PROFESSOR BURKITT: *Notes on the Table of Nations (Genesis X).*—Genesis x, the “Table of Nations”, is to be regarded as a unity, part of the work of J, the “Jahwistic” compiler of the eighth century B.C. In this table Shem includes the nations with which the Israelites felt themselves kin; Japheth and Ham, on the other hand, are merely geographical expressions for the nations north and south of the Semites.

The newly discovered “Sumerian Dynastic List” from Nippur, discussed by the late Dr. L. W. King in his Schweich Lectures for 1916, helps us to see that the Babylonian “Cush” in Gen. x stands for Kesh, the earliest traditional seat of civilization in Babylonia (older than Erech), not for the Elamite Kossites.

The fact that Kish and Erech are grouped under Ham shows that the Hebrews understood that the earliest Babylonian civilization (i.e. the Sumerian) was not Semitic. Arpachshad symbolizes the earliest Semitic Babylonian population; Eber, followed by Peleg (i.e. “division”, Gen. x, 25), symbolizes the separation between the Sumerianized Semitic Babylonians and those who, like the ancestors of the Hebrews, remained Semitic in culture and language.

In putting a vote of thanks to Professor Burkitt for his interesting paper, the CHAIRMAN propounded a very original explanation of the name Kush in connexion with the two populations differentiated by their hair.

5. MR. KRENKOW: *The Poetical Remains of Muzāhim al ‘Uqailī.*—The works of this poet mark the transition from the genuine Bedouin to the litteraire of the town, and they manifest traces of Persian influence.

DR. HIRSCHFELD having discussed the paper, a cordial vote of thanks was passed.

The proceedings then terminated.

*The Indian Sphere*

THURSDAY, September 4

10.30. MR. M. LONGWORTH DAMES, Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the chair.

PROFESSOR A. A. MACDONELL read a paper entitled *Notes on Sanskrit Studies at the Present Time*, of which the following is an abstract :—

He dealt with the present state of Sanskrit studies, chiefly as affected by the War, and with their future prospects. He showed how the work of individual Oriental scholars had been interrupted, how some of them had lost their lives, while Societies like the Royal Asiatic of Great Britain and Ireland had suffered both financially and in the amount of scholarly work published by them. The action of the Academies in the promotion of Oriental research had been to a large extent suspended. This was especially the case with the proposed critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. At the present time the funds available for the purpose amounted to £6,000, a sum made up of about £1,700 from subscriptions, a subvention of £1,700 promised by the India Office, and a grant of £2,500 voted by the Associated Academies. Before the outbreak of the War, estimates of the cost of printing had been furnished, the collaborators, most of whom were Germans, had been selected, and the portions of the epic assigned to them allotted. Now that the War had come to an end we were faced with the question how the undertaking should be resumed. The answer to this depends on the attitude which the Academies of this and the Allied countries were going to adopt towards those of Germany and Austria. A suggestion was made as to what that attitude should be.

The War had put an end to a publication of an international character, the Oriental Bibliography, which it was advisable to revive by the co-operation of the Allied Asiatic Societies.

The only department of Oriental research not detrimentally affected was archaeology. In India archaeological work had

been pursuing an uninterrupted course of progress, as shown by the admirable annual reports published by the Director of the Archaeological Survey. The post of Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon had now been filled by the appointment of Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A., of Exeter College, who was pursuing his probationary studies at Oxford. In another region of the East archaeology would positively benefit as a result of the War. The important archaeological areas of Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia would now be under the protection of civilized states and would be scientifically exploited.

As to the future of Sanskrit studies in India and in this country, the prospects were not altogether bright. There were now only two European Sanskrit scholars in India, and, when those two retired, there would probably be none left in the whole of India, either in the educational or the archaeological service. It was for various reasons important that there should be a few such scholars in India, especially those trained in research. Several years ago some Oriental Professors of Oxford and Cambridge recommended to the India Office the establishment of a few scholarships to enable trained young scholars to pursue the study of subjects which could be better learnt in India than in Europe, such as archaeology, ethnology, and the philology of modern vernaculars. Not long afterwards the Government of India started a system by which two or three scholars selected every year from the Universities in different parts of India are sent over to England to be trained in Oriental subjects according to Western methods of research. This system had already resulted in several useful publications. But it was too soon yet to judge how far this plan would succeed in the long run.

The question of how to promote the study of Sanskrit and other subjects by Europeans in connexion with India under present circumstances could probably best be met by the establishment of a British Institute of Oriental Research analogous in its arrangement to the British School at Athens and at Rome, or the French School of the Extreme East at

Hanoi. This would in no way interfere with the proposed Oriental Institute at Delhi, because it would provide for the wants of trained European scholars pursuing these studies in India, while the latter would cater for Indian students not yet trained in research. The main difficulty at the present time would, no doubt, be how to raise the necessary funds. But perhaps the American Oriental Society might be able to co-operate with the Royal Asiatic Society in this matter ; and, if the project could be brought within the scope of the Carnegie fund, the financial difficulties would probably disappear.

MR. F. W. THOMAS called attention to the recently reported proposal of the Bhandarkar Institute in Poona for a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, to be produced in India by the aid of a fund which had been placed at its disposal for the purpose ; also to the announcement of a Congress of Orientalists to be held shortly at Poona under the auspices of the Institute. He also referred to the increasing number of young Indian scholars trained in Europe, or otherwise versed in European methods of research and producing valuable work.

MR. PARGITER acknowledged the good work of Indian scholars, and the same point was enforced by PROFESSOR STEN KONOW and PROFESSOR J. PH. VOGEL, the latter expressing a hope that the proposed Institute of Research in India might have an international character. MR. P. P. S. SASTRI urged that Indians should be associated with the Institute.

2. PROFESSOR E. J. RAPSON : *Notes on the history of the word "drachma".*—The Greek drachma with its multiples and subdivisions was introduced into India by Alexander the Great and his Greco-Bactrian successors ; and the smaller silver coins of Apollodotus and Menander are actually called *drachmæ* by the author of *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, c. A.D. 80. But the word, or its Indian equivalent, has not been found in Sanskrit literature or inscriptions until a much

later date. The form *dramma*, which appears first in the Gwalior inscription of Bhojadeva of Kanauj (A.D. 875), is to be traced to Iran, where the drachma was the ordinary money of account during the Parthian and Sassanian periods. The Rajputs of Kanauj were Gurjaras who came into the country of the lower Indus from Iran by the route through Kandahar, Quetta, and Kalat, probably at the time of the great Hūna invasion in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. The Hūnas and Gurjaras brought with them into India vast quantities of Sassanian coins. Their earliest Indian issues are simply Sassanian coins re-struck ; and their first independent issues are closely imitated from the current Sassanian coins. These are found in great numbers in Marwar, the region of Rajputana adjacent to the country which was first invaded. The next stage is represented by the so-called *Gadhiya-paisā*, coins of thick Indian fabric, but still retaining the original Sassanian types. The coins to which the name *dramma* is specifically applied in the inscriptions, e.g. the Śrimad-Ādi-Varāha *drammas* struck by Bhojadeva, are manifestly connected both by their fabric and by their weight (about 65 grains = 4.211 grammes) with the *Gadhiya-paisā*. They belong to the period when Gurjara rule had extended from the land of the Indus to the land of the Ganges.

SIR GEORGE GRIERSON pointed out that the form *damṛī* should really be written with a cerebral *r*, and was a diminutive of *dam*, and MR. LONGWORTH DAMES concurred in that view. PROFESSOR SYLVAIN LÉVI drew attention to the linguistic significance of the form *dramma*, which by the retention of the original *r* and the loss of the aspirate testifies to its passage through an Iranian medium, a contribution which was cordially welcomed by Professor Rapson.

3. PROFESSOR T. W. RHYS DAVIDS reported upon the *Present Position and Prospects of the Pali Text Society*. He said : You doubtless know how the Society was started in 1881 to publish the historical records preserved in palm-leaf MSS. written in Pali in the alphabets of Burma, Siam, and

Ceylon. Pali was almost unknown in Europe; capable editors could certainly be counted on the fingers of one hand; and there was no money to pay for the printing or for the work of editing. Our utmost hope was to print two volumes a year. Thirty-eight years have since then elapsed. The Society has brought out not only the seventy-six volumes it hoped to be able to do; it has published ninety-six. All the oldest of the texts have appeared. The Society has started a series of translations, and is preparing a much-needed dictionary. The publication for the five years 1914-18 include the completion of the *Dhammapada* Commentary, a new edition of the *Sutta-Nipāta* and of its commentary, and of the *Khuddaka Pāṭha* and its commentary; and finally of the *Niddesa*, a work of the greatest interest, as it is the oldest complete Pali commentary in existence.

The outlook for the immediate future is dark. Even before the War the cost of printing had slowly, but steadily, gone up. Since the War it has increased by leaps and bounds. Something will have to be done. The Society has received donations amounting altogether to just two thousand pounds. Either more donations must come in, or more subscribers, or the Society will have to suspend its work for the present. Two volumes of the dictionary, text and translation of the *Visuddhi-Magga*, the translation of Buddhaghosa's *Attha-sālinī* and other important texts are waiting to be printed.

THE CHAIRMAN thanked Professor Rhys Davids for his presence and his report.

4. DR. J. N. FARQUHAR: *The Historical Position of Rāmānanda*.—He argued that, as it had been shown in recent research that Nāmdev, the Marāṭha Bhakta, an immediate forerunner of Rāmānanda, had flourished about 1400-30; it would be reasonable to take 1430 as the upward limit of Rāmānanda's activity as a teacher. This fits in well with the birth of Pipa, his royal disciple, in 1425, and with the life of Kabir, who seems to have been born in 1440. On the other hand, fresh information from Udaipur suggests that Mirā Bāī

left the Mewar capital and became a disciple of Rai Dās, another of Rāmānanda's disciples, about 1470. The master therefore, was probably dead by this time. Thus the forty years 1430-70 cover the period of Rāmānanda's teaching.

He gave many reasons for disbelieving the common traditional statement that Rāmānanda belonged to the sect of Rāmānuja, especially the fact that he taught that release was to be found in Rāma alone.

He probably came of a Rāmaite sect which existed in South India and used as its chief scriptures, in addition to Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Agastya-Sutikṣṇa-Saṃvāda* and the *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa*, which finds release in Rāma alone and teaches a Rāma-mantra. The latter is one of the chief sources of Tulsi Das's *Rāmāyaṇa*, and a few years ago the *Agastya-Sutikṣṇa-Saṃvāda* was published in a Hindi translation in the North with the biography of Rāmānanda included. It thus seems likely that Rāmānanda belonged to this sect, and brought its theology and its literature to the North with him.<sup>1</sup>

SIR GEORGE GRIERSON complimented Dr. Farquhar on his interesting paper, and proceeded to discuss the question of date, which involved certain difficulties. Dr. Farquhar replied.

The meeting then adjourned.

#### FRIDAY, September 5

10.30. PROFESSOR SYLVAIN LÉVI having been voted into the Chair, DR. VINCENT SMITH delivered an address entitled *Mr. Jayaswal's Paper on Statues of two Śaisunāga Kings*.—The two statues, which are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, were found at Patna about a century ago. They are in the round, and of life size or a little larger. Each bears a short inscription of eight characters, cut on the scarf passing over the back. The characters are exceptionally difficult to read, because the script is peculiar and the forms of the letters are obscured by the parallel grooves marking the folds of the scarf. The only letter repeated is *n*, which appears in a

<sup>1</sup> This paper will appear in the April Number.

curiously late shape, most resembling that found in certain Kushān inscriptions of the first or second century A.C., a date quite impossible for the statues. The inscriptions have been studied carefully for the first time by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, whose work has been criticized by Mr. R. D. Banerji of the Indian Museum. Both the scholars named, who had the advantage of examining the statues at leisure, have published their results in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for 1919, vol. v. Both agree that the statues are pre-Maurya, the oldest known in India, and that they are portraits of the two kings, Aja or Udaya, and his son, Varta Naṇḍi or Nandi (Nanda) Vardhana, who reigned in the fifth century B.C. That result, if established, revolutionizes the history of Indian art. If the Patna statues and their inscriptions are as old as supposed, it must be admitted that the art of sculpture in stone was well matured two centuries before Asoka. The execution of the images is such that it presupposes a long prior development of plastic art.

Dr. Smith was impressed by the fact that both Jayaswal and Banerji agree in the reading of the inscription on the later or B statue as being *Saba khate Vata Naṇḍi*, which is interpreted as meaning "Varta Naṇḍi of universal dominion". The reading seems to be certain. Jayaswal read the second syllable as *pa*, but Banerji points out that on the stone it is *ba*. The correction does not affect the interpretation. The second on the older or A statue is more difficult to read. Banerji feels doubts about three of the eight characters, while concurring with Jayaswal that the inscription refers to King Aja, also called Udaya or Udayim. Dr. Smith, while unwilling to dogmatize, was and is of opinion that the statues are pre-Maurya, that probably they were executed not later than 400 B.C., that the inscriptions are contemporary with the statues, and that the appearance of comparative modernity in the script is not conclusive. For the present the problem must be regarded as not yet definitely solved.

M. SENART referred to the interesting nature of the theory

propounded, but declined to venture upon any discussion of its justification pending the possibility of inspecting estampages of the two inscriptions. SIR GEORGE GRIERSON stated that he had been awaiting the arrival of estampages, which Mr. Jayaswal had sent to him, and they had arrived only that morning. He exhibited them. DR. L. D. BARNETT stated that after a study of the inscriptions he entirely dissented from the view taken by Mr. Jayaswal. He criticized the readings, and drew attention to inconsistencies in the supposed dialectical forms; from the position of the writing on the backs of the statues he concluded that it contained only mason's notes.

2. PROFESSOR STEN KONOW communicated the preliminary results of a renewed examination of *Some Documents relating to the Ancient History of the Indo-Scythians*. Professor Sieg had proved that the Indo-European language once spoken in the north-eastern parts of Chinese Turkistan is in some manuscripts called *Ārši*, while in Uigur colophons it seems to be designated as *Toxri*. Professor Müller is probably right in comparing the statement of Trogus, according to which the kings of the Tokharians were at some period styled *Asiani*, so that the *Asii* and *Asiani* of the classical authors would have to be identified with *Ārši* and the Tokharians with *Toxri*. Accordingly the language variously styled *Toxri* and *Ārši* must be considered as the speech of the old Tokharians, as has long ago been inferred by Sieg and others.

Now the Tokharians have usually been identified with the Yueh-chi and also with the Kushān rulers of India and the Indian borderland. All that we know about the latter, however, seems to show that they spoke an Iranian tongue, closely related to, if not identical with, the old language of the Khotan country, and further that there existed intimate relations between them and the Iranians of Southern Turkistan. Several new facts were brought forward in proof of this, e.g. titles used to describe the Kushān ruler Kanishka and the Zeda inscription, which were also found in

Old Khotanese, and the use of the title *shao*, which is well known from the coin legends of Kanishka and his successors, in Khotanese documents, in such a way that we can infer that the system of government known to have existed amongst the Sakas of India with subordinate rulers styled *shao* or *shahi* was also in use in the Khotan country. We would naturally infer a close relationship between the Sakas, the Kushāns, and the Iranians of Southern Turkistan, if it were not for the supposed identification of the Tokharians with the Yueh-chi and their successors, the Kushāns. This identification cannot, however, be maintained. Chinese sources inform us that the Yueh-chi conquered Ta-hia, and Trogus tells us that the Asiani became kings over the Tokharians. Marquardt has long ago compared these two statements with each other and identified the Asiani with the Yueh-chi and the Tokharians with the Ta-hia, and this identification has now received fresh support through the new discovery of the name *Āršī* for the language apparently called *Toχ̥i* elsewhere. The Yueh-chi were accordingly originally different from the Tokharians, whose migration towards the west, when they settled in Bactria, must be referred to an earlier period than the Yueh-chi conquest. The Yueh-chi, on the other hand, later on made themselves masters of the Tokharians in Bactria as well as in the east, and the title or designation *Āršī*, *Asii*, should be explained to denote these Yueh-chi rulers. It is perhaps itself an Iranian word and connected with the title *alysāna*, *erjhūna*, used in an Indo-Skythian inscription and in Iranian texts from Southern Turkistan. If so, it must be different from the designation Yueh-chi, *Nur-si*, *Kushi*, which is used to denote these rulers themselves. The Yueh-chi or Kushāns were, according to everything we know about them, Iranians, and must provisionally be described as a Saka tribe.

THE CHAIRMAN thanked Professor Konow for his valuable contribution concerning an important matter which otherwise might not have been represented at the Joint Session.

3. MR. F. W. THOMAS: *Some remarks on Indian Cosmography.*

Little has been written concerning conceptions of the cosmos entertained by ordinary unmetaphysical persons in ancient India. Our Indo-European ancestors seem to have conceived a world in three tiers, occupied respectively by the *deivōs*, or "sky-people", the *ghemones*, *homines*, *ἐπιχθόνιοι*, or "dwellers upon the earth", and the subterranean people, *χθόνιοι*, including certain gods, demons, and the dead. The earth was, no doubt, circular, whether flat or otherwise. To the earliest Greeks and Teutons the cosmos was comparable to a pair of inverted bowls, both resting on a surrounding ocean and the larger one, the vault of the sky, enveloping the other. This conception, which was also Babylonian, was apparently not entertained by the Vedic Indians, who paradoxically conceived of the two bowls, each triple, as concave to each other (*camuā samīcī*), a view which, no doubt, survives in the cosmic egg of the Purāṇas. But it clearly underlays the well-known Jaina cosmographic figure, which again reproduces the triplicity of the Vedic conception. The vertical divisions of the Jaina *trasa-nādī*, in conjunction with the akimbo figure, were perhaps derived from misunderstanding of a well-known Babylonian plaque, held out by a demon whose head, claws, and feet appear in front. As Dr. Paul Carus had shown in the *Monist* for 1897, this design was clearly the source of the Indian, Tibetan, and other Buddhist representations of the wheel of life, the idea of circularity being a Buddhist addition. The Buddhist wheel accounted for the later paradoxical shape of Mount Meru, which in most, though perhaps not in all, the Brāhmaṇical descriptions, increases in breadth with its height; this feature is plainly due to its having been originally a segment of a circle. The Buddhist picture had, no doubt, been popularized by the activity of preaching friars, *yamapatta* men, etc. Mount Meru was perhaps of Babylonian origin, as had been suggested, though this was not certain, as the idea of a mountain of the

gods was widespread, *vide* the Greek Olympos, etc. The Indian cosmographies were therefore composed of three several elements, namely, (1) the conception of the two superposed bowls, (2) the conception (perhaps originally due to a *misunderstanding* of the Babylonian tablet) of tiers of existence, (3) the conception of the world mountain, or mountain of the gods.

THE CHAIRMAN thanked Mr. Thomas for his paper.

4. PROFESSOR J. PH. VOGEL: *A British School of Indian Studies in India.*

At a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on March 14, 1916, Professor Macdonell pointed out the necessity of establishing a school of research for Europeans at some centre of Sanskrit learning, preferably Benares.

As regards the desirability of such an institution, all Sanskritists will agree. Many years ago a similar proposal was made by Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology in India.

Notwithstanding the great progress made in archaeological and philological research since Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal an enormous amount of work still remains to be done in every department of Indian studies. It is a hopeful sign that of late years several provincial societies have been started, which devote themselves to historical research. Besides, there are the scientific departments of the Government of India, the Archaeological, Ethnographical, and Linguistic Surveys. As regards the Archaeological Survey, it should be noted that its primary task is the preservation of the ancient monuments, their investigation occupying only the second place. Important groups of ancient buildings, e.g. those of the Imperial Capital, Delhi, have never been adequately described. The museums of India, too, contain a mass of material which has only very partially been explored. There is ample room for detailed studies of practically every class of antiquities. As regards epigraphy, excellent work has been done both by European and Indian

scholars. But side by side with the *Epigraphica Indica* and *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica* we want the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* to be continued. Of this series only two volumes have so far appeared, one of which, dealing with the Asoka inscriptions, is now obsolete.

What has been said about Indian archaeology and epigraphy is also true of linguistic and literary studies, as well as of ethnology, anthropology, and folklore. In these departments, too, we notice a great disproportion between works and workers.

What great results a research institute can produce is proved by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient. The vast amount of scientific work of a very high order accomplished by that school is embodied in the *Bulletin* and its numerous monographs.

What is wanted for India is a research institute on the same lines. The professors should merely guide the students in their researches, besides devoting themselves to their own work of investigation. The following subjects ought to be represented: Sanskrit (Vedic and classic) and Pali, archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics, Arabic and Persian, the modern languages of India, ethnology, anthropology, and folklore. This would mean about twelve chairs at least, but the institute could very well start with a limited staff. The number of scholarship-holders ought to be restricted so as to secure the election of first-rate men. As a centre of scientific research, the proposed substitute would attract many workers from among the Indian Civil Service, the Education Department, and Missionary Societies. It could be established at Simla or some other hill station as a retreat during the summer, whereas in the cold season the members of the school would be scattered all over India, each engaged in his peculiar subject of inquiry.

THE CHAIRMAN, in thanking Professor Vogel for his contribution, regretted that the lateness of the hour precluded an adequate discussion of the important topic, which would,

however, come up for deliberation and discussion at the final general meeting (see above, pp. 137 sqq.).

The business of the Section then terminated.

### *Central Asia and the Far East*

THURSDAY, September 4

10.30. The chief interest attaching to this Section had been aroused by two papers read at the plenary session on the afternoon of September 3, when MONSIEUR HENRI CORDIER gave his exhaustive report on Chinese studies during the past twenty years, and MONSIEUR FINOT his interesting account of the work done for the study of archaeology and ethnology in Indo-China. The attendance at the sectional sitting on September 4, with M. CORDIER as Chairman, was consequently small, only seven being present. The section had, however, presented to it two papers of exceptional interest.

1. PROFESSOR PELLION, *Le Texte Mongol de l'histoire secrète des Mongols*, reported on a transcription of a Mongol manuscript, giving the secret history of the Mongol, or Yuen, dynasty on the throne of the Chinese Empire, A.D. 1280-1368. The original is not available, but a Chinese scholar early in the Ming period published a transcription of it, and it is of this that Professor Pelliot had obtained a copy. The transcription gave no Mongol text, but in parallel columns it gave: (a) the phonetic equivalent in Chinese characters of the Mongol original; (b) a bald word-for-word translation of each Mongol word; (c) a free translation in flowing Chinese. In this way it had been possible to reconstruct the original, thus furnishing most valuable material for the historian, who had hitherto been dependent on the official Chinese *Annals* of the Yuen dynasty.

2. MR. LIONEL C. HOPKINS, *Notes on the Art of the Shang Dynasty Miniatures*, gave an account of the finding of the inscribed oracular bones, which within the past twenty years had been discovered in the Chinese province of Honan. These

were at first tentatively assigned to the early centuries of the Chow dynasty (c. 1122-250 B.C.); but scholars, Chinese and European, who have made them their study, are now agreed in ascribing them to the Shang dynasty (c. 1766-1122 B.C.). In his papers in the JRAS. Mr. Hopkins had already dealt in detail with the forms and meaning of the characters inscribed on these bone votive offerings; but he now exhibited to the Section the actual tablets, of an age exceeding, and in some cases much exceeding, three thousand years. He drew his hearers' attention to the artistic quality of the dragons and other animal forms, as well as to various other signs with which they were decorated. The chief interest and even value in the study of these inscriptions is, however, in the recovery of archaic forms of Chinese ideograms, more nearly than anything before known approaching the original hieroglyphic representations of natural objects.

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PART II.—APRIL

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A Passage in the Mesha Inscription, and the  
Early Form of the Israelitish Divine Name

By DR. A. COWLEY

Line 18 of the Moabite Stone is frequently quoted as the only early instance of the use of the divine name outside Israel. The sentence runs as follows : **וְאָקַח מִשְׁמֵן אֶלְيָהוּ לִי יְהוָה :** **וְאָמַת הַם לִפְנֵי כָּמֶשׂ**. By comparison with l. 12 the lacuna was filled by **אֲרָאֵלִי**, which Mr. Clermont-Ganneau long ago rejected. In l. 12 **אֲרָאֵל** is singular, its meaning is obscure, and it is used with the verb **מִשְׁבַּח** or **וְאָשַׁבְתָּ**, which is also obscure. Here the verb is **מִשְׁבַּח** and **אֲרָאֵלִי** would be plural. The two passages are therefore clearly not parallel and the reading **אֲרָאֵלִי** is not convincing. Hence it has been proposed more recently to read “**אַנְתָּךְ בְּכֹלִי**” “the instruments of J.”, a very weak phrase. As a matter of fact I believe that the passage is to be understood in quite a different way, and I suggest the reading **וְאָקַח מִשְׁמֵן אֶנְשָׁרִי לִי יְהוָה** “and I took from thence what should be for myself (i.e. my own share, as king)”. In order to see if the original would admit of such a reading, I made a careful examination of the stone in the Louvre in April, 1914, when Mr. René Dussaud most kindly put all the material at my

disposal. At the end of l. 17 nothing is left on the stone after 1. The squeeze supplies אָקֵח מִשְׁׂמָךְ, after which there is a stroke | which may belong to an aleph (usually printed as certain), and with a little good will I thought I could see a trace of its head. The lines are not all of equal length. There would be room for אֲנָשֶׁר, or, if the line is long, אֲנָת אֲנָשֶׁר. At the beginning of l. 18 לְיִזְהֹה is clear. The verb "to be" does not occur elsewhere in the inscription, so that we do not know its form in the dialect of Moab. But in Isaiah 16<sup>4</sup> ("the burden of Moab") it has been suggested that יִזְהֹה is used in imitation of Moabite speech. If so, the verb was written with a 1.

As to the rest of the sentence, note first the root סַחְבָּה, usually translated "drag", "I dragged the altar-hearths [whatever they are] before Kemosh" is surely a pointless remark. He would have said what he did with them when he got them there. This translation is generally supported by reference to the Arabic سَحَبَ to "trail a garment", etc. The meaning is, however, more likely to be discovered from Biblical Hebrew. The word occurs

- (1) in 2 Sam. 17<sup>13</sup>, where perhaps it means "drag".
- (2) in Jer. 15<sup>3</sup>, where it certainly means "to tear in pieces". The sentence marks a gradation: to kill, to tear in pieces (LXX εἰσ διασπασμόν), to eat up the pieces, and so utterly annihilate (LXX εἰσ διαφθοράν).
- (3) in Jer. 22<sup>19</sup>, probably "drag".
- (4) in Jer. 49<sup>20</sup>, "they shall tear them like lambs."
- (5) in Jer. 38<sup>11, 12</sup>, torn rags".

It does, therefore, in three places at least out of five mean to "tear in pieces". This gives a real, if grim, meaning to its use here. In l. 12, "I took away the אַרְאֵל (of ?) Doda and tore him in pieces before Kemosh." In l. 17, (of the prisoners) "I took away my share and tore<sup>1</sup> them

<sup>1</sup> I find that Neubauer took the word so in *Records of the Past*, n.s., ii, p. 201 +.

in pieces before Kemosh". This would be as good a spectacle (if that is the meaning of רִית) as the slaying of all the inhabitants of the city in ll. 11, 12. We may compare the treatment of Moab by David, 2 Sam. 8<sup>2</sup>. Still more illustrative is the story of Saul and the Amalekites. In 1 Sam. 15<sup>3</sup> Saul and the people spared Agag and the best of the sheep, etc., when they had been commanded to destroy everything (cf. 15<sup>20</sup>, הַחֲרָמָת as here). In 15<sup>33</sup> Samuel shows Saul his duty by hewing the captive king in pieces before the Lord. The phrase וַיְשַׁפֵּךְ אֶת אֹג לְפָנָיו (LXX ἔσφαξεν, Aq. Sym. διέσπασεν) is exactly parallel to וַיְמַתֵּב לְפָנָיו בָּשָׂר. (The verb שַׁפֵּךְ is a ἄπαιξ λεγόμενον and it has been suggested to read שַׁפֵּעַ "tore in pieces".)

So that the אַרְאָל<sup>1</sup> in l. 12 was a person, for you cannot tear an altar-hearth. From that point of view there would be no objection to the reading אַרְאָל יְהוָה "the Arels of J." But is the form יְהוָה possible for the name here? It has been generally assumed that יְהוָה was the original form, of which יְהָה and יְהָ were abbreviations. Considered

<sup>1</sup> Burchardt, *Altkeurdische Fremdwörter*, ii (1910), No. 92, following Bondi, compares with it the Egyptian (?) *'ir'ir* in the Anastasi papyrus, which he translates "Held", "Streiter". Cf. also W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 79. Gardiner in his edition of the papyrus (*Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, i, 1 (1911), p. 25\*) thinks the context requires "guide", but Burchardt's meaning would be equally suitable. It is very probable that the two words are the same, and that the meaning is "mighty man", whether regarded as protector or as ruler and oppressor. Mr. Griffith, however, points out that *'ir'ir* "is found only in Pap. Anast., i, 23, 9, which is full of foreign (Syrian) words, and this word itself has the foreign determinative, showing that it is not Egyptian". It does not seem to be Semitic, and must therefore be a survival in Syria from some non-Semitic language (Hittite?). In the Bible אַרְאָל was evidently adifficulty, and has often been corrupted to אַרְיאָל by a popular etymology, as if "lion of God". In Isaiah 33<sup>7</sup> is parallel to אַרְאָלִים (R. V. ambassadors) and must mean "champions" or representatives of some kind (cf. 2 Sam. 23<sup>20</sup>, אֶת שְׁנֵי אַרְאָל מוֹאָב, plural). Such a meaning is very suitable in l. 12 of the inscription. The King of Israel had built up Ataroth (i.e. made a fortified place of it) and the אַרְאָל was the governor appointed by him. A discussion of the word דָדָה would involve too long a digression here.

without prejudice, however, the contrary seems certainly to be the case. The earliest form of the name found in any original document is in the still unpublished ostraka discovered by Reisner at Samaria. It there occurs<sup>1</sup> as פ in the final syllable of proper names, e.g. שְׁמַרְיָה. Hölscher (following Kittel) has surmised (correctly, I think, though he does not give his reasons) that it is to be pronounced פָּ Yāv or Yāw. This seems to be the ultimate *Urform* of the name. In similar compounds in the Masoretic text it is written פָּ-, and in the Aramaic papyri פָּ is the independent form. I suggest that these forms both represent the same pronunciation (Yāw), and that at some time between the date of the ostraka from Samaria (say 900 B.C.) and the Aramaic papyri, the practice arose of writing a פ to represent a long vowel, just as in Arabic and late Hebrew an ئ was afterwards used. This view is perhaps not easy to accept, but it is worth considering.

At the end of a word (as בְּרִכָּה) פ is admittedly a mere vowel letter, without any aspiration or guttural sound. It seems strange that it should be so used only when final, and not in the middle of a word. Yet according to the Masoretic orthography it never quiesces in the middle of a word.<sup>2</sup> That it was only a later use of the letter, even at the end of a syllable, is shown by the form נְשָׁרָה (for נְשָׁרָה) in the Pentateuch. But it seems at least probable that similarly אֲבָרָהָם is only a later method of writing אָבָרָם, the פ being inserted to indicate the long ā, just as in mediaeval Hebrew, if it were necessary to point out the ā as a long vowel, we might write אָבָרָם. The Masoretes, however, have treated the medial פ in all cases as a full consonant and doubled the syllable.

<sup>1</sup> See the account by Hölscher in Mitt. d. Deutschen Pal.-Vereins, 1911, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> In names like פָּדָה אֹזֶר, עֲשָׂה אָלָל, however, it has been retained from the root, though not sounded.

This view, if accepted, would lead to far-reaching conclusions. I will not apply it now to the many words in the Hebrew lexicon in which it explains difficulties, since such explanations may be regarded as subjective. The case of proper names, however, is different. These presumably had a fixed pronunciation which was more or less accurately represented in writing, at any rate at a time and place at which the name was familiar. In Sachau's papyrus 1<sup>1</sup> the name בָּנְגָהִי is generally transliterated as Bagohi. It is evidently a compound of the Old Persian *Baga*, whatever the second part may be, and is the same name (though not necessarily the same person) as the בָּנְגִי (or בָּנְגַי) of Ezra 2<sup>2, 14</sup>, 8<sup>14</sup>, and Neh. 7<sup>7, 19</sup>, 10<sup>16</sup>, which appears in Greek under varieties of the form, *Bayovai*, *Bayoēi*, or Græcized as *Bayōas*. These forms can only be reconciled if they go back to an OP. \*Bagawāiy. The *h* would not have been dropped in Hebrew at the time of Ezra if it had been original. On the other hand, if *n* was used to represent long *ā*, it may well have been written in Aramaic, where the necessity was felt of making the pronunciation clear by this device, although the practice had not yet been adopted in Hebrew when Ezra wrote. The *ω* in *Bayōas*, or the *o* in *Bayoēi*, or the *ou* in *Bayovai* was the nearest representation of *i* (= English *w*) which was possible in Greek.<sup>1</sup> (The accent was not a stress accent.) In the papyri then the name was pronounced Bagawāi.

Another illustration is the name Darius as it appears in the Elephantine papyri. In his own inscription at Behistun, where presumably his name would be spelt correctly, he is called (taking Weissbach's transcriptions) in O.P. Dāraiauāš, in Elamite Darijamauiš, and in Babylonian Darijamuš, where the last *a* is absorbed in the

<sup>1</sup> Similarly in pure Greek words an *o* often represents *F* (= *w*), as in *οίκος*, *οἴνος*, for *οἶκος*, *οἶνος*, not for *Foikos*, *Foīnos*. Cf. οαδδεω = **॥** in the Minoan-Greek inscription from Delos, *Rer. Sém.* 1909, p. 402.

*u* (the *m*, of course, in Babylonian represents also the sound of *w*). In the Biblical texts it is consistently spelt דָרְיוֹשׁ (Hebrew, Hag. 1<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>10</sup>; Zech. 1<sup>1-7</sup>, 7<sup>1</sup>; Dan. 11<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>; Ezra 4<sup>5</sup>; Neh. 12<sup>22</sup>. Aramaic, Dan. 6<sup>1-29</sup>; Ezra 4<sup>24</sup>, 5<sup>6-7</sup>, 6<sup>1-12-15</sup>). Probably the original vowels were שָׁרְיוֹשׁ, agreeing with the Babylonian form with which Ezra was familiar. It was afterwards corrupted to the present easier form, and the spelling made consistent by the Masoretes in all passages.

If the form דָרְיוֹשׁ was used by Ezra, it would be current till at least 450 B.C. It is noticeable that of the three spellings occurring in the papyri, this form is found only once, in a document (Sachau No. 30) dated by Sachau (and, I think, rightly) in 494 B.C., i.e. it is copied, like that in Ezra, from the Babylonian pronunciation. It is the earliest attempt at representing the sound of the name. The next extension of the spelling in the papyri is דָרְיוֹוֹשׁ, in the Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription, which appears on several grounds to have been written down in its present form about 430-420 B.C. I take this spelling to represent the same (Babylonian) pronunciation, since the Aramaic follows closely the Babylonian version throughout, viz. Dariyawuš, the *n* being simply inserted to show that an *a* is to be sounded after the *y*, since otherwise the name might be read Dariyūš (much as it was in Greek).

The third form of the name, and the commonest, is דָרְיוֹוֹשׁ, which I take to represent the real Persian pronunciation, Darayawauš—the *n* again being used to indicate the *a*, the first *i* consonantal and the second *i* vocalic.

Thus: דָרְיוֹשׁ = Bab. Dariyawuš

occurs once (pap. 30<sup>1</sup>) in 494 B.C.

דָרְיוֹוֹשׁ = Bab. Dariyawuš

occurs 4 times (pap. 62, ii<sup>5</sup>) c. 430 B.C.

(pap. 1<sup>19,21,30</sup>) in 407 B.C.

**דְּרִיאוֹוָשׁ** = O.P. Darayawauš

- occurs 13 times (pap. 1<sup>2,4</sup>) in 407 B.C.
- (pap. 2<sup>2,4,10</sup>) in 407 B.C.
- (pap. 3<sup>7</sup>) c. 407 B.C.
- (pap. 6<sup>3</sup>) in 419 B.C.
- (pap. 29<sup>1,5</sup>) in 409–405 B.C.
- (Strasb. A<sup>2</sup>) in 410 B.C.
- (Sayce-Cowley H<sup>1</sup>) in 420 B.C.
- (S.C. J<sup>1</sup>) in 417 B.C.
- (S.C. K<sup>1</sup>) in 411 B.C.

There are also three places (9<sup>28</sup>, p. 204 and p. 222) where the reading is uncertain.

It must not be forgotten, of course, that *u* and *hu* are not distinguished in O.P. That question<sup>1</sup> need not be discussed here. Though the pronunciation *hu* might be supposed (wrongly) to explain the spelling **דְּרִיאוֹוָשׁ**, as if it were Darayawahuš, it could not explain **שׁ** (as Darayahuš), since a syllable would then be wanting. The view that **נ** is used as a vowel letter does explain both spellings.

Putting aside, then, the doubtful readings, all the cases in which **נ** is so used in this name occur from about 430 B.C. onwards. It is not so used in papyrus 30 (494 B.C.), so that the practice would seem to have been introduced between 494 and 430 B.C.

Other instances of the same use of **נ** in the version of the Behistun inscription are **אֲחֹרְמָדָה** = Auramazda, and **וְחוּמִים** = Vaumisa.<sup>2</sup>

If a case has been made out for this use of **נ** in Aramaic, we may reasonably assume that it was also employed in the same way in Hebrew of the same date, at any rate

<sup>1</sup> See Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, 1911, p. lxv.

<sup>2</sup> So in O.P. cf. Elam. Maumišša, not for Vahumithra, as Sachau (and Justi), since Mithr- is found in the papyri, so that the change had not yet taken place. Greek *"Ωμισος*.

for a time. This explains the later form אֶבְרָהָם (in P!) for אַבְרָם. It was merely another way of writing the name (as later we might have had אֶבְרָאָם) in certain documents. A reason for the sudden change had to be found by the compiler of Genesis, but there is no need for us to speculate on דָּהָם as a weakening of רָחָם.<sup>1</sup> It also explains the development of NH מַהְל from BH מַוְל, and other forms of the kind. The 3rd sing. perf. Kal was מַל. This was written מַהְל, the ה representing the long vowel, and was then (later) treated as a triliteral, the ה artificially becoming the second radical. Hence the participle מַהְלָל, not found in BH.

Now to return to the form of the divine name. As found in the papyri יְהֹוָה on the above theory is only another way of writing יְהָוָה, the Urform appearing on the ostraka from Samaria. It is therefore not Semitic in origin, and the attempt to explain it as derived from יְהָה or יְהָה as in Exod. 3<sup>14</sup> is no more to be taken as serious etymology than the derivation of מַנְנָה "manna" in Exod. 16<sup>15</sup>.

The further development of the name by the addition of a final ה requires some discussion. Cuneiform evidence would here be of the greatest value, if it were certain, but experts differ so much in their conclusions that they cannot be used with confidence.<sup>2</sup> I will only quote the opinion of Ungnad (in the preface to his edition of Sachau's papyri, pp. iii, iv): "The fullest form of the name . . . occurs in Babylonian documents of the fifth century [B.C.] from Nippur, in which numerous Jewish names appear compounded with Yâma (pronounced Yâwa)."<sup>3</sup> He then compares such forms as יְהָוָשׁ, which

<sup>1</sup> Even if a name Abaraham be found in Babylonian. See Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites* (1919), p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. S. Daiches in ZA. 1908, p. 136, sums up the results of his inquiry in the statement "that the Tetragrammaton יהוה has so far not been found in cuneiform inscriptions".

<sup>3</sup> But even this does not necessarily represent the form יהוה. The

he assumes to be shortened from \*šahwa. But the opposite is really the case. The ground-form of שָׁהַוּ, as Ungnad very well knows, is \*săhw (Kautzsch, Heb. Gram., §§ 84<sup>a</sup>, c, e, 93 x-z, 95 d-f). This was difficult to pronounce, and so became either \*sahwa or שָׁהַוּ. Similarly the Urform ר came to be written רְ, and then the pronunciation was eased by the addition of a final vowel (ר = a) as in Babylonian, but whether on the analogy of שָׁהַוּ, etc., or not, does not matter. No wonder that the true pronunciation of the name was regarded as a mystery! Meanwhile in compound names, which could not be altered in form, the original ר and שָׁהַוּ were preserved, though variously vocalized as יְהוָה, יְהֹוָה, יְהֹוָה. The tetragrammaton itself is never found in compounds, since later names (i.e. those formed after the tetragrammaton came into existence) are all made on the early models. If the long form were original, one cannot imagine a people habitually shortening the name of their deity, especially as it was regarded with such special reverence.<sup>1</sup> Note also that the revelation of the tetragrammaton in Exod. 6<sup>2</sup> (like the change of אֶבְרָהָם to אֶבְרָהָם) belongs to the document P.

If, then, everything seems to show that the early (or at least pre-Exilic) form of the name was Yāw, we are not justified in assuming that the longer form could be used by Mesha in 850 B.C. without very strong evidence—and if יְהֹוָה in Mesha l. 18 is not the Name, it can only be the verb "to be". In that case the proposed restorations addition of the final vowel may be simply a device to ease the pronunciation of Yāw in Babylonian.

<sup>1</sup> The termination רְ- in names is not to be regarded as a shortening of שָׁהַוּ-, but simply as a *Koseiform*, perhaps derived from Hittite usage. It may have been due to a desire to avoid pronouncing the divine name, just as שָׁהַוּ- is entirely dropped, e.g. in שָׁוָשָׁעִירְהָן for שָׁהַוּשָׁעִירְהָן, cf. Bab. Mannuki for Mannu-ki-ilu. The form רְ, used independently or in הַלְלוּיָהָךְ, is purely orthographic (like the later יְ, etc.), the mappik being the mark of abbreviation.

וְאַנְשֵׁרָה וְאַנְשֵׁתְּלִי and סְלִי אֲנָתְּנִי are alike impossible, and אֲנָתְּנִי or אֲנָתְּשִׁרְתִּי seems to be necessary. "But I took away that which should be for myself and tore them in pieces before Kemosh." Whether "them" means the rest of the 7,000 men, etc., or those whom he took for himself, is not clear. Probably the latter. It is a *constructio ad sensum*.

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## The Historical Position of Ramananda

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I WAS fortunate enough to be able to visit the great Kumbh Mela at Allahabad in February, 1918. There I found that Śaṅkara's Daśnāmī sannyāsīs were more numerous than any other group of ascetics, and that next to them in numbers came the Rāmānandī Vairāgīs. This illustrates the fact that in the history of religion in North India Rāmānanda is one of the very greatest figures. Yet very little is known about him with certainty. Hitherto his date, life, sect, teaching, attitude to caste have all been uncertain. Is it possible to-day to throw any light upon his historical position?

We take his *date* first. The traditional dates are 1299–1410. The great age to which this makes him live is at least suspicious, so that the statement requires to be tested; and since his immediate predecessors and all his chief disciples are known, we may be able from their chronological position to realize when he lived.

The Sikh *Granth* shows us that Sadna, Beni, Nāmdev, and Trilochan were harbingers of the movement and immediate predecessors of Rāmānanda. Now the date of Nāmdev, the greatest of the four, seems to be finally settled. He is a most interesting figure, for he belonged to the Marāthā country, was a devotee of Viṭhobā of Pandharpur, and left a considerable body of Marāthī hymns; yet he was also a noteworthy leader in the North, for a temple erected to his memory is still in use at Ghumān in the Punjab; and a large number of Hindi hymns composed by him are preserved in the *Granth*.<sup>1</sup> There is no definite tradition as to his date preserved in the Marāthā country, but an old story represents him as having once met Jñāneśvara, the author of the *Jñāneśvari*, a

<sup>1</sup> Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vi, 17 ff.

Marāṭhi poem on the *Gītā* written in A.D. 1290. Hence, most inquirers have been inclined to make him a contemporary of Jñāneśvara. But Bhandarkar<sup>1</sup> has shown that this is impossible; his Marāṭhi is at least a century later than the language of the Jñāneśvari, and his references to Muhammadans and to idolatry imply a date not earlier than 1400. This argument is confirmed by one of his own Marāṭhi hymns in which he speaks of Jñāneśvara and the other Bhaktas contemporary with him as belonging to a time long past.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the date which is given for his Hindi hymns in Balesvara Prasad's *Santbānī Saṅgraha* is 1423. We must, therefore, think of Nāmdev as flourishing from 1400 to 1430 or thereabouts. If, then, he was an immediate forerunner of Rāmānanda, the natural inference is that the latter's career opened somewhere about 1425 or 1430.

We take Pipā next, Rāmānanda's royal disciple, rājā of Gagarauingarh. The date of his birth is definitely given by Macauliffe<sup>3</sup> as 1425, which fits perfectly into the chronology already suggested. He may have become a disciple in 1445 at the age of 20.

Take Kabīr next. It is clear that he died in 1518, but two dates are given for his birth, 1399 and 1440. Clearly the latter<sup>4</sup> is much more likely to be right than the former, for, even so, he would have a life of 78 years. This, again, fits in well, for if, as tradition says, he became a disciple when a boy, he might have joined Rāmānanda in 1455, when 15 years of age.

Fresh information, received recently from the Palace records of Udaipur, makes it plain that Mirā Bāl the poetess was the wife of the eldest son of Kumbha Rānā of the Newar State, but that he died before coming to the throne. The Rānā was murdered in 1469 by one of his surviving sons, and was succeeded by another. Mirā Bāl, rather ungraciously

<sup>1</sup> *Vaisṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, 92.

<sup>2</sup> Macnicol, *Psalms of Marāṭhā Saints*, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., vi, 111.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 1440 is accepted by Westcott, Burn, and Rabindranath Tagore.

treated by her brother-in-law, the new Rānā, left Chittore and became a disciple of Rai Dās, Rāmānanda's Chamār disciple. She mentions him twice in her lyrics. Now, if Mirā Bāī left Chittore about 1470, it would seem that Rai Dās had by that time set up as an independent teacher, and Rāmānanda was probably dead.

Thus, if we suppose that Rāmānanda's activity as a teacher stretched from 1430 to 1470, our conjecture will fit into all the chronological data we have found. Kabīr would then have forty-eight years of life as a teacher after his master's death, 1470–1518. We therefore conclude that it is probable that Rāmānanda was born about 1400, began teaching about 1430, and died about 1470.

We next take the question of his teaching and his sect. Tradition declares that he came from the South and connects him with Rāmānuja, but also avers that a quarrel led to a breach with the sect. Sometimes we are told that the only result of the breach was that Rāmānanda used greater liberty in social matters than was allowed in Rāmānuja's community, sometimes the differences are made more serious, but in any case he is represented as faithfully teaching Rāmānuja's system, using the same mantra and remaining in the same sampradāya.

Now this statement seems to contradict the plainest facts. The Śri-Vaishṇava sect, of which Rāmānuja is the chief glory, has throughout the centuries adored Śri and Vishṇu (hence its name), called Vishṇu the eternal Brahman of the Upanishads, and has acknowledged all the incarnations of Vishṇu, giving special prominence to Kṛishṇa, but worshipping Rāma also with fervour, and giving Narasiṁha and the other avatāras due honour. The teaching of Rāmānanda, on the other hand, as is clear from the uniform practice of his disciples, was altogether centred in Rāma and Sītā, while Kṛishṇa and the other incarnations, and even Vishṇu himself, received no attention. Rāma is regarded as the eternal God, the only means of release. This surely is in itself a very

large difference. Nor is there the slightest evidence that he ever taught the Viśiṣṭādvaita system. In the teaching of his disciples there are many advaita elements, and here and there the Bhedābheda philosophy is referred to, but never Rāmānuja's special system. Again, the mantra of the Śri-Vaishṇava sect is *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇīya*, while Rāmānanda's mantra is *Oṁ Rāmāya namaḥ*. The Rāmānandi sect-mark also is not the same as the Śri-Vaishṇava, though it is akin to it. Finally, if Rāmānanda had belonged to the Śri-Vaishṇava sect, he would have belonged to the order of Śri-Vaishṇava sannyāsis, named Tridandis, an order very similar to Śaṅkara's sannyāsis, yet quite distinct. What order of ascetics he did belong to we do not know, but his followers are not sannyāsis at all, but merely sādhus called Vairāgis, and it is most likely that they perpetuate the order to which their leader belonged.

Thus, in matters of teaching and sect, the differences between Rāmānanda and Rāmānuja are very great, so great, indeed, as to fill one with grave suspicion of the tradition. Is no better explanation of the facts possible?

I wish to call your attention to a Bhakti sect which existed in South India in mediaeval times, a sect which regarded Rāma as the eternal God and the only means of release, and used Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* as their sacred book.<sup>1</sup> Students of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are aware that in books ii and vi Rāma appears as a man, and only a man, while in the first book, which all scholars recognize to be a later addition, Rāma and all his brothers are partial incarnations of Vishṇu. Only in one passage, interpolated into the sixth book, is Rāma raised above all gods and called the eternal Brahman.

Now our sect in reading the *Rāmāyaṇa* seem to have been gravely troubled by the passages in which Rāma is represented as a mere man, and also by the episode of Sītā's captivity in Rāvaṇa's power. The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* was, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> From *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, III, x, 25, it appears likely that they also used the Rāma-tāpanīya Upanishads: Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads*, 802 ff.

written to meet these difficulties. It is a Sanskrit poem, which tells the whole story afresh in seven books, each bearing the same title as the corresponding book of the early epic. But Rāma is throughout called the eternal god; release is obtainable in him alone, and fervent Bhakti is the path to release. When Rāma at any point talks as a man, it is explained that his divine consciousness is temporarily clouded by *mūyī*. The theology is *advaita* throughout, but Śākta elements are added so that Sītā has a place beside the eternal Rāma. In order to shield her from the reproach of having been carried away by Rāvaṇa and kept in his harem, this new *Rāmāyana* says she entered the fire, leaving only an illusory Sītā behind her, before the first appearance of Rāvaṇa, and the real Sītā does not reappear until the fire ordeal at the end of the story. The poem contains the *Rāma-hṛidayā* in eight ślokas and the *Rāma-gītā* in fifty-six ślokas, compendia of doctrine for the use of ascetics, meant to be committed to memory and constantly repeated. A Rāma-mantra is commended, and rules for worship are given, drawn from a manual called the *Agastya Saṁhitā*. There are numerous references in the poem to this *Agastya S.*, and some of these passages enable us to see that it is the form of a dialogue, the interlocutors being Agastya and a disciple named Sutikṣṇa. Those of my readers who have been using Schrader's monograph on the Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās may have noticed that the first work in his list is an *Agastya Saṁhitā*, bearing the sub-title *Agastya-Sutikṣṇa-saṁvāda*, so that the book survives in the South.

In these two works, then, we have a South Indian sect revealed which regarded Rāma as the eternal god, the only source of release, and which sought release by Bhakti. The sect used a Rāma-mantra, and had its own ascetics. Thus far I have found no Rāma-sect surviving in the South to-day, but there are numerous Rāma-Bhaktas, remnants, doubtless, of the mediaeval sect.

Now I am inclined to believe that Rāmānanda was an

ascetic belonging to this sect, and that he came to the North, bringing its doctrine with him. If that conjecture is accepted, every fact about him and his sect then falls into place quite naturally. He would bring with him the doctrine that Rāma is the eternal god, and that men should seek release in him by means of Bhakti. He would bring the Rāma-mantra, *Om Rāmāya namah*, with him, and he would be a simple ascetic, a Rāma-Bhakta and not a sannyāsi. The Rāmānandi sect-mark, similar to the Śri-Vaishṇava *tilaka*, yet distinct from it, is then explained. He would also bring with him to the North the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Agastya-Sūtikṣhṇa Saṁvūḍha*. Now we cannot prove that he brought the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* with him, but it was the only *Rāmāyaṇa* in existence in his day which taught his doctrine, that Rāma is the eternal god, the only source of release; and it is clear that it was much used by his followers, for it is the most important of all Tulsi Dās's sources, and all Rāmānandi ascetics know it and use it to-day. The presence of many *advaita* elements in the teaching of Rāmānandis thus finds ample explanation. Nor can we prove that he brought the *Agastya-Sūtikṣhṇa Saṁvūḍha* with him, but it is exceedingly probable that he did, for quite recently a Hindi translation of several chapters of the work was published, and Rāmānanda's biography forms part of it.<sup>1</sup>

We therefore believe that Rāmānanda was an ascetic belonging to the sect which produced the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, that he came to the North about 1430, and that he had so much success in preaching the doctrine of the sect that he decided to stay and took up his residence in Benares. Further we would suggest that though he was not a Śri-Vaishṇava, it is altogether probable that he was accustomed to use Rāmānuja's *Śrī-Bhāshya*, for though it is written from the Śri-Vaishṇava point of view its clear and moderate doctrine of theism made it a most attractive work to all the theistic

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, 67, n. 2.

sects. This would explain its occasional use by his followers to-day, and also would explain the notable fact that no Rāmānandi Bhāshya has ever been written. During the early decades of the movement the newly fledged Bhaktas of the North would also be glad to link themselves with the illustrious scholar of the South. In this way there would grow up a feeling of kinship with the sect of Rāmānuja which would form quite sufficient basis for the tradition which has hitherto misled us.

Rāmānanda's attitude to the rules of caste deserves notice also. Some scholars have written as if he had thrown the caste-system to the winds, socially as well as religiously, but so far as my knowledge goes there is no evidence that he modified the social rules of caste in the slightest. Certainly Tulsī Dās was an orthodox Brāhmaṇ ; his poem is thoroughly orthodox in social matters, and Rāmānandis to-day are quite as orthodox as ordinary Hindus are. It is true Rāmānanda did not follow the rules of Rāmānuja in matters of diet, but that is simply an additional proof that he was not a Śri-Vaishṇava Brāhmaṇ, for they are most punctilious of all Brāhmans. Further, there is no evidence that he interfered with Brāhmaṇ privileges in any particular. In every Rāmānandi temple to-day the priest is a Brāhmaṇ. Further, his complete neglect of all caste-distinctions in the acceptance of disciples is scarcely a novelty, for the Bhakti sects had recognized long before his day that not only men of any caste but outcastes also could, by means of Bhakti, press on to spiritual religion and release. But he seems to have gone one step farther than any of his predecessors. Among his personal disciples we find not only a Sūdra, a Jāt, and an outcaste, but a Muhammadan and at least one woman. In this extended freedom we see evidence of Muslim influence. Certain Hindu and Muhammadan teachers in the fifteenth century were ready to receive both Hindus and Muhammadans as disciples, and there was a tendency to recognize both religions as in some sense legitimate.

Like the Marāṭhā Bhaktas, Rāmānanda may have criticized idolatry, but there is not the slightest sign that he or his followers in the direct line gave up Hindu worship. It was Kabir who initiated the practice of eschewing all idolatry as wrong. What is to be recognized in Rāmānanda and all his followers is their vivid faith in the reality of the one personal god, spiritual and invisible, whom they called Rāma. Yet, in spite of this vivid faith, no break was made with idolatry, the Hindu pantheon, or the old mythology. Kabir was the first to preach a theism so real and consistent that it would tolerate neither gods nor idols nor myths.

The last point we notice is the unbroken custom among Rāmānandis of using the vernacular for their literature. The same is true of all the sects dependent on Kabir. It had long been customary in the chief sects to use the vernacular as well as Sanskrit, but the Marāṭhā Bhaktas and Rāmānanda practically gave up the use of Sanskrit altogether.

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# The Kharosthi Alphabet

BY R. D. BANERJI

## INTRODUCTION

KHAROSTHĪ or Kharoṣṭī is the name of a particular script used in Afghanistan, the Punjab, and portions of Central Asia from the fourth or fifth centuries before Christ to the third or fourth centuries of the Christian era. In the third or fourth centuries A.D. it gradually went out of use, the place being taken by one or more forms of the mediaeval Brāhmī. In the eighteenth century the earlier generation of epigraphists and archaeologists used to call this script "Bactrian", "Indo-Bactrian", "Bactro-Pali", "Ariano-Pali", etc. Then it was identified with the *Kharosthī* or *Kharoṣṭhī lipi*, on the evidence of the *Fa-wan-shu-lin*.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese work describes the "ass-lip" (*Khara-oṣṭha* in Sanskrit) script, invented by one Kharoṣṭha,<sup>2</sup> in which the writing ran from the right to left. This identification, proposed by George Bühler,<sup>3</sup> has since met with general acceptance.

The earliest and the only scientific treatment of the Kharosthī script was that by Bühler in his classic work on Indian Palaeography. Modern explorers have proved by their discoveries that the use of the Kharosthī script was not limited to the ancient province of Gandhāra, and that it was at one time very largely used by the inhabitants of the desert tract in Central Asia to the south-west of Kashgar and Khotan.

Kharosthī is a modified form of the older variety of the Aramaic script. The close connexion between Kharosthī and Aramaic was noticed for the first time by E. Thomas.<sup>4</sup> He observed that *na*, *ba*, *ra*, and *va* in Kharosthī agreed with the

<sup>1</sup> *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. i, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. ix, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Studies*, iii, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> *Prinsep's Indian Antiquities*, edited by Thomas, vol. ii, pp. 144 ff.

Aramaic letters for the same sounds, and was likewise written from the right to the left. Isaac Taylor<sup>1</sup> and Alexander Cunningham<sup>2</sup> gave definite shape to this theory and assigned to the Achaemenian conquerors the introduction of the Aramaic script into India. The Aramaic script was very largely used in Assyria and Babylon, and most probably it was used by the officials of the Achaemenian Empire. The officials in the Indian satrapies must have used this script. This supposition has been confirmed by the discovery of an Aramaic stone inscription among the ruins of Taxila.<sup>3</sup> Indian scribes seem to have modified the script so as to suit the requirements of Indian dialects. Hence the appearance of Kharosthi as a script different from Aramaic.

The oldest Kharosthi forms are to be found on certain coins of the Achaemenian sovereigns, on which single letters or syllables of both Brāhmī and Kharosthi are to be found.<sup>4</sup> But the oldest Kharosthi inscriptions known are the Aśoka edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra. Bühler divided Kharosthi records into four groups :—

(1) The Maurya : “the archaic one of the fourth and third centuries B.C., found in the Aśoka edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī and of Mānsehra, with which the signature in the Aśoka edicts of Siddapura, the legends of the oldest coins, and the syllables on the Persian *sigloī* fully agree.”

(2) “The variety of the second and first centuries B.C. on the coins of the Indo-Grecian kings, which is imitated by some later foreign kings.”

(3) “The variety of the Śaka period, first century B.C. to first century A.D. (?), on the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, and on the lion capital of the satrap Śodāsa or Śuḍāsa from Mathura, which occurs also on some sculptures from Gandhāra, on the Kaldawa (*Kaldarra*) stone, and on the coins of several Śaka and Kuṣāṇa kings.”

<sup>1</sup> *The Alphabet*, vol. ii, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS. 1915, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1895; pp. 865 ff.

(4) "The strongly cursive script of the first and second centuries A.D. (?), which begins with the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of Gondopherres, and is fully developed in the inscriptions of the later Kuṣāna kings Kaniṣka and Ḥuviṣka, and occurs also in the MS. of the *Dhammapada* from Khotan."<sup>1</sup>

Recent discoveries by French, German, and English explorers in Central Asia will necessitate the addition of a fifth group, which will comprise all Kharoṣṭī manuscripts found in Central Asia and into which naturally the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript of the *Dhammapada* will have to be transferred. Bühler's classification has met with general acceptance, but in a debate on the date of Kaniṣka Dr. J. F. Fleet reopened the question. He was of opinion that the third and fourth groups are really one and the same, and said, "And I think that, if a comparison is made of the absolute facsimiles of the Taxila and Wardak records, consideration being given at the same time to the points mentioned above, it will be agreed that no grounds remain for saying either that the Kushān Kharoṣṭī alphabet is later than that of the 'Sakas', or vice versa."<sup>2</sup>

Immediately before this statement Dr. Fleet had objected to Dr. F. W. Thomas' pronouncement that "the Kharoṣṭī of the Kaniṣka group is of a cursive type, obviously later than that of the Śaka satraps of Taxila and Mathura", because the latter had referred to Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* in support of his statement, where in columns 8, 9 a Kharoṣṭī alphabet from the "Śaka" inscriptions, and in columns 10-12 an alphabet from the Kushān inscriptions are to be found.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Fleet objects to Dr. Thomas' statement, quoted above, on five different grounds:—

(1) "Now, in the first place, an artificial contrast between the two alphabets has been created by the style in which they have been figured. The alphabet in columns 8, 9 has

<sup>1</sup> Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Eng. trans. by Dr. Fleet, pp. 24-5.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS. 1910, p. 976.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 975.

been drawn in broad thick strokes, but that in columns 10–12 in quite thin ones.”

This defect, if it really be a defect, is impossible to remedy, if one has to reproduce an alphabet made up from cuttings of exact mechanical impressions or estampages. If one record is really written in thick broad strokes, as the Aśoka edicts of Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehra really are, and another in thin strokes, then it is quite natural that in illustrations they should appear as they are. It would be difficult to prove that even in Tafel i of the *Indische Palaeographie*, which is reproduced from freehand drawings, the attempt to reproduce exact forms was not made. This objection is trifling and does not need close attention.

(2) “Secondly, the figuring of these alphabets takes no notice of the fact that in the Taxila records, one of the bases of columns 8, 9, and in the Wardak record, one of the bases of columns 10–12, the letters were made not by continuous strokes (as shown in Bühler’s plate), but by lines of punched dots.”<sup>1</sup>

(3) “Thirdly, the original records, from which these alphabets have been put together, come from different localities and were written by different hands.”<sup>1</sup>

I do not think that it has been really possible for anybody who has attempted to write on systematic palaeography to produce specimens of writing by the same person, living in different centuries or widely divergent historical periods. Nor has it been possible for any palaeographer to base his work on the calligraphy obtained from one particular locality of a particular country. In a particular period of the history of a country, or in a particular century or part of one, the general tendency of scribes is to follow particular modes of writing. A comparison of different modes of writing, belonging to different historical periods or centuries, very often from different localities, so as to bring out clearly the

<sup>1</sup> JRAS. 1910, p. 975.

evolutions of a particular alphabet, is the object of palaeography.

(4) "Fourthly, columns 8, 9 appear to be based chiefly on the Mathura inscriptions, which are on stone; whereas columns 10-12 are based almost entirely on the Sue Vihar record, which is on metal; and there can often be traced in Indian records a tendency to use a more cursive style of writing for those on metal than that favoured for the records on stone."<sup>1</sup>

(5) "Fifthly, the Kharosthi writing was of a loose style which lent itself very easily to different kinds of treatment, with results which are apt to be confusing."<sup>2</sup>

The last statement is very ambiguous. The same argument may be applied with equal force to the Brāhmī of any period and more particularly to manuscript palaeography, a branch of Indian palaeography which, since the discovery of Central Asian manuscripts, has received more attention from careful scholars than any other branch of the subject. Moreover, the Kharosthi of the Taxila Silver<sup>3</sup> and Copper Plates<sup>4</sup> is a very definite, well-formed alphabet, suited, as well as Brāhmī, for the single and double sounds of the North Indian dialects. It would be unjust, if we take Dr. Fleet's fifth objection seriously and regard it as a writing of loose style which lent itself very easily to different kinds of treatment. For example, if we take the Brāhmī Kuṣāṇa records from Mathura, do we not find a similar case? The writing of the Jaina-Kuṣāṇa-Brāhmī records of Mathura is careless and cursive, whereas that of the Buddhist-Kuṣāṇa-Brāhmī records of the same locality and period is non-cursive.<sup>5</sup> In spite of this, anyone who has examined a number of Mathura inscriptions carefully can at once tell the difference between a Jaina-Kuṣāṇa-Brāhmī record and a Gupta one. A prolonged

<sup>1</sup> JRAS. 1910, pp. 975-6. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 976.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 1914, p. 973, and 1915, p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. iv, pp. 54 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, p. 51.

examination of Kharoṣṭhī records, specially the dated ones, on the same lines on which I treated Brāhma records of the Scythian period, leads me to believe that Dr. Fleet's dictum is too premature. It appears that the fifth argument against Dr. Thomas' pronouncement on the relativity of Bühler's third and fourth group of Kharoṣṭhī epigraphs was placed on record before a thorough examination of the peculiar characteristics of the alphabets used in the epigraphs of these two groups was made; because after such an examination I find the contrary of Dr. Fleet's statement to be the only possible and true one. The second and fourth objections of Dr. Fleet are real objections. In my monograph on the Scythian period of Indian history I have drawn attention to the fact that one great defect of Bühler's treatment of the development of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet was the use of the letters of the Sue Vihar Copper-plate inscription as the prototype of the alphabet of the Kushān period. The real objection is the use of the alphabet of a record on metal for comparison with others of stone; in fact, it is the fourth objection of Dr. Fleet against the statement of Dr. Thomas.

It is evident from Dr. Fleet's opinion on the importance of the evidence of Kharoṣṭhī palaeography as to the date of Kāniṣka that a fresh palaeographical examination is absolutely necessary, in which records of stone and metal are to be compared separately. Such a treatment of Kharoṣṭhī palaeography was not possible when Bühler wrote his work. But it has become so now on account of the publication of a number of old records with good mechanical facsimiles and the discovery of some new ones during the last twenty years. The inscriptions on the Wardak<sup>1</sup> Vase and the Mathura Lion Capital<sup>2</sup> have been republished. Beside the new stone inscriptions published by me eight years ago,<sup>3</sup> two other important Kharoṣṭhī records have been discovered during the last few years. These are the Peshawar Relic Casket

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ix, pp. 135-47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxvii, 1908, pp. 58, 64-6.

inscription of Kāñiṣka,<sup>1</sup> and the Taxila Silver-plate inscription of the year 136.<sup>2</sup>

With the exception of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra edicts of Aśoka, the inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital and the Peshawar Relic Casket inscription of the time of Kāñiṣka, there are very few Kharoṣṭhi epigraphs which are of any importance. I therefore confine my palaeographical examination to dated records and the inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital and the Peshawar Relic Casket.

#### THE METHOD

According to Dr. Fleet's suggestion, inscriptions on stone were separated from records on metal and an attempt was made to compare inscriptions written in continuous strokes separately from those in which dotted lines have been used in the formation of letters and syllables. But in the latter case there were certain insurmountable obstacles. The Mathura Lion Capital is made of stone, but in all the inscriptions on it, the forms of the letters are indicated by lines of continuous dots, as is the case with the Taxila silver and copper-plate inscriptions. Similarly in the case of the Sue Vihār inscription there is an exception among records on metal. In all other Kharoṣṭhi records the writing consists of a series of punched dots; but in this case, although the material is metal, the letters consist of continuous strokes, as is the case of the copper-plate grants of later periods.

It has been found impossible by any other means to determine the chronological order of the inscriptions to be examined, and palaeography is the only method which still remains to be tried. I intend to determine the relative positions of the records under examination by observation and comparison of the peculiarities of the scripts used in them. In order to perform this it is necessary to obtain at least one fixed point. Such a point is easily to be found in the Shāhbāzgarhī and

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1909-10, pp. 135-41.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS. 1914, p. 973, and 1915, p. 191.

Mānsehra Rock-Edicts of Aśoka. Now, it is universally admitted that Kāṇiṣka appeared centuries after Aśoka; therefore the script used in the stone and metal records of Kāṇiṣka shows a much later form of the Kharoṣṭī alphabet. This is another fixed point. It would now be much more easy to ascertain the relative position of other records. For example, to ascertain the exact position of the Taxila Silver and Copper-plate inscriptions or those on the Mathura Lion Capital, it would only be necessary to compare each record with a Kuṣāṇa record of its own class, and by referring to the forms of Aśoka inscriptions to determine whether the forms were intermediate ones between the Maurya and Kuṣāṇa ones, or that they were contemporaneous with or later than the Kuṣāṇa record.

As has been stated above, the alphabets of the Aśoka edicts were taken as the starting-point. The only published facsimili of the Shāhbāzgāṛhi edicts, i.e. the twelfth edict,<sup>1</sup> was taken as the prototype, and the excellent illustration was photographed for use in the plates. For the Mathura Lion Capital inscription, the photograph, taken by Cunningham and published by Dr. F. W. Thomas,<sup>2</sup> had to be used, as this was the only illustration of this important group of inscriptions ever published. Cunningham's photographs do not portray all inscriptions on this capital very distinctly, and it is a pity that inked impressions were not used. Even in the case of a dotted record an inked impression is desirable for reproduction, if the material is not very frail as in the Taxila silver-plate inscription of the year 136. This is clearly demonstrated by the excellent reproduction of the records on the Wardak Vase published by Mr. F. E. Pargiter.<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Lionel Heath, Curator of the Lahore Museum, for inked impressions of the Fatehjang,<sup>4</sup> Muchai,<sup>5</sup> Mount Banj,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, pp. 16-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ix, pls. xvii-xx.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 8me série, tome xv, 1890, pt. i, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1908, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 9me série, tome iv, 1894, pt. ii, p. 514, pl. v, 35.

Paja,<sup>1</sup> and Zeda<sup>2</sup> stone inscriptions, all of which are now preserved in the Lahore Museum. The impressions of each inscription were photographed separately. The larger ones were taken on several plates and then joined together. For the Manikyala inscriptions I had to use the photographs published with Mons. É. Senart's article on them.<sup>3</sup> The facsimiles of the Shakardarra inscription of the year 40<sup>4</sup> and the Ara inscription of the year 41,<sup>5</sup> published with my monograph on *The Scythian Period of Indian History*, were photographed, as the impressions received from the Lahore Museum were not good enough.

In this connexion it should be stated that no attempt has been made in the subjoined pages to differentiate between Kāñiṣka I and Kāñiṣka II, the existence of a second king of that name in the year 41 of the Kuṣāṇa era being very doubtful. The numismatic evidence is quite against Dr. Lüders' theory.<sup>6</sup> If there was a second Kāñiṣka in the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, most probably he ascended the throne after Vāsudeva I, some time after the year 99 of the Kuṣāṇa era. There are a number of gold coins bearing the name of Kāñiṣka, in very degenerate Greek, which are bad copies of the coinage of Vāsudeva I and bear several Brāhmī syllables. These coins cannot be regarded as being contemporaneous with those of Kāñiṣka I or Huviṣka.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the problem of overlapping reigns of two monarchs of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty is not adequately solved by imagining the existence of a second Kāñiṣka in the year 41. I had thought, after the discovery of the Ara inscription, that Kāñiṣka I made over his Indian dominions to Huviṣka in the latter part of his reign.<sup>8</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1908, pp. 64-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 8me série, tome xv, 1890, pt. i, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 9me série, tome viii, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1908, p. 66, pl. i.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58, pl. i.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1913, pp. 132 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Smith's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. i, p. 87; *Journ. & Proc. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iii, pp. 83-4, pl. iv, 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1908, p. 58.

discovery of an inscription of the year 24 of the reign of a king named Vāsiṣṭa shows that both Vāsiṣṭa and Huviṣṭa must have been the contemporaries of Kāṇiṣṭha I if the Ara inscription is to be assigned to him. To avoid this overlapping Dr. Lüders proposed that the Ara inscription should be assigned to Kāṇiṣṭha II. His idea of the chronology is as follows. Kāṇiṣṭha I was succeeded by Vāsiṣṭa and Vāsiṣṭa by Huviṣṭa in India. In Afghanistan and the Punjab Kāṇiṣṭha II succeeded Vāsiṣṭa or Kāṇiṣṭha I. But Huviṣṭa was reigning in Mathura in the year 33 of the Kuṣāṇa era. Afghanistan, or at least a portion of it, belonged to him in the year 51. But Western Punjab belonged to a Kāṇiṣṭha in the year 41. Therefore the reigns of this Kāṇiṣṭha and Huviṣṭa must have overlapped. Moreover, there is no reliable ground on which we can assign the Ara inscription to Kāṇiṣṭha II. Therefore Dr. Lüders' supposition about the existence of a second Kāṇiṣṭha in the year 41 is unnecessary, since it proves to be quite inadequate to solve the problem. It is quite certain that the Manikyala inscription was incised in the year 18 of the reign of Kāṇiṣṭha I, in spite of Dr. Lüders' novel explanation. Therefore Mr. V. A. Smith's adaptation of my explanation of the Ara inscription appears to me quite satisfactory :—

"Inscriptions prove that Vāsiṣṭa was reigning at Mathura in the year 24 and 28, and Huviṣṭa between the years 33 and 60, while Kāṇiṣṭha was reigning at the same place in the year 41. The best way to reconcile the apparent contradiction is to assume that Vāsiṣṭa and Huviṣṭa were sons of Kāṇiṣṭha, who both acted in succession as Viceroys of Upper India while their father was warring beyond the mountains."<sup>1</sup>

I have not been able to obtain clear and reliable impressions of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription of Gondophernes. This record is at present in the Lahore Museum, but the impression which I received from Mr. Heath is not clear

enough for reproduction. Therefore I was obliged to use the photograph of the cast published by Mons. Senart.<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Heath for excellent inked impressions of the Kaldarra,<sup>2</sup> Skarahdheri,<sup>3</sup> and Dewai<sup>4</sup> inscriptions. I have not been able to persuade myself to adopt Dr. Fleet's version of the date of the Skarahdheri inscription. I paid two visits to Lahore, one in September, 1913, and another in November, 1915, and on both occasions I examined this record carefully. I cannot agree to the reading of the date as 399. It should be 179. As I could not obtain good impressions of the Hashtnagar inscription of the year 364,<sup>5</sup> I had to content myself with copying the photograph published in Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History*. The Loriyan Tangai inscription of the year 318<sup>6</sup> was studied from excellent inked impressions prepared for me by Munshi Wahiduddin, of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum.

The photograph of the Taxila Copper-plate of the year 78, published with Bühler's version of the text,<sup>7</sup> is not very distinct; but it had to be used, as a better one was not available. I am indebted to Sir John Marshall for two excellent photographs of the Taxila Silver-plate of the year 136, discovered by him. I am indebted to the authorities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for permission to copy the Sue Vihar Copper-plate of the eleventh year of Kāṇiṣka.<sup>8</sup> The impressions were prepared under my personal supervision. For the Peshawar Relic Casket inscription I had to rely on the photographs of the plaster cast published with Dr. D. B. Spooner's article.<sup>9</sup> A set of inked impressions of these important records is very much to be desired. For the

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 8me série, tome xv, pl. i, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1908, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4, p. 255, pls. lix, lxx, No. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 9me série, tome iv, pt. ii, p. 510, pl. v, No. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 394.

<sup>6</sup> Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1903-4, pp. 251-3, pl. lxx, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Ep. Ind., vol. iv, pp. 54 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 324.

<sup>9</sup> Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., 1909-10, pls. lii-liii.

Wardak Vase inscriptions I used the excellent impressions published with Mr. Pargiter's article.<sup>1</sup>

In the first place each particular inscription was carefully examined for variants of each letter, vowel and consonant. Then each inscription had to be compared with each of the remaining ones, letter by letter. When the examination of all letters and syllables of all the records under examination was finished, then I proceeded to determine the position of each record in the chronological scale by judging the distance in the forms of the test letters from the Maurya form. Then I proceeded to arrange the alphabet of each record in the order in which they stood in the chronology previously determined. For the illustrations I selected Dr. F. W. Thomas' method, employed by him in illustrating the alphabet of the Mathura Lion Capital inscription.<sup>2</sup> In this method the different combinations of each letter with the five vowels employed in Kharoṣṭī are shown.

Each different combination of each particular letter or syllable, so far as it was obtainable from each record, was cut out and mounted on cardboards, the initial form of the vowel *a* and the consonants being arranged vertically, while five columns of vowel combinations were placed horizontally. Thus the first line of the cardboard gave the initial vowel-forms of each inscription, the second line gave the consonant *ka* in all its combinations with the five vowels, showing their medial forms, e.g. *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, *ke*, *ko*. So each group of five vertical columns illustrated the alphabet of a particular record; while, if a line is read horizontally, it will be found to illustrate the evolutions of a particular letter, with all possible vowel combinations during five or six centuries, from the third century B.C. to *circa* third century A.D.

#### THE RESULT

By employing the method described above, the inscriptions under examination were arranged in the following order:—

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xi, pp. 202-19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ix, pl. iv (pl. xx).

### I. STONE INSCRIPTIONS :—

1. Mathura Lion Capital.
2. Fatehjang—the year 68.
3. Muchai—the year 81.
4. Mount Banj—the year 102.
5. Paja—the year 111.
6. Zeda—the year 11 of Kāñiṣka.
7. Manikyala—the year 18 of Kāñiṣka.
8. Shakardarra—the year 40.
9. Ara—the year 41 of Kāñiṣka.
10. Takht-i-Bahai—the year 103 = the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Gondophernes.
11. Kaldarra—the year 113.
12. Skarahdheri—the year 179.
13. Dewai—the year 200.

The position of the dated inscriptions from Hashtnagar and Loriyān Tangai still remain doubtful. They are very small records, and not all letters of the alphabet are to be found in them. Consequently, as many letters cannot be compared, it is very difficult to assign their position in the chronological order. The general tendency of the writing of these two records shows that they are not earlier than the Kushān group of records and at the same time they cannot be placed so late as the Skarahdheri or Dewai Stone inscriptions.

### II. INSCRIPTIONS ON METAL :—

1. The Taxila Copper-plate—the year 78.
2. The Taxila Silver-plate—the year 136.
3. The Sue Vihar Copper-plate—the year 11 of Kāñiṣka.
4. The Peshawar Relic Casket inscription of the time of Kāñiṣka.
5. The inscriptions of the Wardak Vase—the year 51 of Huviṣka.

As a Kharosthi record on metal belonging to the Maurya period has not been discovered as yet, it was necessary to

refer in this case also to the forms of the Aśoka edicts at Śāhbāzgarhī as a starting-point. In this analysis I have not included the forms of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet to be found on Indo-Greek bilingual coins, which form the second division in Bühler's classification of this alphabet. The number of letters or syllables on each coin is not sufficient to supply data for the requirements of a palaeographical examination.

One important result of the palaeographical examination is to divide all Kharoṣṭhī records into two groups, which I name Śaka and Kuṣāṇa, after Bühler. The Śaka records belong to the earlier Scythian period of Indian history, between the Indo-Greek and Kuṣāṇa periods, while the Kuṣāṇa records are those which fall in the reigns of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kāniṣka and his successors. The inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital, the oldest stone inscription among the records which have been examined here, belongs to this group. The inscriptions of Rājuvula and Śoṇḍāsa and those of Liaka Kuṣulaka and his son Patika or Paḍika are generally taken to be the records of the Śaka period according to Bühler's classification.<sup>1</sup> So Dr. Thomas said: "The Kharoṣṭhī of the Kāniṣka group is of a cursive type, obviously later than that of the Śaka satraps of Taxilā and Mathurā."<sup>2</sup> Commenting on this passage, Dr. Fleet, who differs from this view of Kharoṣṭhī paleography, says, "By 'Śaka satraps' he means (I gather) Rājuvula and Śoṇḍāsa, of whom we have Kharoṣṭhī records on the Mathurā lion-capital, and Liaka-Kusulaka and Patika (or Paḍika), of whom we have a similar record on the Taxila plate."<sup>3</sup> The palaeographical examination shows that Dr. Thomas' statement is the only possible correct one, and proves the general soundness of Bühler's classification; the forms of the Kharoṣṭhī characters used in the inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital among stone inscriptions and those used in the Taxila Copper-plate are decidedly older than the Zeda or Ara stone inscriptions or the Sue Vibar

<sup>1</sup> Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Eng. trans. by Dr. J. F. Fleet, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS. 1913, p. 633.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

Copper-plate and the inscriptions on the Wardak Vase. The palaeographical examination further proves that, besides the inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital and the Taxila Copper-plate, a number of stone inscriptions are earlier than the Kuṣāṇa group of records. These are the inscriptions of Fatehjang—the year 68, Muchai—the year 81, Mount Banj—the year 102, and Paja—the year 111. The forms of the letters used in these inscriptions is certainly earlier than those of the inscriptions from Zeda, Manikyala, Ara, Sue Vihar, Peshawar, and Wardak.

The difference between the Kharoṣṭī alphabet of the Maurya period and that used on bilingual coins of the Greek kings of Afghanistan and the Punjab is so slight that it may be altogether neglected in a palaeographical examination so wide in range as the present one. The palaeographical examination further proves that the difference between the forms of the characters used in records of the Śaka period is not so great or startling as one might have reasonably expected. If the Maurya alphabet of the twelfth Rock Edict at Shāhbāzgāṛhi is compared with the alphabet of the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions, it is found that the forms of very few letters have changed materially. There is no change in *a* or any other vowel sign, all of which are derived from it. *Ka* also has not changed; both the slanting and upright varieties being represented in the different inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital. The change is noticeable for the first time in *ca*. The three different varieties of *ca*, namely (1) head with obtuse angle, (2) head with curve, and (3) head with curve connected by a vertical line with the lower part,<sup>1</sup> have entirely disappeared. The later form of *ca* consists of a curve at the head and a zigzag curved vertical line below it. The change is noticeable next in *bha*. In the Mathura inscription *bha* is upright and more like the Mauryan *ka* in shape. In *la* we find that the left limb is lowered down and never rises above or equal to the top of the vertical line.

<sup>1</sup> *Indische Palaeographie*, Eng. ed., p. 25.

Change is most pronounced in the case of the dental sibilant. In *sa* we find that in the form of the Maurya period the slightly slanting vertical line in the lower limb is projected upwards to touch the curve at the upper extremity of the letter; but in the Śaka period we find that this line, although projected upwards, seldom reaches the top and in the majority of cases never even approaches it. There is a slight change in *ha*. The lower part of this letter in the Maurya period consists of a curve to the right, while in the Śaka period one finds that it consists of an acute angle and a short horizontal straight line to the right. On comparing the letters of all the inscriptions examined for this paper I find that *ka* and the dental *sa* are the test letters in this period. In the inscriptions of Fatehjang, Muchai, Mount Banj, and Paja we find that the same characteristics are present in all. The slanting *ka* so common in the Aśoka rock-edicts, which is also to be found in some cases in the Mathura Lion Capital also, is altogether absent from these records. The inscriptions of Fatehjang and Muchai are very short records, and many letters of the alphabet are not represented in them. The only other noticeable feature is the dental *sa*, in which the lower vertical line is almost always slightly projected upwards beyond the point of its junction with the upper curve. Only in one case, in the Fatehjang inscription, the lower vertical line is not projected. Similarly, in the case of the Taxila Copper-plate inscription, one finds that in many cases this projection does not touch the top of the letter, but in certain cases it does. Now, if the forms of these two test letters in the Śaka records are compared with those of the same letters in Kushān inscriptions, one cannot even for a moment doubt that the group of Aśoka and allied inscriptions is much earlier than those of the Kushān group. I think it would be admitted without doubt that the forms of the Kharoṣṭī letters used in Kāṇiṣka's time were evolved out of those used in the Rock-Edicts of Aśoka. This being granted, the rest of the case is simple enough. The alphabet used in these Śaka

records is intermediate between that of the Rock-Edicts of Aśoka and that used in the Kushān group of inscriptions. If we compare the alphabet used in the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions with that used in the Manikyala inscriptions, we find that (1) the form of *ka* has become much more cursive, and approaches the form used in the Sue Vihar and Wardak inscriptions ; (2) similarly, in the case of *sa* in the Mathura inscriptions, the lower vertical limb is projected upwards, but in the majority of cases it never reaches or touches the curve at the top of this letter. There are some instances in which there is no projection at all. But in the Manikyala inscription, in all cases, the projection of the lower limb in *sa* is missing. This rule holds good in the case of all other inscriptions which I have added to the two other records of the Śaka period. There are some cases of *sa* in which the lower vertical line is projected upwards ; but along with that there are other cases in which there is no projection at all, and with the exception of one case (the Taxila Copper-plate inscription) this projection never reaches the top of the letter.

In the case of records on metal we are placed at a disadvantage on account of the absence of records on metal of the Maurya period. A comparison of the alphabet used in the Taxila Copper-plate with that used in the Sue Vihar Copper-plate or the Wardak Vase produces results similar to those stated above. In the case of *ka* we find that the form used in the Taxila Copper-plate is upright and rectangular, while those used in the Sue Vihar and Wardak inscriptions are slanting and curvilinear. In the case of *sa* we find three different forms in the Taxila Copper-plate : (1) cases in which the projection of the vertical limb touches the top of the letter ; (2) cases in which this projection approaches but does not touch the top of the letter ; (3) cases in which there is a projection but it does not even approach the top of the letter. In the Sue Vihar and Wardak inscriptions there is not a single case in which there is any projection of the lower vertical limb upwards.

The case of Sir John Marshall's silver-plate inscription from Taxila is slightly different. This inscription is certainly later in date than the Taxila Copper-plate inscription, and at the same time earlier than the Sue Vihar and Wardak inscriptions. In the first place *ka* is not upright, but it is not so slanting or cursive as the forms to be found in the Sue Vihar or Wardak inscriptions. Secondly, in the Taxila Copper-plate inscription there are many instances of *sa* in which the projected lower limb touches the top, while in other cases it does not. But in all cases there is a projection. In the silver-plate there are many cases of *sa* in which the projection is absent, and in cases where there is a projection it does not touch the top of the letter. In the third place, in metal inscriptions of the Kushān period such as the Sue Vihar, Peshawar Relic Casket, and the Wardak inscriptions there is not a single instance in which there is any upward projection of the lower limb of *sa*. This proves conclusively that the Śaka records are earlier than the Kushān ones, and cannot be placed below them in the chronological order. The Taxila Silver-plate is later than the Śaka records, but earlier than the inscriptions of Sue Vihar, Peshawar, and Wardak. Most probably this record belongs to the period immediately before the accession of Kāñiska, when the Kushāns had obtained their first foothold in North-Western India. This, perhaps, is indicated by the presence of the name Kushān (Khuṣana) and the absence of the proper name of the king. I am inclined to place the Panjtar inscription<sup>1</sup> very close to this record on account of the mention of the name *Guṣaṇa* and the Kushān regal titles as well as the suppression of the proper name of the king. The absence of mechanical facsimiles precludes the possibility of a palaeographical examination, and consequently nothing can be definitely said about this record.

The general tendency of the stone inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital, of Fatehjang, Muchai, Mount Banj, and Paja

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, A.S.R., vol. v, p. 61, pl. xvi, No. 4.

indicates that they are written in an alphabet which forms the transition between the alphabet of the Rock-Edicts of Aśoka and the records of the Kushān period. The result of the examination of the script used in records on metal fully confirms the above conclusion. The careful examination of the different records which are admittedly of the Śaka period or closely allied to it shows that Bühler's statement about the letter *ka* of this period cannot be supported. Bühler states : "In the Śaka and Kushan varieties the head of *ka* is commonly converted into a curve."<sup>1</sup> I don't think that there is any ground for this statement. The accompanying illustrations will show that the head of *ka* is not curved in the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions, the Muchai inscription, the Mount Banj inscription, or the Paja inscription. Out of five cases of *ka* given by Dr. Thomas in his table of the alphabet of the Mathura Lion Capital inscription, only one case can be taken as having a slightly curved top. This is in inscription C; but even in this case it should be recorded as an exception and not as the general rule.

No inscription of the Śaka period which can safely be assigned to this period on the basis of palaeography has been found incised with letters made by continuous strokes, and not by punched dots. The Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions are written in characters consisting of punched dots, though the material is stone. The Taxila Copper-plate is, of course, entirely written in letters formed by punched dots. Consequently it is very difficult to ascertain at the present moment whether in the Śaka period the current hand was used in records on metal, and epigraphical or monumental style for records on stone. This has been found to be the case in all other periods of Indian history; but the absence of data compels one to leave this undecided, for the present moment, in the case of the Śaka period.

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Palaeography*, Eng. ed., p. 27.

## THE SAKA AND KUSHĀN ALPHABETS

It has been stated above that the Taxila Silver-plate recently discovered by Sir John Marshall belongs to that period of Indian history in which North-Western India was passing out of the hands of the Śaka kings or satraps into those of the chiefs of the Kushān tribes; consequently it can be regarded as the last record of the Śaka period of the first one of the Kushān period. The mention of the word *Khusaya* makes the latter suggestion more probable. Comparing this with the Zeda inscription, which is decidedly the earliest dated stone inscription of the Kushān period, a fact which is admitted by all scholars, we find that its alphabet shows a very near approach to that of the records of the Śaka group. *Ka* in the Zeda inscription is almost exactly similar to that of the Paja and Muchai inscriptions, and most probably the difference between the dates of these inscriptions is very slight. *Ka* is upright and rectangular, and there is no cursiveness about it. Coming to the case of *sa*, we find that this letter is cursive, and the projection of the lower limb is wanting. The want of the projection no doubt shows that the Zeda inscription is later in date than the Paja or Mount Banj records, in both of which *sa* in all cases shows a distinct projection of the lower limb. The affinity, which the Zeda inscription shows in one case, with the records of the Śaka group is wanting in all other inscriptions of the Kushān period. The upright rectangular *ka* henceforth disappears from the Kharoṣṭhi script. Early Kushān records, both Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmī, show a decided affinity with those of the Śaka period. Before the discovery of Kāniṣka's records at Sarnath Bloch was inclined to assign the Śrāvasti image of the Bodhisattva to the Śaka period and stated that the characters used in this record were what Bühler called *Kṣatrapa* characters.<sup>1</sup> After the discovery of the Sarnath inscription it was found that the donors of the Sarnath and Śrāvasti images were one and the same.<sup>2</sup> So it

<sup>1</sup> JASB. 1898, pt. i, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind., vol. viii, p. 173.

was no longer possible to refer the Śrāvasti record to the Śaka period. This was recognized by Bloch when editing this Śrāvasti record for the second time. "It is beyond doubt that the inscription belongs to the time of the Kushān kings, either of Kaniska or Huviška, not of the Kshatrapas, Rañjubala or Śoḍāsa, as I suggested in my previous article, for palaeographical reasons."<sup>1</sup> The present examination goes to show that what has been said of Brāhmī is also true of Kharosthī, and that the date of the Śaka inscriptions cannot be very far removed from that of the Kuṣāṇa ones both in Brāhmī and Kharosthī. There had been very rapid changes in the Indian scripts ; Brāhmī as well as Kharosthī changed a good deal during the reign of Kāṇiśka. The case of Brāhmī may be proved by comparing the Sarnath and Śrāvasti records with those dated in the regnal years of Kāṇiśka found in the ruins of Mathura. The examination of the following records of Kāṇiśka's reign shows that the Zeda inscription, and that only, shows an affinity with those of the Śaka period. In the case of the other inscriptions, i.e. those of Manikyala, Shakardarra and Ara, we do not find any very close resemblance with the records of the earlier period. In the Manikyala inscription the left vertical limb of *ka* is often curved, thus making a nearer approach to the cursive form of later inscriptions and the Sue Vihar and Wardak records. The change in other letters of the alphabet is not so perceptible as in the case of *sa*. We find that in this case the projection has disappeared and the letter is fast losing all resemblance to the form of the Śaka and Maurya periods. Here, for the first time, we also notice a change in *ya*. *Ya* in this record, in one case at least, is indistinguishable from *sa*, as is the case in the Wardak inscription. *Ha*, on the other hand, is archaic and resembles that of the Maurya period.

It may be questioned whether the palaeography of the Manikyala inscription should be considered here at all. Recent interpreters of this record are inclined to think that

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, p. 180.

it is not dated in the 18th year of Kāñiṣka's era. This view was propounded for the first time by Dr. Lüders. According to him the word *Kāneśaka* was connected with the words following it, and not the date which is placed before it.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Fleet says : "The view, which I have held for some time, that this Māṇikiāla inscription indicates a revival of the line of Kanishka I at some time after A.D. 50, will explain at once why the deposit of coins along with the record includes coins of Kozoulo-Kadphises and Wema-Kadphises . . . as well as of Kanishka I."<sup>2</sup> The latest interpreter of the Manikyala record is Mr. F. E. Pargiter, who translated this portion of the record as follows :—

"In the year 18 Lalāṇa, the President of the people, the aggrandiser of the Gushana race of Kaneśka, *who is* the great king of the realm Pura-aspa . . ." (JRAS. 1914, p. 646).

Mr. Pargiter is certainly right in stating that Kāñiṣka was alive in the year 18 and in confirming M. Senart's view that the date is really one of the era of Kāñiṣka. In my humble opinion the first line of the record may be construed differently. The name and the title of Kāñiṣka have the possessive case-ending, and it is proper that they should not be connected with the word *Gushana*. It goes, as the analogy of a number of similar inscriptions will readily show, with the date which precedes it in the record.

The Shakardarra inscription comes next in the chronological arrangement. The alphabet used in this inscription is much more advanced in form than the Manikyala inscription, which was incised twenty-two years before it, or the Ara inscription, which was recorded a year later. The forms of the letters are much more cursive than those of the Sue Vihar inscription. The alphabet of the Wardak inscription approaches it to a great extent. We have the cursive form of *ka*, which is almost entirely different from that of the Zeda inscriptions. The *sa* resembles the form of the letter used in the Manikyala inscription ; we find that *ka* resembles that of the Manikyala

<sup>1</sup> JRAS. 1909, p. 648.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS. 1913, p. 106.

or the Sue Vihar inscriptions. In each of these cases there is a distinct curve in the left vertical line of the letter.

There is a general consensus of opinion among scholars about the date of the *Takht-i-Bahai* inscription of Gondophernes. Dr. F. W. Thomas says, "Gondophernes was certainly ruling in the year 103 of an era commencing in the first century B.C."<sup>1</sup> Mr. V. A. Smith says, "About A.D. 20 Azes II is supposed to have been succeeded by Gondophares, who seems to have conquered Sind and Arachosia, making himself master of a wide dominion free from Parthian control. When he died about A.D. 60 his kingdom was divided."<sup>2</sup> Later on he says, "Mr. R. D. Banerji believes the date 103 to refer to the Saka era and so to be equivalent to A.D. 181, basing his opinion chiefly on characteristics of the Kharosthi script in the inscriptions and partly on an interpretation of Parthian history (*Indian Antiquary*, 1908, pp. 47-62). But the history of Parthia is too imperfectly known to be of much help, and Kharosthi palaeography needs further study. I am not convinced of the alleged late date for Gondophares."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Fleet says, "The inscription from the *Takht-i-Bahai* hill in the Yusufzai country, some fifty or sixty miles to the northwest of Taxila, shows that Gondophernes was reigning over the territory which included that hill in A.D. 47, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign . . . in A.D. 20 or 21."<sup>4</sup> In my monograph on the Scythian period of Indian history I have analysed the evidence for and against the early date of Gondophares.<sup>5</sup> Here I shall confine myself to the evidence of palaeography alone. In the case of the test letters *ka* and *sa* we find that they are later in form. *Ka* is much more cursive, resembling the form of that letter in the *Shakardarra* inscription, being more cursive than those of the Manikyala, Ara, Zeda, or Sue Vihar inscriptions. So also in the case of *sa* we find that the projection of the lower limb is absent in all cases. Under

<sup>1</sup> JRAS. 1913, p. 636.

<sup>2</sup> *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 230.      <sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 234, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> JRAS. 1913, p. 1003.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 1908, pp. 47, 62.

these circumstances it is not possible to place it before the Taxila Silver-plate of the year 136. It is also impossible to place this record before the records of Kāñiśka. Palaeographical examination reveals very clearly and distinctly that the Takht-i-Bahai inscription comes after the Kushān group of inscriptions. The inscriptions of Kaldarra, Skarah̄heri, and Dewai certainly come after both the group of Kushān records and the Takht-i-Bahai inscription. The extreme cursiveness of the Skarah̄heri and Dewai inscriptions signifies that they exhibit the latest form of the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet. The Skarah̄heri inscription is very carelessly incised. The cursiveness is not apparent in *ka*, but *sa* does not show any upward projection in lower limb. *Ka* in the Skarah̄heri record is very cursive and the letter does not occur in the Dewai record. In the later record *sa* is almost unrecognizable. In one case it resembles *ta* or *ra*.

The same characteristics are to be observed in records on metal. The form of *ka* in the Sue Vihar record is a nearer approach to that of the Taxila Copper- and Silver-plates. The form of that letter in the Peshawar Relic Casket is more cursive. The final form is to be seen on the Wardak record, where it is almost as cursive as that of those of the Skarah̄heri or shakardarra inscriptions. In the records of the Kushān period incised on metal the forms of *ka* and *bha* are almost similar, so are those of *sa* and *ya*. The form of *sa* is distinct in the Peshawar Relic Casket ; but in the Sue Vihar and Wardak inscriptions we find the shapeless scribble of the Dewai and other late Kushān records.

#### CONCLUSION : SIMULTANEOUS USE OF DIFFERENT ERAS

The foregoing examination proves that a number of different eras were being simultaneously used in Northern India in the first centuries before and after Christ. It has been distinctly demonstrated that the Taxila Copper-plate inscription, the Taxila Silver-plate inscription, the stone inscriptions from Fatehjang, Muchai, and Paja are much earlier in date

than the Zeda, Manikyala, shakardarra, or Ara records. Consequently it cannot be denied that the dates 68, 81, and 111 are not Kushān dates. Therefore there was at least one era before the Kushān era, whatever its initial year might have been. The discovery of the Taxila Silver-plate shows that two different eras were used in the same area before the Kushān group of inscriptions. This is decidedly proved by the wording of the first line. The addition of the word *Ayasa* immediately after the year and before the month and the day, shows that that word is an adjunct of the year ; or, in other words, *Sam* 136 *ayasa* means *Ayasya samvatsare* 136, "in the year 136 of (the era founded by) Azes." Similarly, the position of the word *Mogasa*, with titles, in the Taxila Copper-plate inscription, shows that this word also cannot but be an adjunct of the date. Similar instances cannot be found in the whole range of Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhi records. There are two records of the Gupta period which appear to me to possess a similar peculiarity in the wording of the dates. These are : (1) The Mankuwar image inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I; and (2) the Eran pillar inscription of Budhagupta.

In the first record we find that the date is given in the second line of the record. Here, the mention of the word *rājye*<sup>1</sup> leaves no doubt about the meaning. The second record is in verse, and the date is also given in verse.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, these two records do not really possess this peculiar form of dating. Dr. Thomas objected to the interpretation of the word *Ayasa* as an adjunct of the date, because there were not titles before it as in the case of *Moga* in the Taxila Copper-plate.<sup>3</sup> But it should be considered that the dynasty of Azes had ceased to rule in the year 136 of his era, as the mention of the Kushān king indicates, whereas most probably Liaka Kuśulaka was a provincial governor under the successors of Moga or at least acknowledged a nominal allegiance. Hence

<sup>1</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 46, pl. viia.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 89, pl. xiia.

<sup>3</sup> JRAS. 1914, p. 989.

the presence of the titles before the name of *Moga* in the Taxila Copper-plate and their absence before that of *Azes* in the silver-plate. Dr. Fleet does not hesitate to state "The word *ayasa* does not mean here 'of Aya'. The record does not set up an era of Aya. And no amount of special pleading can establish any such view. As to what the record really does mean, I do not hesitate to say now, on the strength of the forms *aammi* and *ayamisi*, = *asmin*, that it must be an equivalent of *asya*, 'of this'"<sup>1</sup>. Can anybody find a material instance of what Dr. Fleet has imagined? It will be very difficult to find one. I think, so far as our present knowledge goes, the use of the word *ayasa* to mean *etad* or *idam*, has not been met with as yet in the date of a single inscription. Wherever *etad* or *idam* has been used, e.g. *etaye purvaye* or *etasya purvasya*, *ise*, etc., the phrase comes after the entire date, i.e. after the year, month, and day. Dr. Fleet still continues to state that "On the analogy of everything that is taught by the dating of the early Indian records, it would be dated, and would place Aya himself, in the year 136 of an unspecified era founded by someone else."<sup>2</sup> In how many records can a similar peculiarity be found? I do not think there are any besides the two records of the Gupta period mentioned above, and even in these two cases the similarity is not real. We have, therefore, at least two different eras before the Kushān one.

There are two dated Kharoṣṭī records with dates above 300. I cannot bring myself to agree with Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the Skarahṝi image inscription. These are the inscriptions of Loriyan Tangai and Hashtnagar. The Loriyan Tangai record was incised in the year 318, and the Hashtnagar one in 384 of some unspecified era. The letter *ka* does not occur in any one of them; but the form of *sa* is the same as that used in the Zeda, Manikyala, or Ara inscriptions of the Kushān period. I do not think they could

<sup>1</sup> JRAS. 1915, p. 317 (following Dr. Thomas' suggestion, ibid. 1914, p. 989).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 1915, p. 317.

be placed after the Skarahdheri or the Muchai records. Hence these dates must be referred to some other era different from those of Moga, Aya, or Kāñiska. We have, therefore, evidence of three separate eras being used in the same area in the first centuries B.C. and A.D. Such an idea would have horrified Dr. Fleet. When I stated that the Mathura inscription of the year 229 must be referred to some other era different from the Vikrama or the Śaka, he had said, "And the difficulties attending them, and the necessity of not accepting apparent results too quickly, are well illustrated by the point that Mr. R. D. Banerji, who went into this branch of study somewhat deeply, could not account for the Mathurā inscription of the year 299."<sup>1</sup> Had Dr. Fleet maintained that he would not accept an era as one, unless it continued up to the present date, then he should not have accepted the Gupta-Valabhi or Harṣa eras as real. As to the use of different eras in the same locality and at the same time, Dr. Fleet himself would have had to admit that strong evidence is not wanting in favour of such a thing, and there are ancient records dated in two or sometimes more than two different eras.

The continued use of more than two different eras at the same time and in the same locality shows that any attempt to refer all dates of the Scythian period, e.g. from the fall of the Indo-Greek monarchies to the rise of the Gupta Empire, to any single era must necessarily be invalid.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> JRAS. 1913, p. 977.

<sup>2</sup> The Plates accompanying this paper will appear in the July number of the Journal.



## Invasion of the Panjab by Ardashir Papakan (Babagan),<sup>1</sup> the first Sasanian King of Persia, A.D. 226-41

By VINCENT A. SMITH

IN the course of miscellaneous reading lately I came across a passage in the Introduction to Firishta's *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India* which I had marked long ago and then completely forgotten. If the main statement in that passage (as italicized), to the effect that Ardashir Pāpakān (Bābagān), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty of Persia (A.D. 226-41), invaded the Panjab and retired on receiving homage and tribute, be accepted as true, the information thus acquired not only explains an extremely puzzling unique coin which I published in 1897, but also throws welcome light upon one of the darkest periods of Indian history, the third century after Christ.

The passage, translated by Dowson in the *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. vi, p. 557, is this:—

"Some state that Jūnah was son of a daughter of Fūr [Pōros]. After he ascended the throne he performed many good deeds and exhibited many excellent qualities. He endeavoured to promote the prosperity of the kingdom [*scil.* India with capital at Kanauj], and established many towns and villages on the banks of the Ganges and Jumna. He also made great efforts to administer justice.

"He was contemporary with Ardashir Bābagān. One year Ardashir marched against India and reached as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind. Jūnah was very much alarmed, and hastened to do homage to him. He presented pearls and gold and jewels and elephants as tribute, and so induced Ardashir to return. Jūnah then went back to Kanauj, and lived there for some time in

<sup>1</sup> Sir C. J. Lyall informs me that, according to Nöldeke, the correct spelling of the name is Pāpakān. Good Iranian scholars use variant spellings.

tranquillity. After a reign of ninety years he died, leaving two sons, the elder of whom, Kalyān Chand, succeeded him. He was a tyrant, and Kanauj fell to ruin."

It seems impossible to ascertain the source from which Firishta obtained the legends and traditions related in his Introduction. The chronology is utterly wild and most of the matter obviously is extravagant fiction, but a little genuine history seems to be embedded in the mass. The categorical statement that a perfectly historical personage, Ardashir Pāpakān (Bābagān), invaded the Panjab, advancing to the neighbourhood of Sirhind (Sihrind, Sahrind) or to the Sutlaj, and then retired when the principal Indian monarch did homage and paid tribute, does not read like mere legend. Similar events have occurred, and the assertion, as it stands, looks as if it had been copied from some serious historical work not now available.

In the third edition of my *Early History of India* (1914, p. 275) I showed from various lines of evidence that it is "clear that in some way or other, during the third century, the Panjab renewed its ancient connexion with Persia". One of the lines of evidence referred to is the testimony of the coins of the Later Kushāns, bearing names in Indian Brāhmī letters.

Mr. R. D. Banerji has proved that the coins of the "minor Scythian dynasties" who succeeded the great Kushāns in North-Western India fall into two classes, namely (1) those of the Shākas (Sākas), and (2) those of the Shiladas (Siladas). The coins of both classes usually bear three different syllables or groups of syllables in Brāhmī script on the obverse, which is of the standing king type.

Mr. Banerji's account of them may be quoted :-

"The recovery of Gāndhāra was made probably during the later years of Kaniṣka II, about 200 A.D. There are several other varieties of the coins of Kaniṣka II, issued by his subordinate chieftains or governors of provinces. They [ordinarily] bear three different syllables or groups of syllables on their obverse. One

syllable below the right hand of the king, another between his feet, and the third below his left hand. From the analogy of the coins of Kaniṣka II, struck by Vāsu, we can deduce that the syllable or syllables below the right arm of the king are the initial letter or letters of the name of the chief by whom the coin has been issued. This deduction is supported by other names such as Mahi-(dhara), Viru-(dhaka), etc., which are also found below the right arm of the king on the coins of Kaniṣka II. The other two syllables are probably initial letters of the names of mint-towns and provinces. Thus *Ga* probably stands for Gāndhāra (the province), *Khu* for Khudraka (Sans. Kṣaudraka) the country of the Oxydrakae (?). Names of mint-towns probably are mentioned by their first syllables, which occur below the left armpit of the king, such as *Pu* for Puṣkalāvatī, and *Ga* for Gāndhāra (the city), *Na* for Nagarahāra, etc. In exceptional cases, where only one syllable is found, whether below the left arm or under the feet, I think it is to be taken as the initial letter or letters of the name of the mint-town."

That explanation, although not susceptible of rigid proof, seems to me to be highly probable.

The foregoing long introduction leads up to the description of the particular coin of which the peculiarities are explained by the statement of Firishta.

The description, as originally published by me in JASB., part i, vol. lxvi, 1897, "Numismatic Notes and Novelties," p. 5, is corrected in accordance with the subsequent observations of Drouin (*Revue Num.*, 1898, p. 140), and of Mr. R. D. Banerji in J. & Proc. ASB., n.s., vol. iv, 1908, "Notes on Indo-Scythian Coinage," pp. 88-90, from which quotations have been made above.

The coin in question was collected by Mr. J. P. Rawlins in the Jhelum (Jihlam) district, Panjab, and was brought to him thickly covered with dirt, and in circumstances which permit no question about its being genuine. The material is a yellow metal, some kind of brass, the thickness medium, and the diameter .82 inch (21 mm.). It is figured in JASB. for 1897 as above, pl. I, fig. viii, and being well executed has been clearly reproduced. The obverse shows the familiar standing

figure of the king, as on other coins of the Later Kushāns. The reverse is occupied by a heavy-topped flaming "fire altar" or, more accurately, "fire receptacle," with (?) streamers hanging from it on the left, but no marks on it. There is no inscription or anything else on the reverse. The characters on the obverse are: *Shilada* (*Silada*), near right margin, outside the spear in the king's left hand; *Pūsana*, under his left arm; and *Nu*, under his right arm; exactly as on the coin figured by Cunningham in *Num. Chron.*, 1893, pl. ix, ii, fig. 13.

But that coin has on the reverse the customary throned goddess holding the cornucopiae.

Thus the coin obtained by Mr. Rawlins, which seems to be still unique, is what numismatists call a "mule", that is to say, a piece with an obverse belonging to one class of coins and a reverse belonging to another. In this case the obverse is of the ordinary Later Kushān (Kuṣān) type, while the reverse, as Drouin proves, exhibits the fire-altar (or receptacle) as seen on the coins of Ardashir Pāpakān (Bābagān), the first Sasanian king (A.D. 225 or 226 to 241). It is possible, or rather it is probable, that the existing reverse is the result of double striking over an obliterated throned goddess reverse, and there are doubtful indications of the old device.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it is hardly conceivable that such a "mule" should have been produced in any other way.

The question then arises why the device of the Sasanian king was put on a coin of a Shilada Kushān. If the Shilada had made his submission to the Persian monarch, such action would be intelligible, and in accordance with precedent, but it would be difficult to imagine any other reason for stamping a Sasanian device on a Kushān coin.

Firishta's statement, if accepted, explains the coin, while the existence of the coin goes a long way towards establishing the truth of the statement. If Ardashir really invaded the

<sup>1</sup> The marks which look like "streamers" may be and probably are part of the original device.

Panjab and retired from the neighbourhood of the Sutlaj on receiving homage and tribute from the Later Kushān princes then ruling in North-Western India, the coin is a natural expression of such an event. If no such invasion took place it is very difficult to explain the indubitable fact of the existence of the coin.

The result is that I believe the alleged invasion of the Panjab by Ardashir to have really occurred, although it does not appear to be mentioned by the known accessible historians of Persia, so far as I can maintain, and it is at present impossible to determine where Firishta found the record of the fact.<sup>1</sup> Ardashir is described as an ambitious monarch who sought to restore the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy by various campaigns, but I cannot find any definite mention of a raid into India.

*Pāsana* seems to be the king's name, *Shilada* (*Silada*) his tribe or clan, while *Nu* will be the initial syllable either of his country or his mint-town. I cannot explain the name *Jānah* which Firishta gives as that of the principal king of India. The historian believed Kanauj to have been the capital of all the early Indian kings—whether rightly or wrongly it is hard to say. It may well be true that Kanauj fell into decay about A.D. 300.

When Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim, visited the town at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., he found there only two Buddhist monasteries and a single *stūpa*. He makes no mention of Brahmanical buildings. It seems evident, therefore, that Kanauj, although a city of immemorial

<sup>1</sup> Sir C. J. Lyall writes : "I find on looking at Tabari (Arabic text, ser. 1, vol. ii, pp. 819, 820) that it is there stated that, after Ardashir's conquest of the countries bordering on Khurāsān, Marv, Balkh, and Khwārizm, he returned to Fārs and halted at Gōr (جور), where he was visited by messengers from the king of Kūshān (ملک کوشان), the king of Tūrān (طوران), and the king of Mukrān (مکران), who expressed their allegiance (الطاعة). If Kūshān represents the dynasty then ruling in India, this agrees with your view."

antiquity and historical renown, was not a place of much importance at that time. The final restoration of the glories of Kanauj was effected by King Harsha-vardhana Śilāditya between A.D. 612 and 647. When Hiuen Tsang was there in 643 he found a magnificent city with a hundred Buddhist monasteries and double that number of Brahmanical temples. The city evidently must have shared in the prosperity of the Gupta Empire during the fourth and fifth centuries, and so was prepared for further embellishment at the hands of Harsha. The Brahmanical temples probably were erected for the most part before his reign.

It is perfectly credible, and indeed highly probable, that during the latter part of the disturbed third century the city had decayed as indicated in the chronicle used by Firishta. Its partial recovery may be dated from about the middle of the fourth century, by which time Samudragupta had uprooted all rival princes in the territory now called the United Provinces, and had brought the country under his own enlightened government. The prolonged and prosperous reign of his successor, Chandragupta II, cannot but have been to the advantage of Kanauj.

As regards the name of King Kalyān Chand, mentioned by Firishta, it may be noted that there is reason to believe that Kalyāṇa (Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka) was one of the many alternative names of Kanauj (JRAS. 1908, p. 768).

We thus see that it is possible to extract not a little history from the study of one small coin and a few unregarded lines in the work of a Muhammadan compiler. The inferences drawn, although not absolutely established beyond the possibility of doubt, seem to me to attain a high degree of probability. Firishta certainly did not invent the positive statement about the invasion of Ardashir Pāpakān (Bābagān). He must have copied it from some book now missing. So far as the statement can be tested its truth is confirmed.

## Identification of the "Ka-p'i-li country" of Chinese Authors

BY VINCENT A. SMITH

WATTERS, when discussing various passages in Chinese literature referring to Kapilavastu, the early home of Gautama Buddha, or to other localities with similar names (JRAS. 1898, pp. 539, 540), observed that "for the names Kapila and Kapilavastu the Chinese seem to have obtained from their foreign teachers several explanations more or less exact".

After enumerating some such explanations, he proceeds to say that the Kapilavastu district or Sakka region is sometimes mentioned by a designation equivalent in meaning to "Red-marsh-country", and "evidently the translation of a Sanskrit term". In connexion with this last name it may be mentioned that "in the year A.D. 428 an embassy from Yue-ai [Chinese characters], 'Moon-loved,' king of the Ka-p'i-li country, arrived in China. This country—that is, its capital—was described as situated on the side of a lake to the east of a river, and surrounded on all sides by dark purplish rocks". In a note Watters adds that the name Ka-p'i-li occurs in Chinese treatises other than Sung shu, ch. 57, the authority cited, and that it "was evidently not Kapilavastu". It is clear, therefore, that a country named Ka-p'i-li and distinct from Kapilavastu was fairly well known to Chinese authors.

In the *Early History of India*, ed. 3, 1914, I cited the embassy of A.D. 428 as being the only precisely dated event on record referable to the reign of Kumāragupta I (A.D. 413–55), but was unable to make any suggestion concerning the position of the Ka-p'i-li kingdom.

Lieut.-Col. Alban Wilson, late of the 8th Gurkhas, in letters dated December 24, 1918, and March 12, 1919, offers a solution of the question, which seems to me not only plausible but almost certainly correct. He asks:—

"Is it possible that the Ka-p'i-li country is the Khasia [Khāsi] Hills in Assam? For the big river which now divides the Khasia from the North Cachar Hills is called the Kopili, and is looked upon by the Khasias with very great respect and fear, and even in my time human sacrifices have been made to it. U-Ai is quite an ordinary Khasia name. I once had a servant of that name... The Kopili flows down into the Nowgong district of Assam, and the Khasias once ruled the plains up to the Kopili, as well as the hills joining on to them, as is proved by the monoliths they used to erect being found in the plains as well as in the Hills."

Those observations prove that the Kopili River was locally famous, and that the people on its western bank once ruled a kingdom of considerable magnitude.

Lieut.-Col. Wilson points out that a Khasia Rājā named U-Ai "could have sent his embassy from the Kopili up the Lohit into China". The Lohit River, much further to the north, is a member of the Brahmaputra system of streams. It is curious that in Sanskrit the words *lohita* and *kapila* both mean "red" or "reddish", so that the name of the Lohita River might appear as Ka-p'i-li, which is a direct transcription of the nearly synonymous word *Kapila*. But the fact that U-Ai (Yue-ai) is apparently a Khasia (Khāsi) name seems to preclude the identification of the "Ka-p'i-li country" with the valley of the Lohit.

The name of the river written by Lieut.-Col. Wilson as Kopili appears in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (1908) as Kapili, practically identical with the Chinese Ka-p'i-li, the only difference being that the Chinese *p* is aspirated. According to the *Gazetteer*, the river rises on the northern slopes of the Jaintiā Hills, and after a course of 163 miles falls into the Kālang at Jāgi, near the western end of the Nowgong district. It receives many tributaries, and in the rainy season is navigable for boats of four tons burden up to the place where it leaves the hills. Most of the hill trade, consisting of cotton, lac, and *eri* silk, comes down the Kapili to Chāparmukh, and is dispatched thence by rail or country boat to Gauhāti.

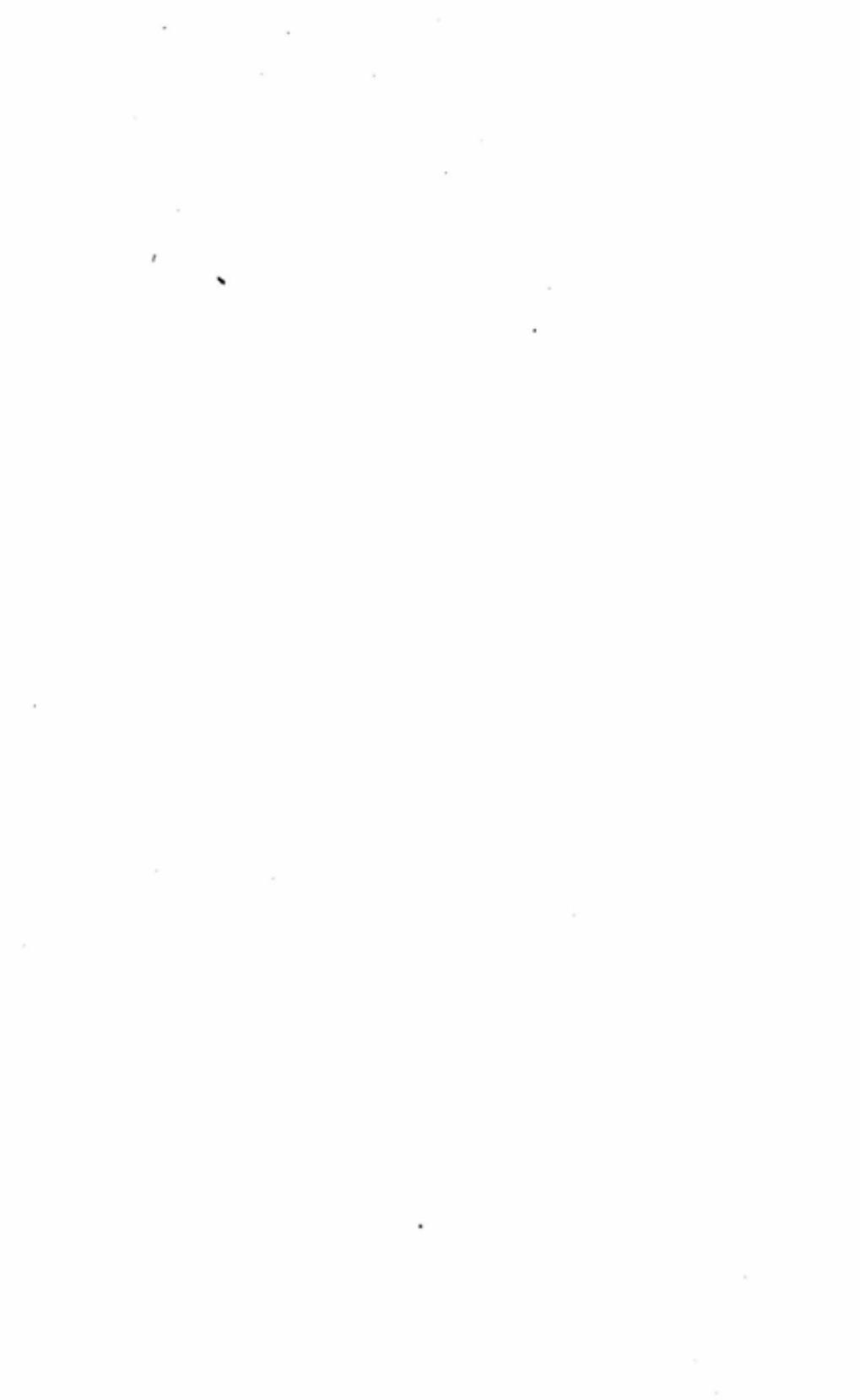
My conclusion is that in all probability Lieut.-Col. Wilson

is right in identifying the Ka-p'i-li country of Chinese authors with the region of the Khasia or Khāsi Hills to the west of the Kapili River, and also in treating the Chinese name Yue-ai as being primarily not a translation of Chandrapriya or some similar Sanskrit designation meaning "Moon-beloved", but simply a phonetic transcription of U-Ai, that is to say, the Khasia name *Ai* with the masculine prefix *U*, to which the Chinese gave a meaning in their own tongue. In the Khasia (Khāsi) language all masculine names and nouns take that prefix *U*, as feminine nouns and names take the prefix *Ka*. For example, '*u-ksew* means "dog", and *ka-ksew* means "bitch".

It is quite natural to suppose that the Indo-Chinese Rājā of a small frontier kingdom in Assam, with trade connexions of appreciable value, should have sent an embassy to the court of the great empire beyond the mountains. The Khāsi Rājā is described above as "Indo-Chinese" in accordance with the statement of the *Imperial Gazetteer* (1908) that—

"The Khāsis and Syntengs, like the other tribes of Assam, are descendants of the great Indo-Chinese race, whose headquarters are supposed to have been in North-Western China, between the upper waters of the Ho-ang-ho and the Yang-tse-kiang. They are, however, thought to belong to one of the earliest bands of immigrants, and their language is quite unlike any other form of tribal speech now found in Assam, but is connected with the Mon-Khmēr language used by various tribes in Anam and Cambodia. While the rest of the horde pressed onwards towards the sea the Khāsis remained behind in their new highland home, and for many centuries have maintained their nationality intact, though surrounded on every side by people of a different stock."

Sir George Grierson tells me that he would "not call the Khāsis 'Indo-Chinese'. If language is any guide, they are an isolated branch of the Mōn-Khmēr family, which comes from, or is related to, Indonesia, not to Indo-China". I cannot form or express any opinion upon the ethnological question thus raised, which is not strictly relevant to the subject of this communication.



## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### BAR HEBRÆUS'S SPIRITUAL ANCESTORS

Dr. Gaster's accurate review of *Bar Hebræus's Book of the Dove* in this Journal (1919, pp. 593-6) would not cause me to write a few words of reply, if there were not one point that seems to want a short elucidation.

Dr. Gaster expresses his surprise at the fact that in my attempt to find the origin of Bar Hebræus's mysticism I should have overlooked the Mandean and the Kabbalistic systems, though a place has been given to "some Greek mystical traditions, or rather ancient mysteries" which are separated from the mysticism at the end of the thirteenth century by "a large gap".

What I want to point out is the following: Bar Hebræus's nearest spiritual ancestors are the Muslim mystics of the type of Ghazālī. They have taken over their spiritual inheritance from the Syrians. The latter are, to a large extent, dependent upon Greek-writing Fathers such as Basil and John Climacus, who owe their system to various sources: Christian and Neopythagorean ascetics, Neoplatonian philosophers, Hellenistic mystery-religions, and Gnostic sects. Now I do not deny that the Mandean and the Kabbalistic systems are also related to the sources mentioned. But what I deny is that those systems are the direct agnates of that of Bar Hebræus, and that they had any direct influence upon John Climacus, Isaac of Ninive, or Abū Ṭālib al-Makki, to mention some names only. In my opinion they belong to a collateral line, and though both have been embodied in Aramaic dialects, I doubt whether it could be proved or even made probable that Bar Hebræus was personally acquainted with them. It is for this reason that I have ignored them in my Introduction to the translation of the *Book of the Dove*.

What gave me the better right to do so is the uncertainty concerning the date of the Zohar and the Mandean writings. Dr. Gaster is no doubt well acquainted with the controversy about the origin of the Zohar. According to Nöldeke the oldest of the Mandean writings known to us may have been composed between A.D. 650 and 900. The system may be older, but still it is hardly possible that the course of the great mystic stream which ends with Bar Hebraeus should have been influenced by the conceptions of the Mandaeans or those of the Kabbalists.

If any of Bar Hebraeus's ideas, left unexplained in my book, can be explained from the two systems mentioned by my learned reviewer, I shall acknowledge the justness of his remark. But as long as this has not been done, I shall feel justified in having omitted these systems in the spiritual pedigree of Bar Hebraeus.

A. J. WENSINCK.

LHIDEN.

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#### THE BOOK OF THE APPLE

In the JRAS. for 1892 I published a Persian translation of the dialogue called *The Book of the Apple*, of which the original Arabic was not known to be in existence, though one short fragment of it had been discovered. In the Cairene *Muqtaṣaf* for December, 1919, and January, February, and March, 1920, Mr. Amin Zāhir Khair Allah has published a text of the Arabic. He states that he found the MS. in the library of Gregorius IV, Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch. The Arabic corresponds closely with the Persian, only whereas in the latter the chief speaker is Aristotle, in the Arabic he is Socrates. The Arabic fragment published in JRAS. 1892, p. 188, does not agree verbally with the text in *Muqtaṣaf*, December, 1919, p. 483, but this may be due to inaccurate citation. The editor of the Arabic is mistaken in asserting that the greater number of the interlocutors have names that are non-Hellenic; he has

been misled by corruptions of the text, most of which can be corrected from the Persian.

It is rather curious that in the reference to this treatise in the *Ikhwān al-Safī* (Bombay, 1306, iii, 120; Dieterici, *Philosophie der Araber*, i, 105) Aristotle, not Socrates, is said to be the chief speaker. This agrees with the Persian; yet that the original had Socrates is made probable by the introduction of Simmias and Criton, who figure amongst the hearers of Socrates in the Platonic dialogues, and who can only be brought to the death-bed of Aristotle by a gross anachronism. There is therefore room for an inquiry into the literary history of this dialogue, which is in any case as old as the tenth century of our era.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

A HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PEOPLE. By C. A. KINCAID, I.C.S., and RAO BAHADUR D. B. PARASNIS. Oxford University Press. 1918.

This is the first volume of a history of the Marathas. It is a valuable contribution to Indian history. The authors have worked out the inscriptions and the legends of the Maratha people, and so have been able to add much to Grant Duff's book. But their book is, I think, disfigured by excessive partizanship. Not contented with making out Sivaji to have been a man of talent and courage, and a patriotic Hindu, the authors represent him as spotless, and support the monstrous figment that he slew Abzul Khan in self-defence! Such one-sidedness is excusable in a Maratha, but we expect more mental solidity in a Briton. Mr. Kincaid says he has done his utmost to avoid giving offence to his Indian readers, and begs forgiveness if he has hurt their feelings. Why should he? He would have done better to follow John Bright's motto, "Be just and fear not." Perhaps, like Sir Richard Steele, he has been undone by his auxiliary, for his coadjutor, to whose knowledge and industry he owes so much, seems to be an ardent Hindu. Mr. Kincaid speaks of his Indian friends, but I hope he also has Musalman friends, and he can hardly expect that they will accept his view of the occurrence at Pratapgad. One or two opening chapters give accounts of the early legends of the Marathas. They are interesting, and remind us of the early chapters of Grote's *History of Greece*. But there is a difference. The Greek legends are deeply interesting and important on account of the wonderful outburst of light and leading which followed them. But it cannot be said as yet that anything of vast importance has followed upon the time of the legends of Maharashtra.

Mr. Kincaid is rather a discursive writer, and several of

his chapters have very little to do with the Marathas. His accounts of the Delhi emperors, and of the Bahmani dynasty, and of the Vijayanagar Empire, etc., seem to be fairly correct, but they add nothing to Elphinstone's history. Why should we be told in a book about the Marathas of the vagaries of a madman like Muhammad Tughlak, or of the brutalities of Alauddin ? Why mention Bābur, who certainly never had anything to do with the Marathas, and who tells us nothing about the Deccan ? The details about the Portuguese might also have been spared. It is owing to the discursiveness of the sketches that several slips have occurred. I am not aware that Timur ever claimed to be a descendant of Chingiz Khan (p. 80). He may have intermarried with that family, but he was a Turk and Chingiz was a Mughul (p. 81). Ferghana is not now known as Kokan, and though Bābur's body was eventually borne to Kabul, this did not occur till several years after his death. At p. 98 Shah Tahir is described as an impostor, which was not the case. He was a Persian and a poet, and apparently a genuine believer in Shiism. He is, I have little doubt, the Saiyid Deccani of Bābur's Memoirs (p. 110). Shah Jahan is called Shah Jahan's eldest son. This, of course, is wrong, for Khusru and Parwiz were older than he. But as on the preceding page Khusru is called the eldest son I suspect that at p. 110 "eldest" is a printer's error for "ablest".

At p. 112 Mr. Kincaid tells the story of Shahaji, the father of Sivaji. But he says nothing about Khāfi Khan's story that though Sivaji's ancestors were connected with the royal family of Chitor, one of them had made a mesalliance with a woman of a different caste, and so there was a strain of illegitimacy in Sivaji. It is said that on account of this one of Sivaji's ancestors went off to the Deccan. All that Mr. Kincaid says is that the ancestor fled on account of a quarrel with the Rāna. Khāfi Khān is a careful writer, and he says that he has taken his account of Sivaji's origin from reliable men of the Deccan and of the Maratha tribe. Surely

it is an honour to any family to be connected with Rānas of Chitor, even though there be a bend-sinister in the pedigree, and the fact that Sivaji had Rajput blood in his veins may account for the courage and ability which Khāfi Khān concedes to him. Mr. Kincaid is very severe on Khāfi Khan and says that his should be wholly discarded. He adds that Khāfi K. never speaks of Sivaji except as that "vile infidel, or that hell-dog". I have read Khāfi K.'s long account of Sivaji at pp. 111 to 119 of the Bib. Ind. edition, and I have not found there the expression "hell-dog", nor that of "vile infidel". It is true he calls him a son of Satan, but he also gives him credit for very good conduct after Afzal K. had been murdered. He says that no woman was dishonoured nor any mosque or Koran insulted.

Looking at the probabilities of the case, it is far more likely that Sivaji was the aggressor. He was in the prime of life (32 or 33) and had concealed weapons. Afzal was an elderly, if not an old man, for he had a son with him who was of full age, and who took charge of the cavalry after his father's death. I do not know the evidence for the statement that he was a man of great stature and strength. I have read somewhere that he was corpulent and lethargic, and the fact that he had to be carried about in a palanquin indicates that he was not a robust man. Mr. Kincaid gives a very curious reason for believing the *bakhar* narratives. He says that if the writers of the *bakhars* had believed the story of Sivaji's treachery they would have gloried in it. In other words, their minds were so warped that in other instances they have ascribed unscrupulous acts to their hero because they thought these proved his cleverness. But if Sivaji's followers had such notions would not their leader be likely to share them? *Noscitur a sociis* is a true maxim, and the maxim is perhaps still truer if we substitute *servis* for *sociis*. Nor is it true that assassins and their admirers always and everywhere glory in their deeds. They have one language for the public and another for private consumption. I have

no doubt that secretly they applauded the killing of Afzal K., but publicly they denied the fact. It is a pity that Mr. Kincaid has not studied more Muhammadan writers. He says that for the Musalman period he has chiefly relied on Ferishta. But Ferishta knew nothing about Marathas and was dead before Sivaji was born. Why has not Mr. Kincaid referred to the *Alamgīrnāma* and the *Bādshahnāma*?<sup>1</sup>

H. BEVERIDGE.

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HISTORY OF THE PORTUGUESE IN BENGAL. By J. J. A. CAMPOS. Calcutta, 1919.

The position of the Portuguese in Bengal differed considerably from that of their establishments in Southern and Western India, in Ceylon, and Malacca in the early part of the sixteenth century. Bengal was a tempting field for commercial enterprise, but this field was left open to private exploitation, and no official centres of government were formed there and no forts were erected for the protection of

<sup>1</sup> It is with pleasure and pride that I have found that my honoured father took, in his History of India, the same view as myself of the encounter between Afzal Khan and Sivaji. See the book, vol. i, p. 295, where Sivaji's act is called an atrocity, and where there is a cut showing the *vāghnak* or tiger's claws which Sivaji is said to have invented. It would be interesting to know if the weapon, now in the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum, that is, the Victoria and Albert Museum, can be regarded as the actual instrument which perpetrated the murder. My father's book is in the main a history of the English in India, and I had forgotten till now that he had described the Pratapgarh incident. No doubt he followed the account in Grant Duff's work.

It has been said that Sivaji's conduct in killing Afzal was no worse than Bruce's slaying of Comyn. No doubt there was a similarity between the two acts. But there is no evidence that Bruce's action was premeditated and elaborately planned. And it does not appear that either Bruce or the Scottish nation ever behaved hypocritically or attempted to deny the murder. Kilpatrick, Bruce's follower, at least had no qualms on the subject, and when Bruce was in doubt if he had really killed Comyn, went and completed the business. The nearest parallel to Sivaji's conduct seems to be the Biblical story of the killing of Amasa by Job. In both cases there was an embrace followed by a stab.

their interests. Nevertheless, the story of their settlements in the Ganges Delta and of the prosperity attained by them is of sufficient importance to deserve a separate record, and this record is now given us by Mr. Campos.

It was not till after the conquest of Malacca by Alboquerque in 1511 that the great conqueror and administrator turned his attention to Bengal and to the further east. In 1513 he drew the attention of the King of Portugal to the important trade which might be developed in Bengal. He did not live to carry out his plans, and it fell to his incompetent successor, L. S. D'Albergaria, to develop his projects. This was done in a half-hearted and blundering manner in the years 1517-18. Chittagong was selected as the point of approach, apparently because it was accessible from the sea more easily than the ports in the Delta, and also perhaps because its subjection to the Pathan kingdom of Bengal was loose and intermittent. Just at that time Sultān Husain Shāh, whose capital was at Gaur, had taken temporary occupation of Chittagong, and his governor there was apparently at first inclined to receive the visitors, but his suspicions were soon raised by the contradictory claims made by rival Portuguese commanders of flotillas which had been dispatched by the governor without any knowledge of each other, and the expeditions ended in failure. Another expedition in 1528 also came to grief. Some Portuguese were killed and others imprisoned by Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh, and the leader, A. de Mello, had to be ransomed. He was sent on another expedition in 1534 by a more energetic governor, Nuno da Cunha, but was again imprisoned. The governor in revenge sent a fleet which attacked and burnt Chittagong. The Sultān was himself in a precarious position, as he was threatened by Shēr Khān, Sūri (the Xercansor of the Portuguese), and he grasped the opportunity of utilizing the fighting power of the foreigners for his own defence. Meanwhile, an enterprising Captain, Diogo Rebello, had made his way northwards along the Orissa coast to the Hūgli branch of the Ganges, which he

ascended to the great port of Satgāw, one of the principal gates to the trade of Bengal. They were allowed to remain and trade, and the captives were released to fight against Shēr Khān. Maḥmūd, however, succumbed to the latter in 1538, and the governor never obtained the sanction he desired for the erection of a fort at Chittagong. He did not attempt to make an establishment by force, being no doubt fully occupied with the Turkish attack on Diu. Nevertheless, Portuguese trade began to thrive from that time on, both at Chittagong and Satgāw (Satigam), which they named Porto Grande and Porto Pequeno, "the great and small ports."

Owing to a change in the course of the Hūgli River the channel on which Satgāw was situated gradually silted up, and they made their headquarters at Hūgli on the new bed of the river a few miles away. Chittagong retained its importance also as they found no strong central government to fight against there. It was practically abandoned under the Sūris, and even Akbar's conquest of Bengal did not lead to any permanent supremacy over Chittagong, which had to be reconquered by Aurangzēb in A.D. 1665, when it was renamed Islāmābād. Its principal value was that it served as a stepping-stone to the great eastern branch of the Ganges, joined by the Brahmaputra. On this branch below Dhākā was situated the flourishing port of Sunārgāw, and yet lower down the stream Srīpur, and these could easily be reached from Chittagong. Hūgli had, as Mr. Campos shows, taken the place of Satgāw by 1580, when the Portuguese obtained a charter from Akbar, but Satgāw lingered for some time before it was finally abandoned. Hūgli became very prosperous, and the Portuguese enjoyed much independence, but it is clear that they never built a fort there, and that the authority of the emperors was paramount, as Mr. Campos clearly shows (pp. 57-9). As to formal Portuguese government, there is no evidence, and Mr. Campos cannot be said to have made out his contention that there was a regular succession of governors. The Chittagong settlement continued to flourish,

and the Portuguese were long in favour with the King of Aracan, who was supreme there. The seizure by them even of the great island of Sundiva (1590-1602) (Sandwip) was not opposed at first, but their final conquest of the island led to a war, which, however, was settled amicably for the time being. In the end they were forced to abandon Sandwip. Many adventurers took part in these wars and established themselves again in the island in 1610, and made it the centre of what can only be described as piracy. As the Portuguese power under the blight of Spanish rule and the advance of other European powers began to wane throughout the East, the settlements in Bengal also suffered, and finally a deadly blow was struck against them by the Emperor Shāh Jahān, who cherished a grudge against them partly because they had refused to help him when he was in rebellion against his father, Jahāngir, and partly on account of their piracies and their alliance with Aracan, which continued to defy the Mughal Empire. Many other causes have been assigned, but these seem to be the most important. Hūglī was attacked and taken after a desperate resistance in A.D. 1632. Yet shortly afterwards they were allowed to establish themselves there again and to carry on their trade, which was no doubt profitable to the country.

Yet the period of decline had set in, and the continued prevalence of Portuguese piracy in the Bay of Bengal did not improve matters, until finally the conquest of Chittagong by Shāista Khān, Aurangzeb's viceroy of Bengal, led to the loss of all Portuguese independence. Mr. Campos has given a full and accurate account of all these events based on a careful examination of the authorities, both Portuguese and Indian. He has also traced the subsequent history of the Portuguese in Bengal, and endeavoured to identify all the sites mentioned by the chroniclers, generally with success. On the vexed question of the identification of the mysterious city of Bengala, mentioned by early travellers, he pronounces in favour of Chittagong, without, however, giving due importance to the fact that its subsequent pre-eminence

as the "Porto Grande" did not exist at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and also that Chittagong did not at that time form part of Bengal but of Aracan, and could not have been described as the capital of Bengal, and that the true capital Gaur and the great ports of Sunargāw and Satgāw have claims which cannot easily be set aside. Mr. Campos has rendered a great service to Indian history in bringing together all the facts on this interesting subject, and has supported his statements by very full references to the authorities on which he relies.

M. L. D.

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**COMPARATIVE ADMINISTRATIVE LAW.** By NAGENDRANATH GHOSE. Tagore Law Lectures, 1918. Butterworth and Co., Calcutta. 1919.

From the point of view of the Indian student, for whom the work is primarily intended, there is much to be praised in the latest volume of Tagore Law Lectures. The author is familiar, if not with the original sources, at least with good authorities on the topic with which he deals ; he quotes their views with much freedom and in great detail, while his judgment is generally sound, and he supplies an original element in his adduction of evidence from Indian law. Moreover, though a strong supporter of reform in the government of India, he has avoided the temptation of converting his lectures into propaganda, while using with skill and moderation proposals included in the Montagu-Chelmsford report to illustrate his theme.

Even from the more exacting standpoint, which treats the book as intended as an individual contribution to the study of comparative administrative law, the work is of substantial value, which judicious condensation would enhance. But some at least of the author's theories must be reconsidered, and in particular it is desirable that an effort should be made to elucidate the relation between administrative law and

constitutional law, which is passed over *sub silentio*. The omission to discuss this point is the more unfortunate in that the suggestion is made that administrative law is not yet differentiated in England from private law, and not yet made a subject of special study (p. 3). In point of fact, by far the larger portion of Mr. Ghose's book deals with questions which in England have always been taught as part of constitutional law, from which, indeed, they can only artificially and inconveniently be severed. What England has not developed, and until of late has not studied, is a system under which, in cases between the government or officials of a state on the one hand and subjects on the other, special principles differing from those applicable to cases between subjects are applied by special administrative courts, whose personnel contains a preponderating administrative element. In one sense, indeed, the title of Mr. Ghose's work leads to disappointment; it would be a matter of considerable interest if an attempt were made to explain the principles adopted in such cases in the various foreign countries where administrative law in this precise and limited sense prevails, but the difficulties of such an undertaking are obvious, and Mr. Ghose is not the only writer on comparative administrative law who has declined to face them.

Unfortunately also the author has committed himself to the heroic effort to prove that administrative law is a new conception, and that the Greek City States and the Roman Republic alike were ignorant of the idea. Feudalism we are assured gave men the idea of rights which can be enforced against the state. The argument is strange and unattractive. If state is taken in its precise sense of a political society, to assert the rights of individuals against it is absurd, since it is the necessary condition for the existence of rights at all; if state means government, the argument is wholly contrary to fact. In Plato and Aristotle there is found the scientific development of the conception of law as the essential element of state life, a principle which Demosthenes asserts with special

energy, and which in Athens was carried into practice by the rules that offices were held on brief tenure, that the holder had to pass tests before admission, and was accountable for his official acts ; in other words the idea of administrative law was fully worked out. The case of Rome is equally clear ; as Mr. Ghose himself admits (p. 21), the Roman magistrate after his annual tenure of office was liable to civil and criminal proceedings for his official acts in the ordinary courts, which is a complete vindication of administrative law ; moreover, Mr. Ghose has failed to note that the possibility of illegal action by the magistrate while in office was strictly limited by the likelihood of the intervention of a colleague of equal or higher status or of a Tribune. By this means Rome supplied, not uningeniously, a method of preventing abuse of official power, without actually enfeebling the executive by exposing its members to suits while engaged in the performance of their duties. Feudalism, on the contrary, destroyed administrative law and administration according to law alike by its deplorable relegation of judicial authority to baronial courts.

It is difficult also to accept the confident prediction of the author (pp. 263-6) that cabinet government is the only possible form of government for the future of any country, or even to understand the reasoning by which this claim is supported. It is maintained that all modern constitutions, almost without exception, now require that every act of the executive must be countersigned by a minister who will be answerable for its legality in the courts of law, and that, as the Ministry must take the law from the legislature, the latter will eventually insist that they shall use their discretionary powers at the pleasure of the legislature. The conclusion is as unconvincing as the premises are incorrect. Neither in the United Kingdom under cabinet government nor in the United States, where no real cabinet government exists, is a Minister answerable to the law courts in virtue of countersigning an executive order, and the United States constitution shows now less probability than ever of developing the system

of ministerial responsibility and cabinet government. The position may be regrettable, but no amount of faith in cabinet government can alter the fact that it really flourishes in its true form only in the British Empire, and in a modified form in Belgium and possibly a few minor states.

Nor is it possible to subscribe to the suggestion of the author (pp. 632, 653-5) that the introduction of a system of administrative law is at once inevitable and desirable in the case of the United Kingdom. As Mr. Ghose admits (p. 643), in France only has administrative law developed the true characteristics of law, and even there the position of the man injured by official action is not pleasant. He may be met in any effort to obtain redress by the plea of act of state, and in other cases even if the Court of Conflicts, in whose decisions the administration has the decisive vote, should admit that his case is one for judicial examination, he must then pursue it against the government before an administrative court, the members of which are not merely administrative officials, but are removable at pleasure by the President. In the United Kingdom as matters stand, the courts have developed their jurisdiction to deal even with threat of illegal action by administrative officials,<sup>1</sup> and there remains only the question of controlling decisions taken within the bounds of law. Mr. Ghose hardly realizes the true position of matters in the United Kingdom in this regard. Large powers are given, for instance, to local education authorities, which are elective bodies or at least committees of elective bodies with co-opted members; if in the exercise of their discretion these bodies threaten to affect unfairly the rights of individuals, there normally lies an appeal to the Board of Education; similarly, from orders by municipal authorities, appeals lie in certain cases to the Ministry of Health; in these cases the central bodies perform more effectively and satisfactorily the purpose aimed at by Mr. Ghose, the review by a comparatively

<sup>1</sup> *Dyson v. Attorney General* [1911] 1 K.B. 410; *Board of Education v. Rice* [1911] A.C. 179.

impartial body of administrative decisions, while against illegality the courts are open and will afford protection without regard to administrative convenience. Whether in the case of India administrative courts might serve a useful purpose may also be doubted ; the whole tendency of Indian administration must clearly now be to approximate to the English model, and in the long run administrative courts might prove a disadvantage, not a protection, to private rights. It is significant that Mr. Ghose is not a pronounced admirer of the existing Revenue Courts, which are in a sense courts of administrative law (pp. 129, 130, 654).

On more purely legal points Mr. Ghose is sometimes not a sure guide. Owing to his unfortunate ignorance of the authoritative literature on responsible government in the British Dominions, he has failed (p. 345) to appreciate the precise distinction between the position of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Governor-General or Governor of a Dominion or Colony as regards liability for official actions. It is now absolutely clear law that no action lies against the Lord Lieutenant in respect of any action done or ordered by him in virtue of his office ; the matter is so certain that since the case of *Sullivan v. Spencer*<sup>1</sup> in 1872 no attempt has been made to question it, and to cite dicta of English judges against it is idle. No such immunity is accorded to Governors-General, but it is by no means clear that the analogy of Governors-General is more applicable to the Governor-General of India, who is given the style of Viceroy, than that of Lord Lieutenant. The point is of some interest, for, as Mr. Ghose very properly points out (pp. 347, 349), the exemption from proceedings granted to the Governor-General, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Executive Councillors by s. 110 of the Government of India Act, 1915, applies only to the original jurisdiction of the High Courts, and leaves open the question of proceedings in inferior courts, unless it can be argued that the greater includes the less, and that effect must

<sup>1</sup> 6 I.R.C.L. 173.

be given to the presumed intention of the statute generally to exclude jurisdiction. If, however, the Governor-General is to be assimilated to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, then apart from statute he would be exempt from suit. The whole question is of more than merely speculative importance, in view of the extension of the immunity even to Ministers appointed in accordance with the reform scheme of Indian government.

Mr. Ghose again has involved himself in needless difficulties on the subject of the application to India of the common law of England to the several parts of the British India as they were acquired (pp. 365, 367, 420). To lay this down as a general doctrine is impossible, and the needs of the situation are met by remembering the clear distinction between the common law as a whole and the common law in its application to the Crown. The existence of sovereignty carries with it the application to the whole of British India of the latter, save where expressly varied by statute law applicable to India, and thus offences against the King's person are offences *pleno iure* in India, requiring no express statutory enactment. The other case which perplexes Mr. Ghose is even more simple ; the fact that the High Court at Allahabad has power to punish summarily a contempt by fine or imprisonment<sup>1</sup> does not depend on a very problematic extension of the common law to the Mofussil, but on the fact that the Court is established by letters patent under a statutory authority, and that such a power is an essential adjunct of such a court, and thus is derived meditately from Parliament. It need hardly be said, therefore, that it is impossible to accept the suggestion (p. 571) that the provision of the Act of 1833<sup>2</sup> which forbids Indian legislatures to make laws affecting any part of the constitution of the United Kingdom "whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown" could ever have been construed so as to afford

<sup>1</sup> *In re Sarbadhikary*, L.R. 34 I.A. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Now s. 65 of the Act of 1915.

all persons in British India the guarantee of the fundamental rights of British subjects, and to limit Indian legislation as the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution has limited the powers of American legislatures. The plain meaning of the statute is far more limited, and nothing but confusion could have resulted from efforts to apply to India conflicting judicial theories of the common law rights of British subjects. On the other hand it is impossible not to agree with Mr. Ghose (pp. 320, 326) that the Indian courts in holding, as has been done of late,<sup>1</sup> that the power to sue the Secretary of State in Council does not extend to actions done by the Government in its sovereign capacity, have disregarded British for American precedent in a manner which is certainly to be regretted.

Many other points might be discussed, but it must suffice to refer to the curious impression formed by the author (p. 216) of the mode of government of Crown Colonies, which he conceives to be rescued from despotism by the application of minute codes of rules binding on the Governor and his subordinates. The despotism is as idle a fiction as the codes of rules; the rule of law is absolute in every Crown Colony, and the Governor's despotism reduces itself to the discretion which he must possess as to carrying out legal acts, while in the sphere of administration the Colonial Office has never attempted to lay down any code of regulations.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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REDEMPTION, HINDU AND CHRISTIAN. By SIDNEY CAVE, D.D.

The Religious Quest of India. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, 1919.

This book, like others in the same series, marks the attitude of the new school of Christian missionaries towards Hinduism. Earlier teachers, like W. Ward and Abbé J. A.

<sup>1</sup> *Secretary of State v. Cockcroft*, I.L.R. 39 Mad. 351.

Dubois, were vigorous critics of the animistic type of Hinduism and devoted less attention to its theological and philosophical aspects. Since their time, while the propaganda has gained considerable success among the outcast and primitive tribes, it has encountered serious opposition from the new Hinduism stimulated by political aspirations, and in particular from the Ārya Samāj. Hence has arisen a change in missionary methods. There is less denunciation of the grosser types of Hinduism, more toleration towards its nobler elements and its philosophy, and an attempt is made to show that these latter are not inconsistent with, but find their highest development in, Christianity. Dr. Cave, dealing with the "Presuppositions of Essential Hinduism", reviews in order the religion of the Rigveda and the beginnings of Brahmanic speculation; the theology and philosophy of the Upanishads; the Vedānta; the Bhagavadgītā; and the "Lovers of God", like Tukārām, Tulsī Dās, and Māṇikka Vāśagar. While there is little originality in his treatment of these well-worn subjects, his exposition of the progressive development of Hinduism in its doctrinal and philosophical aspects is based upon a sound knowledge of the original sources and adequate learning in comparative theology. In the latter part of the book he attempts to show that in Christianity the problem of retribution is more adequately faced, and that the devotion of the Bhakta is realized in the worship of the Founder of Christianity. Discussion of these arguments would be out of place here. The book seems specially adapted for use in Missionary Colleges, where its influence will be excellent. All students of Hinduism will welcome this dignified, tolerant, and learned exposition of Hindu doctrine and philosophy.

W. CROOKE.

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SHEKEL HAKODESH. The metrical work of JOSEPH KIMCHI, now edited for the first time from MSS. of the Bodleian with an English translation, introduction, notes, etc., to which is added YESOD HAYIRAH (so), from MSS. in the British Museum, with an English translation and notes by HERMANN GOLLANZ, M.A., D.Lit. pp. 125 and 87. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1919.

Joseph Kimḥi, the father of the eminent David Kimḥi, was a prolific Hebrew writer of exegetical grammatical works, and flourished in the earlier half of the twelfth century. He also tried his hand at Hebrew verse, not, indeed, original poetry, for which he evidently had no talent, but the versification of parts of a famous ethical work by an unknown author. This work, styled *Sheqel Haqqōdesh*, forms the subject of the above-named study. The work upon which it is based is the *Choice of Pearls*, a popular collection of about six hundred and fifty moral sayings, and one of the puzzles of mediaeval Hebrew literature. So much has been written in the endeavour to discover its author that it is unnecessary to discuss it again here. Professor Gollancz appears to be inclined to look upon Solomon b. Gabirol, if not as the author, at any rate as the compiler of the "Choice" and its translator from Arabic sources. Yet on a later page of the Introduction he seems to doubt even this. I do not think that there is any justification for connecting Ibn Gabirol's name with that work at all. Mediaeval Hebrew literature abounds in pseudonymous works fathered on famous authors. There is little doubt that the "Choice" would never have become so popular but for the fact that it was ascribed to Ibn Gabirol. There is, on the other hand, strong negative evidence. *First*, Ibn Gabirol's short life was so replete with poetic, liturgical, and philosophic works that it is difficult to see how he could have collected, translated, and arranged so large a number of moral sentences culled from the writings of many authors, both Greek and Arabic; *second*, it is not likely that an original thinker, who under the name of Avicebron, occupied an

honoured place in mediaeval philosophy, should have been contented with merely popularizing the apophthegms of other persons. I feel strongly inclined to doubt the Jewish authorship of the book, as the theological passages in it are so vague that they might well have been written by a Moslim. Moreover, the longest chapter (xliv) of the book is of such a gloomy and ascetic tone that it suggests Sūfic influence. The book seems rather to belong to the class of Arab writings on philosophy and ethics, the originals of which were lost, the Hebrew translations alone being saved. A case in point is the *Aphorisms of Philosophers* by Ḥronein b. Ishāq, the Hebrew version of which is supposed to be one of the sources of the "Choice". Whether the Hebrew translator was Judah b. Tibbon or not, is likewise open to grave doubts. The only thing certain is that Joseph Kimḥi attached great importance to it, and thought it his duty to make the "Choice" still more popular by turning a number of paragraphs into metrical and rhymed verse. The last word of each paragraph intimates the number of lines it contains. Professor Gollancz presents a careful edition of this text according to two MSS. in the Bodleian Library. For the benefit of readers who might wish to compare it with the "Choice" he has added a concordance of more or less similar passages. This must have entailed much work, but it was a labour of love. The notes contain a full collation of the two MSS. and references to a number of other works. The book is further enriched by reprints of the *Foundation of Religious Fear*, the original of which was first edited by Dr. Baer. Professor Gollancz wished the student of this class of literature to find these works of similar tendency side by side in one volume. For the same reason he also re-edited his English version of the last-named work. The volume, which is beautifully got up, is the fruits of assiduous labour and research.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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THE LIFE AND STORIES OF THE JAINA SAVIOR PĀRÇVANĀTHA.  
By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

This "essay", to use the author's own description of his work, consists of a summary or analysis of the contents of the *Pārçvanātha Caritra*, by Čri Bhāvadēvasuri, one of the Jaina pontiffs, recently edited by two Indian scholars, and published at Benares (1912). Professor Bloomfield has exercised a wise discretion in presenting us with a sketch of its contents, in preference to attempting a complete translation of the whole. Pārçvanātha was the penultimate Jaina Tirthāṅkara, or Saviour, traditionally believed to have been born in 817 b.c.; the last Tirthāṅkara, Mahāvīra, his successor, having come into the world 250 years later. This Jaina work affords us no very great insight into the intricacies of Jaina philosophy, but it is interesting in that it brings together a mass of ancient Indian legendary tales and fanciful stories, which in part, like the Buddhist jātakas, cluster round the supposed previous incarnations of the sage and the members of his family. In the fifth sarga we are told of his last birth; and from there to the end, where his entrance into nīrvāṇa is related, the book tells of his doings on this earth, his sermons and the illustrative tales by which he sought to enforce his doctrines, his moral precepts, and incitements to virtue. Some of these parables are already well known, such, for instance, as the tale of King Čibi and his self-sacrifice.

Of great value are the author's "additional notes" at the end of the volume. Some of these are purely linguistic and grammatical; but he devotes 25 pages to a study of parallelism in the motifs of the tales, with a bibliography of each to assist the student, and this section of the work is most welcome.

R. S.

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THE KESAVA TEMPLE AT BELUR. By R. NARASIMHACHAR.

This monograph is the second of the archaeological series, *Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore*, published by the Mysore

Government. It deals with a temple regarding which James Fergusson (*Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*, 44, 48, 49) wrote : " [It is] perhaps as perfect an example of the decorative skill of a Hindu architect as any to be found in India," and he added that the building " combines constructive capacity with exuberant decoration to an extent not often surpassed in any part of the world ". In another passage this most competent judge spoke of " the marvellous elaboration and beauty " of the details ; and concerning one portion of the structure declared that " the amount of labour which each facet of this porch displays is such as, I believe, never was bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any building in the world ".

These words of praise are most thoroughly deserved. One has only to turn over the pages of this attractive publication and glance at the numerous illustrations (forty-five plates in all, mostly photographic) to realize that the Belūr Temple is a veritable triumph of human skill and patience. Once the architect had completed his scheme of construction he seems to have handed over the entire structure to a number of rival sculptors, who seized on every fragment of visible material and systematically carved the hard stone into a mass of decoration, each challenging the other to produce the most ornate, most elaborate, and most finished result. The wealth of adornments is, it is true, superabundant, but none the less it is unapproachable for its richness.

Figures of the gods and goddesses, dancing-girls, and others in human shape abound, and these, though somewhat squat and for that reason a trifle ungraceful to the European eye, are in many instances remarkable for the life and energy of their postures. The dancing figure, for instance, at the top left of plate xvi, affords an excellent example of this quality. The artist, rejoicing in his freedom, seems to have completely thrown aside all the cramping trammels of stereotyped Hindu iconography, and gone to Nature for his inspiration. Foliage of trees is rendered in most cases by exquisite scroll-

work, but on plate xxx is shown another instance of emancipation from rule, for the branches here are treated as falling downwards in long sweeps from the parent stem—treatment perhaps unique in India, but to be seen in Cambodian and Javanese mediaeval sculpture.

Belūr is situated on the bank of the Hemāvatī River, in the Hasan Taluk of Mysore. In the early twelfth century A.D. it was the capital of the kings of the Hoyśala dynasty, one of whom, Vishnuvardhana, caused the temple to be erected. He set up the principal image therein in A.D. 1117, and caused an inscription to be engraved to commemorate the event on the wall of the central hall. How much of the existing ornamentation was carried out by the founder we have no means of knowing, but it is certain that part of it, including the rich frames of the doors and the wonderful perforated screen-work, was due to the piety of his grandson, Ballāla II. Several of the attached buildings are of later date.

The names of many of the artists employed are engraved beside the results of their work, and the titles given to them prove not only that their labour was a labour of love, but that by their zeal and devotion they earned, as they had the right to earn, a highly honourable position in the courts of their sovereigns.

Mr. Narasimhachar and his assistant, Mr. T. Namassivayam Pillai, are to be heartily congratulated on their achievement. The book will appeal to all true lovers of Art no less than to all Oriental archæologists.

R. S.

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THE KALPA-SŪTRA OF BHADRABĀHU, WITH THE COMMENTARY  
SUBÖDHIKĀ OF VINAYAVIJAYA GAÑI. Fol. 304 ff. Published by the Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā, Bhavnagar; Bombay printed. 1915.

The publication of this fine volume, printed with the handsomest type and on the best paper of the Nirṇaya-sa-

Press, is a *punya* of Mr. Choonilal Sakulchand of Bombay, who has generously defrayed the attendant expenses. To the bounty of such pious *śāvakas* we owe the publication of many valuable and interesting works of Jain literature, and it is much to be desired that this godly and enlightened example may be followed by many others, both within and without the fold of Mahāvīra. As regards the contents of the book, it may be admitted that it does not add very much to our knowledge. The Prakrit text of the Kalpa-sūtra has already been published several times; besides the edition of Professor Jacobi, the Nirṇaya-sāgara Press printed it in 1914 and 1915, and another edition appeared at Ajmer in 1916, while an earlier edition of both the text and the commentary of Vinayavijaya was issued at Surat in 1911 as part of the Dēvchand Lālbhāi Series. Nevertheless, in view of the enormous importance of the Kalpa-sūtra in the religious life of the Jain community, there is ample room for this new edition, while Vinayavijaya's Subōdhikā will probably be found useful in the cases where experience has shown the need of "more light" than can be found in the ancient exposition of the text.

L. D. B.

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JAVAANSCHE SPRAAKKUNST. By H. N. KILIAAN. pp. xxxi and 368. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1919.

This is the work of a scholar who already has to his credit a grammar of the cognate Madurese language, and it is a very full treatment of his subject. The author has given sentences and phrases in illustration of the grammatical principles and usages he discusses, and he sometimes criticizes the views of earlier grammarians. So far as can be judged by one who is not himself an expert on the Javanese language, the grammar seems to be a very good and useful one, even if there is much in it that from the strictly grammatical point of view might be considered as surplusage.

The author's attempt to explain the modern forms of the letters of the Javanese alphabet from those of Nāgarī is, however, not merely outside the legitimate compass of a grammar, but also fundamentally misconceived. The Javanese alphabet belongs to an entirely different group of Indian alphabets, having descended by a distinct line from the ancient Brahmi without ever having passed through a phase at all resembling the characteristic forms of Nāgarī. A few hours' careful study of the palaeographical tables of Holle and Bühler will suffice to convince anyone of that simple fact, and it is to be regretted that the author of this grammar should have gone out of his way to introduce an unnecessary and misleading theory on Javanese palaeography into a work where it is altogether out of place.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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SIMON HEWAVITARNE BEQUEST. PARAMATTHA DÍPANI or THE COMMENTARY OF THE PETAVATTHU. Edited by SIRI DHAMMÁRÁMA TISSA NÁYAKA THÉRA and MÁPALAGAMA CHANDAJÓTI THÉRA, Assistant to the Principal of the Vidyodaya Oriental College, Colombo. Finally revised by MAHAGODA SIRI NÁNISSARA THÉRA TRIPITAKA WÁGÍSWARÁCÁRYA and PRADHÀNA NÁYAKA, Principal Vidyodaya Oriental College, Colombo. Published by the Trustees, Dr. Charles Alwis Hewavitarne, Srinath Kumaradas Moonesinghe, Esq. The Tripitaka Publication Press, Saraswati Hall, Pettah, Colombo (Ceylon). 1917. Also vols. ii, iii, and iv of the same series.

There are few scripts so annoying to read as the Siñhalese when set off with bad printing and bad paper. These were too often the mark of an edition from Ceylon, otherwise very helpful to the student of Pali Texts. It is a pleasure to open a printed text that seems—and indeed is—like the old palm-leaf manuscript copies produced as an act of piety. Such is

the edition of certain of the early Pali commentaries in course of publication by the Trustees under the will of the late Simon Hewavitarne. As the publisher's note to vol. i tells us, Mr. Hewavitarne died in 1913, leaving by will the necessary funds for printing the Pali texts of the Commentaries and bringing out a text of the Pali Tripitaka. The wishes of the testator were carefully carried out by his executor, Mr. Edmund Hewavitarne, the work of editing being allotted to a body of Theras, chosen after consultation with Professor Kosambi and visits to various temples.

After Mr. Edmund Hewavitarne's greatly regretted death in 1915, the work was continued by Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne, who still directs it. His prefatory note to vol. iii of the series contains information which is of interest to editors in Europe and those who are inquiring into the trend of Pali studies and Buddhist teaching in Ceylon. We learn that the commentaries on that very important body of Sutta Scriptures, the *Khuddakanikāya*, are not "in general use in Ceylon". In editing the *Theragāthā* commentary there were difficulties of which we have often heard ever since Professor Hermann Oldenberg wrote the instructive preface to his edition of the *Theragāthā* for the Pali Text Society years ago. Suriyagoda Sumangala Thera writes: "We were not successful in obtaining a complete copy of the commentary either from Ceylon or Burma, and all the copies that we obtained are incomplete and end with the fourteenth chapter."

Dr. Hewavitarne adds: "If these remaining seven nipatas are in existence I hope to publish them later as a supplement. I take this opportunity to ask the learned Theras and the public to kindly send me copies of the missing portion for future publication."

Dr. Hewavitarne further gives a list of the texts in preparation, showing how actively the collective work is carried on. A complete description and appreciation of the volumes of the series received by the Royal Asiatic Society would take more than our allotted space. It must suffice

to say that they are a welcome and handsome edition to the Society's Pali Library. Besides interesting prefaces and portraits, the volumes have each a table of transliteration of the Pali-Sinhalese into the Roman character, and an index. We welcome in this and other modern publications a sign that the material difficulties for Sinhalese editors are less than they were, while the standard of Buddhist scholarship remains at its old height in the Ceylon community.

M. H. B.

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THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY AND TEACHING OF LANGUAGES.  
By HAROLD E. PALMER.

This is a book by no means easy to read at the first attempt, and it is well worth the while of any student or teacher to go through it carefully more than once. The author, a language teacher of considerable experience, is an enthusiast who is ever on the look-out for means of improving his linguistic equipment, and his book is an endeavour, and I may at once say a very successful one, to analyse the various methods of teaching languages, and to sift the wheat from the chaff. Whatever any student's or teacher's own experience and preferences may be, he cannot fail to learn something of value to himself by a careful perusal of the work.

Mr. Palmer has come to the conclusion that the study and teaching of language are still in an empirical stage, that they could be made scientific, and that the time has now arrived when all those interested in the question should put their heads together and try to attain this object. At present language teaching is in a chaotic state, and it is a rare thing to find teachers in any one establishment making any effort to co-ordinate their work, and in cases where several languages are taught the various methods employed by the different teachers are absolutely bewildering to the pupils. Few people will see "eye to eye" with the author, for in the study and teaching of language, as of other subjects, the temperament

and the individuality of both teacher and student must be taken into account, but I think no one could fail to have his mind stimulated and his ideals raised after having read what Mr. Palmer says.

In the introductory section of the book the question of scientific study is discussed, and suggestions are made as to the ways in which a sound method might be evolved. "The reformation and standardization of language study must be effected primarily through the writer of methods, for a rational book . . . will show the teacher what to do and when and how to do it . . . The teacher is often himself a method-writer ; if he is not, he is generally a method-criticizer, for it is comparatively rare to find a teacher in complete agreement with the views of the author whose book he uses."

The second part deals very fully with the nature of language, which Mr. Palmer claims to be a series of natural phenomena, and he says that "the only aspect of language in which the conscious will of man can manifest itself is that concerned with its graphic representation. The alphabetic aspect alone is artificial ; the literary aspect is artistic, the rest is natural science". A very careful analysis of the nature of language follows. The section on monologs (words considered merely as conventional units of vocabulary in virtue of their being (a) written all in one piece, (b) separated by a break or space from the words with which they may happen to be juxtaposed), polylogs (units of two or more monologs in juxtaposition, but functionally and semantically equal to monologs), and miologs (significant or functional units, such as affixes), is excellent. The following is the author's summary of the units of language :—

- Sounds (the units of phonetics).
- Phonemes (the units of phonology).
- Letters (the units of orthography).
- Etymons (the units of etymology).
- Semanticons (the units of semantics).
- Ergons (the units of ergonics).

Parts iii and iv, on the Factors and Principles of Linguistic Study, are of special interest to the teacher, dealing with the manner in which he should attack his teaching, with due regard to the pupil's nature and acquirements, as well as the latter's aims in learning a given language. Five objective factors must be also taken into account :—

- (a) The language to be studied.
- (b) The orientation of the study.
- (c) The extent of the study.
- (d) The degree of the study. .
- (e) The manner of the study.

Some very ingenious and interesting diagrams are given, suggesting graphically the shortest and best ways of arriving at perfect comprehension. At the end of the fourth section are set out the respective advantages and disadvantages of subconscious and conscious study.

Part v contains an " Ideal Standard Programme " in considerable detail. For a teacher of Mr. Palmer's calibre it is ideal, but unfortunately the number of those who possess his energy, initiative, and inventiveness is limited, and there are few who could carry out his programme in all its details. Nevertheless, none but a purely mechanical teacher, with little or no interest in his work beyond that of payment, could fail to profit by studying this section and putting into practice at least some of the suggestions. It is worthy of note that in this section considerable importance is attached to phonetics, by which is meant a thorough training in the appreciation and reproduction of the speech sounds of the language studied (in the programme, French), not as so many people wrongly suppose, the use of phonetic symbols, which are after all merely accessories, not essentials. The science of phonetics—for it is a science—has fallen into a certain amount of disfavour, because so many language teachers acquire an elementary and very superficial knowledge of the subject and then with mistaken enthusiasm become protagonists.

They are like the stony ground of the parable, they produce no permanent fruit. I have known cases of pupils who after a few, very few, lessons in the phonetics of their own language only boldly advertise themselves as teachers of phonetics!

The subject of special programmes is treated in part vi.

The question of the functions and qualifications of the teacher are discussed in part vii. "The first qualifications of the expert teacher are a knowledge of the foreign language and of the student's native tongue, and the ability to organise the programme, to choose the appropriate material and the most appropriate means of conveying and of inculcating it." Personally I do not think that a knowledge of the student's native tongue is a necessary, though it is certainly a helpful, qualification. Section 34 details the "six vicious tendencies" to which all students are to a certain extent liable: "it is one of the most important functions of the teacher," says the author, "to react against these."

For students of Oriental and African languages, especially those of which the grammar has not yet been systematized, part viii is the most important in the book. It deals with two categories of students, (*a*) those who are unable to command the services of any teacher whatever, (*b*) those to whom the services of casual or non-expert teachers alone are available. But such students must not imagine that the study of this part without the rest of the book will be of great profit to him. The whole question of language study is so complex and so difficult that anyone who wishes to get the full benefit from any one part of the book must read it as a whole. The content of the blue paper of a Seidlitz powder is useless without that of the white. Similarly all the parts of this book are complementary to one another, and a dose of part i is ineffective without the proper doses of the other parts.

From the teacher's point of view the Ergonic Chart in Appendix I is of great interest and full of practical suggestions. A glossary of terms and a full index add considerably to the value of the work.

In conclusion I say to teacher and student alike : "Get the book ; read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest."

G. NOËL-ARMFIELD.

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**HISTORY OF AURANGZIB.** By JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A.  
Vols. III (1916) and IV (1919). Sarkar & Sons (Calcutta),  
Heffer & Sons (Cambridge).

The first two volumes of this work, dealing respectively with the early life of Aurangzib and the war of succession, were noticed in the Journal for October, 1913. In the volumes before us Professor Sarkar covers the ground rather more quickly. One gives the history of the first half of the reign (1658-81), while the other is devoted to the events in Southern India from 1645 to 1689. In both he shows, as before, the wide range of his researches, his critical judgment in dealing with his materials, and his gift of lucid and graphic narrative. His work is based on both printed and manuscript documents, the latter including not only Persian and Marāthi chronicles but also letters of the English factors at Surat and other places. It is easily the best authority on the period with which it deals. Such a production does credit to Indian scholarship, and the author is to be congratulated alike on the courage he has shown in undertaking so heavy a task and on the skill he has displayed in its execution.

W. F.

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**THE AHMADIYA MOVEMENT.** By H. A. WALTER. Oxford University Press, 1918.

The Ahmadiya Movement is a new sect which arose among Muslims in the Punjab in 1889 and has spread out in several directions and grown to considerable strength. It may be called the Muhammadan parallel to the Ārya Samāj. The founder, Mirzā Ghulām Alīmad, declared himself to be at once the Mahdi, the Christian Messiah, and a Hindu incarnation, and yet the movement has a number of noticeable

modern features. It stands seriously opposed to the rationalizing spirit of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh College, on the one hand, and to stiff unmoving Muslim orthodoxy on the other. It attempts to preserve the real central religious spirit and teaching of Islam and also to receive modern influences from the West.

The author of the book under review was one of the literary secretaries of the Y.M.C.A. in India, a young American of great promise, but he died of influenza on November 1, 1918, just before the publication of the book. It is a most serious attempt to get at all the facts and also the real spirit and aims of the movement. Careful research, accuracy, sympathy, and fairness mark the work from beginning to end.

It is published as a volume of the Religious Life of India series, which has been planned in order to describe the leading sects of Hinduism and Islam and the chief outcaste communities of India. *The Village Gods of South India*, by the Bishop of Madras, is the first volume of the series; *The Ahmadiya Movement* is the second; while the third, *The Chamārs*, is in the press.

J. N. FARQUHAR.

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## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January-March, 1920)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY  
*March 30, 1920.*—Mr. F. E. Pargiter, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following thirty-four candidates were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. S. Laiq Ahmad Ansari.	Lieut.-Col. H. W. Knox-Niven.
Dr. Debi P. Banerji, M.B.	Pandit D. K. Laddu.
Mr. Yājnavalkya Bharadwāja, M.Sc.	Mr. Narāyanaswāmi Mudalyer.
Mr. Cecil A. V. Bowra.	Mr. M. Mohan Mukerji, M.N.D.M.
Mr. R. L. Chopra, M.A.	Babu Pirthi Nath.
Babu Tarakchandra Das.	Babu Kshitish Chandra Pal, B.A.
Prof. Bhava Datta, Shastri.	Mr. Harry Phibbs, A.R.I.B.A., F.L.I.
Kumar H. Krishna Deb.	Mr. Samuel Raffaeli.
Maharajkumar Sri S. S. Sing Deo.	Mr. M. Deva Sastri, M.A.
Mrs. R. L. Devonshire.	The Rev. Ahmad Shah.
Mr. Dinanath Mazumdar, M.A.	Sahibzada Sadiq Ali Shah.
Mr. Gwilym Colby Edwards.	Mr. C. D. Prasada Sharma.
Mr. Haripada Ghosal, M.A.	H.H. the Maharaja of Sonpar, K.C.I.E.
Mr. Qazi Fazl-i-Haqq, M.A.	Mr. C. S. Srīnivāsāchārī.
Mr. A. N. M. Ali Hasan, M.A.	Mr. Syed A. Hasan Rizwi, B.A.
Mr. W. Ivanow.	Pandit C. Larayan Zutshi,
The Rev. Arthur Jeffery, M.A.	M.R.P.A.
Prof. Ram S. Kaushala, Vidya- bhūsana.	

The meeting was followed by a Reception, which was largely attended by members and their friends, this being the first meeting held at the new quarters of the Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

An address was delivered by His Excellency the Chinese Minister on "The Influences of Western Education in China".

This was followed by a resumé by the President, Lord Reay, who presided, of the history of the Royal Asiatic Society, with notes on the distinguished men who had taken part in its affairs from its foundation nearly a century ago up to the present time.

A fuller report of the speeches delivered on the occasion will be printed in the July number of this Journal.

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the April and October Numbers of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION  
OF THE  
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,  
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ . . . . a	ओ . . . . o	ट . . . . t	व . . . . b
आ . . . . ā	औ . . . . au	ठ . . . . th	भ . . . . bh
इ . . . . i	क . . . . k	ड . . . . d	म . . . . m
ई . . . . ī	ख . . . . kh	ढ . . . . dh	य . . . . y
उ . . . . u	ग . . . . g	ण . . . . ḡ	र . . . . r
ऊ . . . . ū	ঘ . . . . gh	ত . . . . t	ল . . . . l
ঞ . . . . ?	ঙ . . . . n̤	থ . . . . th	ব . . . . v
ঞঠ . . . . ?	চ . . . . c	দ . . . . d	শ . . . . s
ঞ ছ . . . . ?	ছ . . . . ch	ঘ . . . . dh	ষ . . . . ḡ
ঞু . . . . ?	জ . . . . j	ন . . . . n	স . . . . s
ঞঞ . . . . e	ঞঞ . . . . jh	প . . . . p	হ . . . . h
ঞঞ . . . . ai	ঞ . . . . ñ	ঞ . . . . ph	ঞ . . . . l

— (Anusvāra) . . . .	ṁ	ঃ (Avagraha) . . . .	ঃ
~ (Anunāsika) . . . .	ঃ	Udātta . . . .	ং
: (Visārya) . . . .	ঃ	Svarita . . . .	ঃ
X (Jihramūliya) . . . .	ঃ	Anudātta . . . .	ং
ং (Upadhmānīya) . . . .	ঃ		

## ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ل at beginning of word omit;	ك . . . . k	ل . . . . l	ل . . . . l
elsewhere . . . ل or ل	ج . . . . j	ج . . . . j	ج . . . . j
ب . . . . b	س . . . . s	م . . . . m	و' . . . . u
ت . . . . t	ش . . . . s or sh	ن . . . . n	
ث . . . . t or th	ص . . . . s or z	و . . . . w or v	DIPHTHONGS.
غ . . . . j or dj	ض d, dz, or z	ه . . . . h	ئي' . . . . ai
غ . . . . h	ط . . . . t	ئي . . . . y	ئو' . . . . au
خ . . . . h or kh	ك . . . . k		wasla . . . . ئ
د . . . . d	خ . . . . x		VOWELS.
ذ . . . . d or dh	خ . . . . g or gh	أ . . . . a	hamza ل or ل
ر . . . . r	ف . . . . f	ئ . . . . i	silent t . . . . h
ز . . . . z	ق . . . . q	ئ . . . . u	letter not pro-
			nounced . . . .

## ADDITIONAL LETTERS

PERSLIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTÙ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKSHTÙ.	PAKSHTÙ ONLY.
ب . . . . p	ڭ when pro-	ئ or ئ . . . . ئ	ئ . . . . ئ
غ . . . . c or ch	nounced as g . . . . k	ئ or ئ . . . . ئ	ئ . . . . ئ
ر . . . . z or zh	ڭ . . . . ئ	ئ or ئ . . . . ئ	ئ . . . . ئ
گ . . . . g	ڭ . . . . ئ		ئ . . . . ئ

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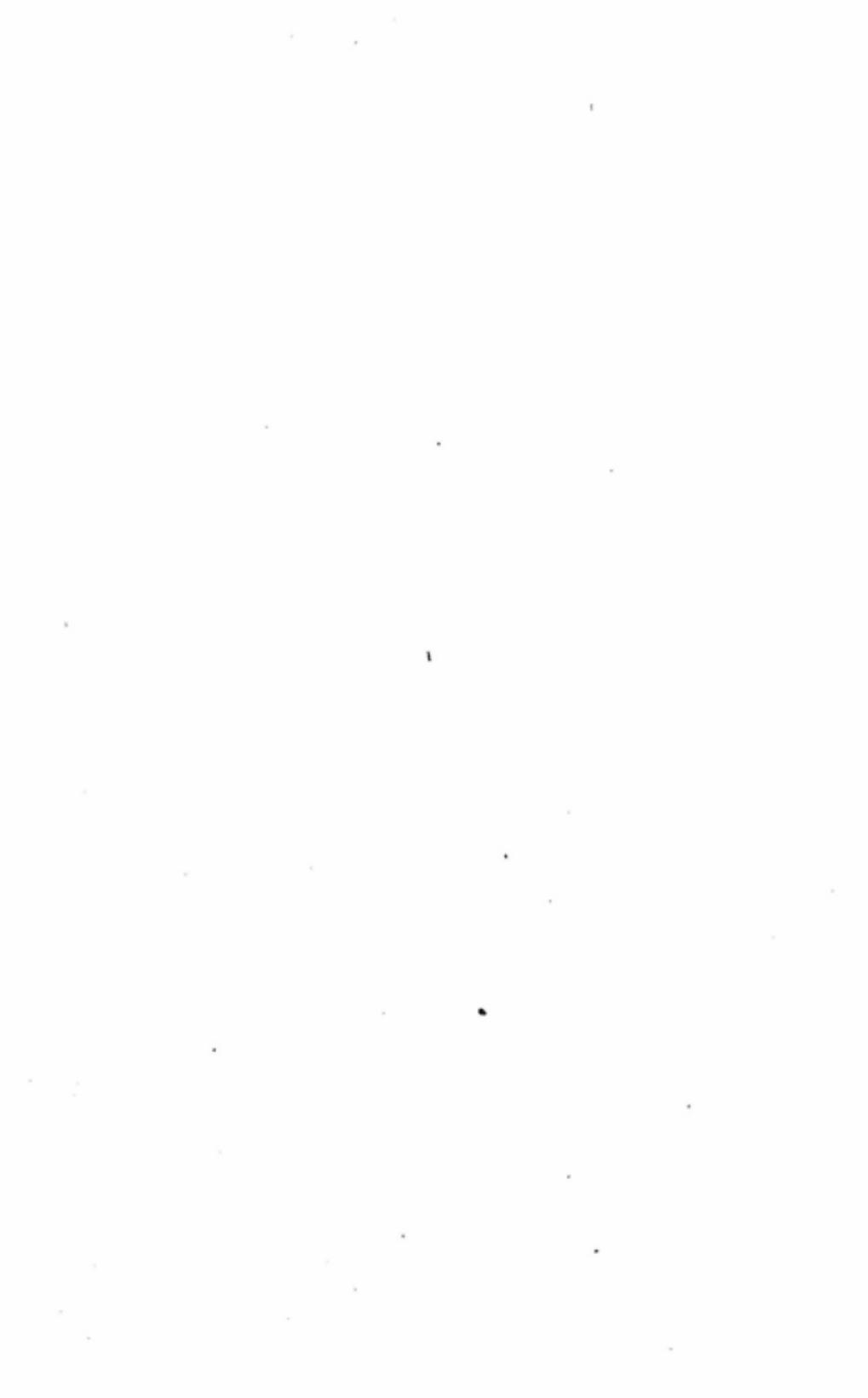
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JOURNAL  
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PART III.—JULY

---

Rulers of Gilan

RULERS OF GASKAR, TUL AND NAW, PERSIAN  
TALISH, TULAM, SHAFT, RASHT, KUHDUM,  
KUCHISFAHAN, DAYLAMAN, RANIKUH, AND  
ASHKAWAR, IN GILAN, PERSIA

BY H. L. RABINO

IN a former paper<sup>1</sup> I dealt with the rulers of Lāhijān and Fūman in Gilān, and now give an account of the remaining local dynasties and petty rulers of that province. The sources from which I have gathered my information have already been mentioned.

GASKAR

The former district of Gaskar comprised the present districts of Gaskar, Māsāl, Shandarmīn, and Tālish-Dūlāb. Its chief place was Dūlāb, which Muqaddasī describes as a fine place, its houses being well built of stone; the market was excellent, and a Friday mosque stood in it. It was also

<sup>1</sup> "Rulers of Lāhijān and Fūman, in Gilān, Persia." See JRAS., Jan. 1918, pp. 85–100. There is a mistake on p. 94 of this paper, l. 12; for Abu'n-naṣr ibn Is-hāq read Abu'n-naṣr ibn Fanākhusraw ibn Shujā' ibn Arkān ibn Fanākhusraw ibn Arkān ibn Dubbāj ibn Ḥabash ibn Khālū ibn Siristān ibn Is-hāq.

called Gaskar, and its ruins can still be seen in the forest of Haftdaqānān on the road from Tāhirgūrāb to Sayyid Sharaf Shāh. The author of *Masāliku'l-Abṣār fī Mamālikī'l-Amṣār* wrote : "Le souverain de cette province est en hostilité avec celui de Taoulim. Ses troupes sont plus nombreuses que celles des autres provinces de Djil. Ses états sont plus vastes, le territoire est plus fertile, plus abondant en grain, en fruits, en bœufs, et en moutons. On y retire de grands avantages du voisinage des Curdes et des marchandises qu'ils y importent."

In A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306-7), at the time of the Mongol invasion of Gilān, Amīr Chūbān was instructed to proceed to that province by way of Astarā and the shore of the Caspian. Amīra Sharafu'd-Dawla Shāramābī of Gaskar came forward to meet him with presents and entertained him in his own house.

In A.H. 789 (A.D. 1387) Amīra Sāsān was ruler of Gaskar. In A.H. 792 (A.D. 1390) he quarrelled with Amīra Dubbāj of Fūman because the latter had seized and cast into prison Amīra Muḥammad of Rasht. Amīra Dubbāj advanced to Gūrāb-i-Gaskar, but was surprised and taken prisoner, and was only released on payment of 300 mans of silk and 100 kharwārs of Iskandarānī cotton goods. In A.H. 880 (A.D. 1475-6) Amīra Jahāngīr was wālī of Gaskar ; he was defeated and slain seven years later by a relative of his, Amīra Siyāhwūsh, who succeeded him. When Khān Alīmad Khān annexed Biyapas, his generals, Shīrzād Sultān and Mīr 'Abbās Sultān, marched to Gaskar, where they defeated and slew the wālī Amīra Jahāngīr. About A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566-7) Shāh Tahmāsp instructed Khān Alīmad Khān to surrender Gaskar to its hereditary chief, Amīra Sāsān. On Khān Alīmad Khān's refusal, the Shāh sent troops to Gaskar. Sipahsälär Sa'īd, who was governor on behalf of Khān Alīmad Khān, was slain, and Amīra Sāsān, known as Amīra-Sāsān-i-Buzurk, put in possession of his dominions. In A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581) the governor of Gaskar was Amīra Siyāhwūsh,

son of Amīra Sāsān. In A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591–2) he accompanied the governor of Fūman, ‘Alī Khān, to the Shāh’s camp at Qizil Āghāch, and there, by order of Shāh ‘Abbās, was thrown into prison. He was a prisoner in Lāhijān two years later, when Farhād Khān was repressing the rebellion of ‘Alī Khān and of Amīra Muẓaffar of Gaskar, brother of Amīra Siyāhwūsh. Hearing that Amīra Siyāhwūsh was in correspondence with Amīra Muẓaffar, the Shāh, who was hunting in Biyāpīsh, had him beheaded and his head tied to the branch of a tree in Gūrāb-i-Gaskar. Amīra Muẓaffar and the sons of Amīra Siyāhwūsh, Yūsuf, Muḥammad, and Salūk,<sup>1</sup> were soon captured by Farhād Khān and sent to the castle of Alamūt, where they were eventually put to death. Thus ended the rule of the wālīs of Gaskar.

Shāh ‘Abbās gave Gaskar to Dhū'l-fiqār Khān,<sup>2</sup> but in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605–6) it was taken from him and the revenues paid to the Treasury. In A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614–15) a certain Bihbūd assassinated the crown prince Ṣafī Mirzā at Rasht by order of Shāh ‘Abbās, and was shortly afterwards appointed governor of Gaskar as a reward for his deed. In A.H. 1038 (A.D. 1628–9) Gūrgīn Sultān was governor, and in A.H. 1047 (A.D. 1638) Amīr Khān, a Georgian from Irāwān (Eriwan).

#### TUL AND NAW

At the time of Shāh Isma‘il’s flight from Ardabil to Gilān after the death of his brothers, he spent a few days in the house of Amīr Muẓaffar, wālī of Tūl and Nāw, who refused to surrender his guest to Rustam Beg, although pressed to do so by Jāgīr Beg Parnāk, governor of Khalkhāl and Tūl. Jannābī in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582) mentions Amīr IHamza ibn Shāh Muḥammad Khān-i-Buzurk, ruler of Tūl, and Shaykh Fażlu'llāh, ruler of Līsāra. These districts were not part of the former province of Gilān; Tūl and Līsāra are now part of Kargānrūd and Nāw of Asālam.

<sup>1</sup> I find also Ṣalūk, Ṣaluk, Sha‘luk, Sālak, Sa‘lūk.

<sup>2</sup> Brother of Farhād Khān.

## PERSIAN TALISH

Persian Tālīsh consists of five districts known as Khamsa-i-Tawālīsh, which extend west and south-west to the Alburz Hills, and are bounded on the east by the Caspian and on the south by Māsūla, Gaskar, and the Murdāb. In the south-east part of Tālīsh is the small district of Māsāl, to the north-west of which is the equally small district of Shandarmīn; to the north and east of this latter lies the large district of Tālīsh-Dūlāb, to the north of Tālīsh-Dūlāb is the small district of Asālam, and to the north again the great district of Kargānrūd.

With a view of weakening the family of Mīr Muṣṭafā Khān who held the whole country from a little westward of Kargānrūd all the way to Mughān, Fatḥ ‘Alī Shāh distributed the whole of Persian Tālīsh among the principal families that remained, confirming to each such portion of country as it had become possessed of. He also created them Khāns by way of increasing their importance and giving them a motive for repressing the predatory incursions of Muṣṭafā Khān's family. Of these chiefs the most important at the time of Fraser's visit to Gilān (1822) were Bālā Khān of Kargānrūd, whose seat was at Āqevler; Muḥammad Khān Asālamī, residing at Lumīr; Muḥammad Qulī Khān Tālīsh-Dūlābī, who lived in the village of Pūnal; Muḥammad Rizā Khān of Gaskar, who apparently had no successor; Ibrāhīm Khān of Shandarmīn and Muḥammad Khān of Māsāl.

*Kargānrūd*.—Bālā Khān ibn ‘Alī ibn Gūna ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Gūna ibn Ḥusayn though his family was not originally of great importance,<sup>1</sup> was considered the principal chief of Tālīsh. His brother, Mīr Gūna Khān, was joined in authority with him by ‘Abbās Mirzā, to whose government the chiefs

<sup>1</sup> The descendants of Mīr Muṣṭafā Khān of Tālīsh assert that the ancestor of the present Khāns of Kargānrūd was Mīrkhūr, or master of the horse, of Mīr Muṣṭafā Khān. The Khāns of Kargānrūd deny this and claim that their clan has ruled their district for over four centuries. They state that they resided in Ādharbāyjān, a former town of Kargānrūd, and belong to the Ashik Harazūr, a clan of Armenian or Georgian origin.

of Kargānrūd and Asālam were attached. By order of Fathī 'Alī Shāh, Bālā Khān attacked Mīr Ḥasan Khān, a son of Mīr Muṣṭafā Khān, and sacked his house at Namīn. Mīr Ḥasan Khān made his submission to the Shāh and married one of the Shāh's daughters. Thereupon the Khāns of Kargānrūd and Asālam, fearing that Mīr Ḥasan Khān would compass their downfall with the prince governor of Ādharbāyjān, petitioned the Shāh to separate their districts from Ādharbāyjān and add them to Gilān, a request which was granted.

The latter history of the Khāns of Kargānrūd is one of murder, rapine, and oppression. Fratricide was common amongst them, and down to 50 years ago few of them died a natural death. In A.H. 1265 (A.D. 1848) Bālā Khān was killed by his nephew, and succeeded by his son Farajū'llāh Khān Sartīp. The latter also was murdered in A.H. 1282 (A.D. 1865) by his own brother. The murderer and four of his brothers were beheaded by order of the Shāh. Habibū'llāh Khān succeeded his father, Farajū'llāh Khān, and was succeeded two or three years later by his brother Nusratū'llāh Khān 'Amīdū's-Saltāna, who received later the title of Sardār-i-Amjad. The allegiance of the Khāns of Kargānrūd to the governor-general of Gilān was mostly nominal. They managed to obtain the supremacy over the other khāns of Tālīsh, and when allowed a free hand were most exacting and oppressive in their relations with the Khāns of Asālam, Tālīsh-Dūlāb, Māsāl, and Shandarmīn. In 1907 the inhabitants of Kargānrūd rose against their khāns, burnt their houses, pillaged their property, and turned them out of their district. It was only in 1912 that with the help of the Russians Arfa'u's-Saltāna, eldest son of Sardār-i-Amjad, was able to resume the government of his district.

*Asālam*.—Muḥammad Khān ibn Alīmad ibn Najaf ibn Kāzīm was succeeded by his nephew, Muṣṭafā Khān ibn Ḫusayn ibn Alīmad. Like the Khāns in the other districts of Tālīsh, the Khāns of Asālam have ruined themselves in

outbidding one another for the post of governor. Lately the governorship was held alternately by Wali Khān Ashja'u'd Dawla ibn Alīmad Khān ibn Muḥammad Khān and his cousin Allāhyār Khān Sartip ibn Najaf Khān ibn Muḥammad Khān.

*Tālīsh-Dūlāb*.—The history of the Khāns of Tālīsh-Dūlāb offers no special interest. The governor in 1912 was Nuṣratu'llāh Khān Zarghāmu's-Salṭana ibn Amānu'llāh Khān ibn Iḥusayn Qulī Khān ibn 'Alī Qulī Khān (who was governor in 1865) ibn Muḥammad Qulī Khān.

*Shandarmīn*.—Until quite recently the governor of Shandarmīn was Naṣru'llāh Khān ibn Raljīm' Khān ibn Naṣru'llāh Khān ibn Ibrāhīm Khān.

*Māsāl*.—Towards the beginning of the reign of Āqā Muḥammad Khān<sup>1</sup> a certain Muḥammad Wali of the Ashmad clan, a native of Khalkhāl, was chief of Māsāl and held the title of Sultān. He was put in prison by Hidāyatū'llāh Khān, who finally had him thrown into a well at Rasht and immediately covered with earth. Muḥammad Wali was succeeded by his son, Hājjī Muḥammad Khān, who did much to render his district prosperous. He never let his oxen on hire to outsiders, did the inhabitants of Māsāl need them for their own fields, but gave his own villagers the use of them at a low rate of hire. He forbade his subjects to wear imported apparel, and made them support home industries. He also refused to give his daughters in marriage to people of other districts, but insisted on his sons marrying outside Māsāl. In this way he prevented the revenues of Māsāl from being spent elsewhere than in Māsāl itself. J. B. Fraser wrote in 1822 that Muḥammad Khān "is chief of the tribe of Gaskar Tālīsh, who are very numerous and have the character of being the most desperate and cruel ruffians of this wild country. They pay little or nothing to government, but own a slight degree of obedience to the Prince of

<sup>1</sup> Shortly before the Qājār rule the chiefship of Māsāl was held by a family residing at Washmsarā, whose present representatives are Karbalā'i Asad Beg, Husayn Qulī Beg, and Dādāsh Beg.

Gilān. It was said that Muḥammad Khān could muster several thousand men, all capital matchlockmen, fellows so careless about shedding blood that, to use the words of the *kad-khudā*, they would put a dozen men to death for two pence, and all these men are ready to perform the orders of their chief, as the clansmen of any Highland chief in Scotland; but the Khān cannot venture to break their spirit or rouse their ill will by restraint, and rather encourages their savage propensities as rendering them fearless and fitter to perform the acts of plunder and rapine from which he derives much revenue."

Hājjī Muḥammad Khān left five sons and seven daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Mahdī, who was poisoned by his own brother, Kāzim Khān. The latter governed Māsāl for some time and amassed much property and cash. He was murdered in his sleep, and no proofs could be brought at the time as to who were the criminals. It is now practically acknowledged that the deed was perpetrated by Jawād Khān, the son of Mahdī Khān and Ḥabībul-lāh Beg, who had married one of Mahdī Khān's daughters. Hājjī Mullā Mīrzā Hasan, brother-in-law of Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Mustawfī of Rasht, had until a short time before this event been a fast friend of Hājjī Mullā Rafī' Shari'at Madār, the chief priest of Rasht, but had selected and joined the Tahwīldār's party, which was plotting the Mujtahid's ruin. He was sent by Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb to bring to Rasht all the money, jewels, etc., of the deceased Kāzim Khān in virtue of a will in favour of the Mustawfī, which was strongly suspected of being forged, and which had never been shown to the chief priest as it ought to have been. As the sum was considerable, and the Mujtahid expected to have his share of the spoil, he was indignant, and from that day a series of intrigues took place which terminated in a serious affray between the Ḥaydaris and Ni'matīs of Rasht (July 14–16, 1861) in which many lives were lost, 300 or 400 men wounded, women violated, houses burnt, and much money extorted under

threats of firing houses. Jawād Khān was sent in chains to Tīhrān by Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, but through the influence of Hājjī Mullā Rafī' was soon released and given the governorship of Māsāl. He left a name for a wise and just ruler, but after his death the members of his family tried to outbid each other for the governorship. Amānu'llāh Khān, the son of Kāzim Khān, succeeded Jawād Khān, but Nāṣir Qulī Khān outbid him, and the governorship was held alternatively by these two. At Nāṣir Qulī Khān's death, Mahdī Khān ibn 'Abbās Qulī Khān ibn Mahdī Khān took his place. The result of this has been to raise the taxes to such an extent that the people are almost desperate, whilst the Khāns have ruined themselves. The only individual justification for such a course can be found in the fact that the governor oppressed his kinsmen so severely that they felt it necessary to outbid him for the governorship, and so the matter has gone from bad to worse.

The Khāns of Māsāl are a numerous family, but there is no hereditary head. The governor during his tenure of office commands a little respect but no real loyalty.

#### TULAM

Tūlam lies to the north-west of Rasht, and is bordered on the north by the Lagoon, on the west and south by Fūman, and on the south-east and east by Mawāzī or the former district of Rasht.

In A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306-7) Uljāytū, having decided to subdue the rulers of Gilān, sent Qutlugh Shāh with a numerous army to enter that province by the Māsūla pass. The rulers of Fūman and Gaskar were defeated, but Rikābzān, ruler of Tūlam, came forward alone at the head of his army to oppose the invaders. Advancing as if to make his submission he slew Qutlugh Shāh and cut off his ears, which he carried away with the ear-rings. The Mongol army was surrounded, and the roads closed by abattis, so that but very few of Qutlugh Shāh's men escaped, the majority finding their death in the mud.

The author of the *Masāliku'l Abṣār fī Mamālikī'l Amṣār*, who wrote some twenty-five years after these events, states that the ruler of Tūlam occupied a similar position to that of the ruler of Fūman, and that his district produced no silk. He kept an army of one thousand mounted troops, who had the reputation of being the bravest in Gilān. His success over the Mongols had obtained for him great consideration from and influence over his neighbours.

Already in A.H. 769 (A.D. 1367-8) Tūlam was part of the dominions of the ruler of Fūman, but we have no information as to how this happened.

#### SHAFT

The district of Shaft lies to the south-west of Rasht. It is partly mountain and partly plain, and is bordered on the north by the Warzal sub-district of Rasht, on the east by Rūdbār, on the south by Tārum, and on the west by Māsūla and Fūman. It is mentioned in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār fī Mamālikī'l-Amṣār* as the birthplace of Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gilānī, and its inhabitants were of the Hanbali sect. Its ruler was amongst the eight kings of Gilān mentioned by the same author.

The former capital of Shaft was called Gūrāb-i-Shaft, and was situated near the present village of Nasīr Maḥalla at a spot now called Gūrākīsh, on account of the thickets of box-trees under which the ruins of the small town lie hidden. The chief place of Shaft and the residence of its Khāns is Kumsar.

The Amīrs of Shaft seem to have been more or less dependent of those of Fūman. In A.H. 791 (A.D. 1389) Amīra Muḥammad Shaftī and the other Amīrs of Biyapas joined hands to oust the Amir Kiyā'i Sayyids from Gilān. In A.H. 792 (A.D. 1390) Amīra Sāsān Shaftī, who was commander-in-chief of the army of Fūman, was defeated and slain at Gūrāb-i-Gaskarī. In A.H. 882 (A.D. 1477-8) Amīra Sa'īd Shaftī refused to submit to Amīra Is-hāq Fūmanī, whereupon Sultān Muḥammad of Lāhijān, who at

that time had been placed in supreme authority over the whole of Gilān, sent troops to expel him and the government of Shaft was entrusted to Amīra Sāsān Shaftī. In A.H. 887 (A.D. 1482-3) Amīra Sa'īd Shaftī, to avenge the death of his father, Amīra Sa'īd, slew Amīra Salūk, the governor of Shaft, who was responsible for his death. Amīra Salūk was succeeded as governor by his brother. In A.H. 907 (A.D. 1501-2) the sons of Amīra Hind Shaftī conspired with Sipahsälär 'Abbās of Fūman to put Amīra 'Alā'u'd-Dīn of Fūman to death.

A century later 'Alī Khān, wazīr of Biyapas, appointed Haidar Beg Lāhijānī *nāzir* and *sipahsälär* of Shaft. The latter quarrelled with Hātim Beg Shaftī, who, when 'Alī Khān fell in disgrace, openly rebelled. On the return of 'Alī Khān to Gilān, Mīr Hātim sought refuge with Husayn Khān of Kūhdum. In A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-5) 'Alī Khān, having thrown off his allegiance, was tracked and taken prisoner by the troops of Farhād Khān, who appointed Amīr Khāwand Shaftī commander-in-chief of the troops of Rasht, and Mīr Hātim commander-in-chief of Shaft. Mīr Hātim retained this post for seventeen years, until his death in A.H. 1020 (A.D. 1611-12). The post was then given to Mīr Farrukh, nephew of Mīr Khāwand Shaftī and son-in-law of Mīr Hātim. Seven years later Mīr Farrukh died, and his brother was unable to secure the appointment for himself. Aslān Beg, the wazīr of Gilān, with the assistance of a certain Shams, confiscated the whole property of the two brothers, so that their families had to leave the country and remained destitute. Shams was then named *kalāntar* of Shaft, a post which he filled until his death.

I have already related<sup>1</sup> the feud that existed between the Khāns of Shaft and those of Fūman, and the bloodshed to which it led.

The Khāns of Shaft, according to some, originate from Sabzawār. Others say they belong to the Chiginī tribe of Qazwīn. They are supposed to have acquired the land they

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit., pp. 98-9.

originally required by a trick similar to that employed by Hasan Ṣabbāḥ. The inhabitants call their Khāns *Piyāz Musulmān* or "onion Mohammedans", because, according to tradition, their ancestor Halūy was so surprised at seeing an onion growing on the thatched roof of a house, that he exclaimed, "Surely there is a God!" and forthwith embraced Islam.

#### RASHT

The former district of Rasht occupied the centre of the plain of Gilān and was bordered on the north by the Caspian and the Lagoon, on the west by Tūlam and Fūman, on the south by Shaft and Kūhdum, and on the east by the Safid Rūd and Kūchisfahān.

In A.H. 705 (A.D. 1306-7), at the time of the Mongol invasion of Gilān, the ruler of Rasht was Amīra Muḥammad, who is mentioned in the Maṭla'ū's-Sa'dayn as the most important personage of that part of Gilān. Sixty years later another Amīra Muḥammad of the Tijāspī clan was ruling over that district. His son and successor, Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn, tried unsuccessfully to help the Isma'ilwand rulers of Kūchisfahān against Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā Malātī. He was defeated and Sayyid 'Alī annexed all the district which had belonged to Amīra Mas'ūd Isma'ilwand. Amīra Muḥammad ibn Falaku'd-Dīn in A.H. 785 (A.D. 1383-4) defeated Sayyid Nāṣir Kiyā, who was governor of Kūchisfahān, but made his peace with Sayyid 'Alī, ruler of Biyapīsh, the following year. In A.H. 791 (A.D. 1389) he joined the Amīrs of Fūman, Gaskar, Shaft, and Kūhdum in an attempt to oust the Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids from Gilān. After the battle of Rasht and the death of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā, he managed to incur the wrath of his ally Amīra Dubbāj, who seized him and cast him into prison. Amīra Dubbāj then sent to the Sayyids to return to Gilān. Amīra Muḥammad was liberated by Amīra Sāsān Gaskarī, and returned to Rasht, where he died shortly afterwards. His son, Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn, succeeded him. Amīra Muḥammad quarrelled with his father Amīra

Falaku'd-Dīn, who thereupon left on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return to Gilān he had to invoke the assistance of Sayyid Rāzī Kiyā of Biyapīsh to regain possession of his dominions. On Amīra 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Fūmanī advancing to the assistance of Amīra Muḥammad, Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn fled to Amīra Anūz of Kūhdum, who, however, was compelled to surrender him to the Amīra of Fūman. Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn Rashti was handed over by the latter to his son Amīra Muḥammad Rashtī, who immediately ordered him to be hanged. Amīra Muḥammad was a cruel tyrant, who, not satisfied with putting his father to death, did the same to two of his own sons, to his brother, and to his grandson Amīra Rustam ibn Sultān Muḥammad Fūmanī. In A.H. 863 (A.D. 1460) Sultān Muḥammad of Biyapīsh sent troops against him, and Amīra Muḥammad fled to Khumām, whence he sailed for Shīrvān.

By Sultān Muḥammad's instructions Tijāsp, a boy of 5 or 6 years of age, son of Amīra Muḥammad, was proclaimed ruler of Rasht, but two months later he was replaced by Shāh Yāḥyā, the brother of Sultān Muḥammad. Tijāsp was sent with his mother to Sīrān in Daylamān, where he died. Amīra Muḥammad returned to Rasht by way of the Murdāb, but he was compelled to seek refuge with Amīra 'Alā'u'd-Dīn of Fūman, by whose orders he was hanged. After this the district of Rasht was definitely annexed by the rulers of Fūman. Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn Tijāspī, a nephew, and Amīra Bahādur, a cousin, of the late Amīra Muḥammad, made an attempt to render themselves masters of Rasht, but they were defeated, and Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn died in prison in Fūman in A.H. 880 (A.D. 1475-6).

#### KUHDUM

Kūhdum formed an independent principality and comprised the present subdistrict of Kūhdum and the districts of Rūdbār (known formerly as Rūdbār-i-Kūhdum) and Rahmatābād, or in other words the valley of the Safid Rūd from Gūka to

Manjil. The chief place was Gürāb-i-Kūhdum, which was burnt in A.H. 880 (A.D. 1475-6) by the troops of Sultān Muḥammad of Biyapish.

Jalālu'd-Dīn Ḥasan, the chief of Alamūt, having to all appearances repudiated the doctrines of his sect, obtained from the caliph Nāṣir li Dīni'llāh permission to enter into matrimonial alliance with the chiefs of Gilān, and married four of their daughters. Of the daughter of Kay Kāwus, the ruler of Kūhdum, was born 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad, who succeeded his father as grand master of the Assassins in Persia. We have no further information about the rulers of Kūhdum until the time of the Mongol conquest of Gilān in A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306-7), when the name of Sālār is mentioned. When Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā conquered Biyapish, Amīra Anūz, of the Anūzwand clan, was ruler of Kūhdum, which he lost to the Sayyid in A.H. 766 (A.D. 1364-5). He was treacherously put to death by Qubād, governor of Tārum. After the defeat of the Amīr Kiya'i Sayyids at Rasht in A.H. 789 (A.D. 1387) and their retreat to Tunakābun, Amīra Sālār, son of Amīra Anūz, was reinstated in his hereditary possessions by the Amīrs of Biyapas. Amīra Anūz ibn Amīra Sālār died in A.H. 834 (A.D. 1430-1), and was succeeded by his son Bahā'u'd-Dīn Sālār. In A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443) Amīra Nūl<sup>1</sup> Pāshā was wālī of Kūhdum. Some twenty-five years later Amīra 'Alā'u'd-Dīn expelled from Kūhdum Amīra Rustam, a tyrannical ruler given to wine and debauchery, who was constantly making incursions into Fūman and Rasht. By order of Ḥasan Beg, Kūhdum was handed over to Amīra Sālār, eldest son of Amīra Rustam, the latter being detained at the court at Tabriz. At Sultān Ḥasan Beg's death in A.H. 882 (A.D. 1477-8), Amīra Rustam tried to obtain possession of Kūhdum, but he was defeated by the united forces of Sultān Muḥammad of Lāhijān and Amīra Is-hāq of Fūman. Again, in A.H. 887 (A.D. 1482), with the help of the troops he had obtained from Pādishāh Ya'qūb, he tried unsuccessfully

<sup>1</sup> I find also Nāh and Nū or Naw.

to recover his lost possessions, and Kūhdum and Jasījān were divided between Mīrzā 'Alī of Lāhijān and Amīra Is-hāq of Fūman. In A.H. 908 (A.D. 1502-3) Mīrzā 'Alī reinstated the son of Amīra Rustam in his hereditary possessions, but the latter was soon obliged to surrender them to Amīra Is-hāq.

In A.H. 920 (A.D. 1514-15) Amīra Shāwashāh, son of Amīra Rustam, was governor of Jasījān and Ralimatābād.

About A.H. 938 (A.D. 1531-2) Muẓaffar Sultān of Fūman, who with 8,000 men of Biyapas had joined Sultān Sulaymān of Turkey at Khūy, was attacked on his way back to Gilān by his vassal Mir Hātim of Kūhdum. Muẓaffar Sultān fled to Shirwān, and Amīra Hātim took the title of Shāh Hātim and had the *khuṭba* read in his name. He also made use of the *tughra* on *farmāns* and of a large seal as was the custom with ruling princes. He annexed the whole of Biyapas, and married two wives of Muẓaffar Sultān. He was soon afterwards defeated by Sipahsālār Rustam Fūmani, taken prisoner, and sent to Shāh Tahmāsp, who released him later and gave him a pension.

After the capture of Shāh Hātim and of Muẓaffar Sultān, Sultān Muḥammad of Kūhdum, who claimed to be a kinsman of Muẓaffar Sultān, entered Rasht and re-established order again. But in A.H. 945 (A.D. 1538-9) he was attacked by order of the court of Persia by Khān Alīmad Khān of Biyapīsh, and defeated near the Siyāh-Rūdbār river of Rasht, and slain together with his son Amīra Shāhinshāh.

About the year A.H. 985 (A.D. 1577-8) Kāmrān Mīrzā of Kūhdum was appointed by Jamshīd Khān wazīr of Biyapas. Unfaithful to his salt, he planned his master's death, and was appointed regent of Biyapas by Shāh Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda. He now desired to get rid of the sons of Jamshīd Khān, but many of his adherents thereupon turned against him and defeated him at Rasht. He still maintained himself for some time in Biyapas, but was finally slain near Kūchisfahān, and his skull was, by order of Khān Alīmad Khān of Biyapīsh, made into a drinking-cup.

In A.H. 996 (A.D. 1588) Husayn Khān Kūhdumī, governor of Kūhdum, resided at Pildih-Rūdbār. In A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-5), for his services in helping the Shāh's troops to capture the rebel Tālīshkulī, he was given in *tuyūl*, in addition to his other possessions, Nanak and Bijārpas, described as two large districts of Rasht. Three years later we hear of Husayn Khān capturing in the forest of Qal'a-Rūdkhān and putting to death his cousins, Amīra Shāhrukh and Kāmyāb, the sons of Amīra Sālār, who in dread of their uncle had joined 'Alī Khān of Biyapas, from whom they received the villages of Azbar and Khusrawābād.

In A.H. 1038 (A.D. 1628-9) at the time of the rebellion of Gharīb Shāh, the governor of Kūhdum was Muhammadi Khān.

#### KUCHISFAHĀN

Kūchisfahān, which included Lashtanishāh, Khushkbijār, and the north-eastern part of the present district of Mawāzī, was at the time of Uljāytū's conquest of Gilān ravaged by the Mongol troops until its ruler Salūk, well known for his courage, was compelled to make his submission. Its last ruler of the Isma'ilwand clan was Amīra Mas'ūd ibn Nūḥ Pāshā ibn Salūk, whose father died in A.H. 768 (A.D. 1366-7), and who himself was soon afterwards expelled from his dominions by Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā. Kūchisfahān then passed under the rule of the Sayyids of Lāhijān, and later was a great bone of contention between the rulers of Fūman and those of Lāhijān.

#### DAYLAMAN

For over two centuries, from A.H. 210 to about 450 (A.D. 825-1058), Daylam was under the rule of the Jastāniān dynasty. It then gradually fell under the sway of the Assassins, but was occasionally wrested from their hands by the Ustundārs of Rustamdār.

Wahsūdān ibn al-Marzubān is said to have been the first king of his dynasty in Gilān. He resided at Shahristān, known as Kursī-i-Daylam, in the upper Shāhrūd valley in

A.H. 251 (A.D. 865), and is said to have reigned forty years. He first joined Hasan ibn Zayd against the caliph's governor of Māzandarān, Sulaymān ibn 'Abdu'llāh, but abandoned his cause and died a few days later. He was succeeded by his son, Jastān, a man of fickle disposition, who constantly changed religion and allegiance. He was at times fire-worshipper and at others Mohammedan, and when after many battles he got reconciled to Sayyid Hasan ibn 'Alī, the latter said some biting verses on the occasion. In A.H. 306 (A.D. 918-19) 'Alī ibn Wahsūdān rose against his brother Jastān and put him to death, but Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar, Jastān's father-in-law, rebelled against him and slew him.

Khusraw Firūz succeeded his brother and made war with Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar. Khusraw Firūz's son Mahdī succeeded his father, but was turned out of his dominions by Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar. He sought refuge with Asfār ibn Shīrūya, who, however, was afraid to befriend him. Later Asfār took Qazwin and instructed his general, Mardāwīj ibn Ziyār, to besiege Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar. At the latter's instigation, Mardāwīj rebelled against Asfār, and became ruler of Qazwin, Abhar, Jurjān, and Tabaristān.<sup>1</sup>

Later we hear of Jastān ibn Sālār, together with his brothers, Ibrāhim and Nāṣir, who succeeded their father, Sālār ibn al-Marzubān,<sup>2</sup> in A.H. 346 (A.D. 957). This al-Marzubān was brother of a certain Wahsūdān.

On a coin struck at Rūdbār in A.H. 363 (A.D. 974) we find the name Khusraw Shāh ibn Mubādil or Muqātil. In ibnu'l-Athīr we find mention of Surkhāb ibn Wahsūdān.

<sup>1</sup> In A.H. 331 (A.D. 943) Hasan b. Firūzān took refuge with a certain Māzyār ben Jastān.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Hasan Khān I'timādu's-Salṭana mentions this Sālār al-Marzubān as a son of Muḥammad ibn 'Muẓaffar, and gives the following dates of the rule of the members of this family: Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar† A.H. 330 (A.D. 941-2), Sālār al-Marzubān A.H. 330-46 (A.D. 941-2—957-8), Jastān ibn Sālār A.H. 346-9 (A.D. 957-8—960-1), Wahsūdān A.H. 349-? (A.D. 960-1-?), Jastān A.H. 430 (A.D. 1038-9), Abū Mansūr Wahsūdān† A.H. 457 (A.D. 1065). With Abū Mansūr the rule of this dynasty came to an end. It was known as the Sālāriyya dynasty and was wiped out by the Saljuqs.

Nāṣir Khusraw, who travelled from A.H. 437 to 444 (A.D. 1045-52), relates that the ruler or Amīr of Gilān assumed in documents the titles of Marzubān of Daylam and Jil Jilān, Abū Ṣalih, Mawlā Amīr u'l-Mūminīn, and that his name was Jastān (ibn) Ibrāhīm.

The first lord of the castle of Samīrān, in Tārum, also called Qal'a-Sälär, was Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar. In A.H. 379 (A.D. 989-90) Nūl, the son of Wahsūdān, the last chief of Samīrān, was a child under the guardianship of his mother. Fakhru'd-Dawla the Buwayhid obtained possession of the castle by marrying her. In the letter addressed by the wazīr Ṣāḥib (Isma'il ibn 'Abbād) to Abū 'Alī al-Hasan b. Alīmad, shortly before the cession of the castle, the wazīr mentions that the family of Kankar, "Āl-i-Kankar," were only able to maintain their authority over Daylam through their possession of this castle. Their ambition led them to join to this important acquisition the estates of Wahsūdān, who had been reigning forty years in Daylam. This king, seeing that Samīrān was the sister of Alamūt, agreed to this annexation, and concluded an alliance with them. This clever combination gave the family of Kankar the supremacy in the whole of Daylam, and reduced the dynasty of Wahsūdān to the strict possession of Lāhijān.

The Assassins, whose principal stronghold was the castle of Alamūt in the upper Shāhrūd valley, either through matrimonial alliances or by the force of arms extended their authority over south-eastern Gilān. Kiyā Buzurk Ummid conquered Gilān, the governor of which, Abū'l-Hāshim, he made prisoner and put to death. In A.H. 590 (A.D. 1194) the Assassins obtained from the Ustundār Hazārasp ibn Shahrnūsh, who had rebelled against Shāh Ardashīr of Māzandarān and entered into an alliance with them, the whole territory between Malāt and Sakhtsar. It is generally believed that the fall of the castle of Alamūt in A.H. 654 (A.D. 1256) marks the end of the Isma'ili influence in Gilān. This is a great mistake. Either the destruction of Alamūt cannot have been

as complete as reported by the Persian writers, or the castle was rebuilt. Already, in A.H. 674 (A.D. 1275-6), the Assassins were again in possession of it, and Abāqā Khān sent troops to besiege the castle which was completely destroyed.

Desiring to compel Kiyā Malak Hazāraspī of Ashkawar to submit to him, Sayyid 'Alī ibn Amīr Kiyā made a covenant with Khudāwand Muḥammad the Muḥid or Assassin, a descendant of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn. This Khudāwand Muḥammad had supporters in Daylamān, Rūdbār (of Qazwīn), Pādīz, Kūshayjān, and amongst the people of Ashkawar. He outwardly abjured the Isma'īlī tenets, and was promised Daylamān for his aid. After the defeat of Kiyā Malak in A.H. 776 (A.D. 1374-5) Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā ignored the promises he had made, and gave Daylamān to his own brother, Sayyid Mahdī. Collecting the Muḥids of Alamūt and Lamsar, Khudāwand Muḥammad joined Kiyā Malak, and together they defeated and captured Sayyid Mahdī, whom they sent to the court of Persia in Tabrīz. Kiyā Malak was reinstated as ruler of Ashkawar, and Khudāwand Muḥammad occupied Alamūt. A year later Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā's troops invested the castle of Alamūt, and Khudāwand Muḥammad, being short of provisions, surrendered the castle and fled to the court of Timūr. He was sent to reside at Sultāniyya, where his descendants were still living towards the end of the ninth century of the *Hijra* (fifteenth century). After the defeat and death of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā at Rasht in A.H. 791 (A.D. 1389), Khudāwand Muḥammad returned to Alamūt, and with the help of his co-religionists rendered himself master of the castle, which, however, he was compelled shortly afterwards to surrender to Malak Kayumarz of Rustamdār. A year later the castle passed into the hands of the rulers of Lāhijān. In A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416-7) Sayyid Rażī Kiyā, wālī of Lāhijān, ordered his Gilān troops to massacre the auxiliary troops from Daylam which were serving with them. Amongst them were two or three grandsons of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, and with them ends the history of the Assassins in Gilān.

After the fall of Alamūt in A.H. 645 (A.D. 1256), Daylam fell into the hands of a number of petty rulers, and in A.H. 770 (A.D. 1368-9) the ruler of Daylamān proper, that is of the mountainous country immediately south of Lāhijān, was Kiyā Sayfu'd-Dīn Kūshayj, who was an Isma'īlī, and resided at Marjkūlī. He was killed nine years later by the troops of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā. Another Amīra Kūshayj was ruler of Daylamān in A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416), whilst Kiyā Mas'ūd Kiyā and Jahānshāh Kiyā Kūshayj were lords of Khargām. The following year Daylamān was finally annexed by the wālis of Biyapish, and it remained part of their dominions until A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-2) when Shāh 'Abbās I conquered Gilān and appointed his own governors to administer that province.

The present Khāns of Daylamān came originally, I believe, from Qazwīn. In the time of Āqā Muḥammad Khān and of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh, Muḥammad Rizā Khān ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad was a chief of some importance in Gilān, and his descendants claim that it was he who shot Hidāyatullāh Khān. The Khāns have their summer residence at Isbaylī near the village of Daylamān, and spend the winter in the lowlands at Barfjān in Siyāhkāl. In 1916 the governor was Muḥammad Khān Mušīru'l-Mamālik ibn Habibu'llāh Khān Mušīru'l-Mamālik ibn Abū'l-Fath Khān ibn Abū'l-Qāsim Khān ibn Muḥammad Rizā Khān.

#### RĀNIKŪH

The rulers of Rānikūh have been mentioned in a former paper.<sup>1</sup>

Until quite recently the governorship of Langarūd and Rānikūh was hereditary in the Munajjim-Bāshī family. The first member of this family to bear the title of Munajjim-Bāshī, or chief astrologer, was a Mīrzā Sādiq, who, when Aqā Muḥammad Khān Qājār sent Murtażā Quli Khān from Māzandarān against Hidāyatullāh Khān of Gilān, was

<sup>1</sup> See JRAS., Jan. 1918, pp. 86-7.

deputed by the latter, together with Aqā Ṣādiq of Lāhijān, to sue the Qājār for peace.

Mirzā Mūsā, a grandson of Mirzā Ṣādiq, accompanied in A.H. 1212 (A.D. 1797), by order of Fathī 'Alī Shāh, the body of Aqā Muḥammad Khān to Karbalā. He was appointed later governor of Gilān and defeated the Russians at Piladārbun in 1805. His son Hājjī Aqā Buzurk, his grandson Mirzā 'Abdu'l-Baqī, and his great-grandson Mirzā Mahdī Khān were all three either *wazīr*, deputy-governor, or governor of Gilān. Since then the members of this family have ruined themselves in outbidding each other for the governorship of their district and have lost all their influence.

#### ASHKAWAR

In A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306-7), when Ulijāytū came to Gilān, those of his troops that came from Qazwīn by way of Kūrāndasht and Lawsān passed through the dominions of a certain Hindūshāh who was confirmed in his governorship.

Towards the middle of the eighth century of the *Hijra*, Kiyā Isma'il of the Hazāraspī clan was ruler of Ashkawar. He was succeeded by Kiyā Malak, who was expelled in A.H. 776 (A.D. 1374-5) by the Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids, but regained possession of his district in A.H. 789 (A.D. 1387). He had put his own father to death, as well as his brother, and was murdered by his grandson, Kiyā Jalālu'd-Dīn, who succeeded him. Kiyā Jalālu'd-Dīn was murdered by a certain Mahdī Kiyā of the Kāmyārwand clan. Two of Kiyā Jalālu'd-Dīn's relatives, Kiyā Muḥammad and Kiyā Hazārasp, were killed in battle at Kāshkūh in A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416-17), and with them the rule of the Hazāraspī family came to an end.

CASABLANCA.

June 18, 1919.

# The Origin of the Semitic Alphabet<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. A. H. SAYCE

IN the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* for January, 1916, a conjoint article was published by Dr. Gardiner, Dr. Cowley, and myself on the origin of the Semitic alphabet, starting from Dr. Gardiner's decipherment of the name of the Semitic goddess, Ba'alath, in certain non-Egyptian inscriptions or "scribings" discovered by Professor Petrie in Sinai. The characters are Egyptian, but are not used with Egyptian values; they are usually written in vertical columns, and like the Meroitic hieroglyphs are read from the back and not from the front. Unfortunately the inscriptions are not numerous; they are badly written and in many cases effaced. However, we succeeded in determining the phonetic values of the majority of the letters—for letters they are—and in adding one or two more words (חַנְתָּה, רַב, בָּלֶה) to Dr. Gardiner's בָּלֶה. One of the inscriptions which is on the base of a sphinx is "bilingual", that is to say, there is an Egyptian text as well as what I will call a Semitic text.

A year later (in 1917) Professor Sethe published a valuable article on Dr. Gardiner's discovery in the *Proceedings of the Göttingen Academy* (pp. 437–75), correcting and supplementing many points in the light of his exceptional knowledge of ancient Egyptian. Among other things he showed that the character which Dr. Cowley and myself had identified with a camel's nose-ring, and accordingly read as *gimel*, is really a trap, and corresponds accordingly with *zaddi*. This discovery gives us the reading of the word נִצֵּב "he set up", a common formula on Semitic stelæ of all periods.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Kénitischen Weihinschriften der Hyksoszeit im Bergbaugebiet der Sinaihalbinsel und einige andere unerkannte Alphabetdenkmäler aus der Zeit der XII bis XVIII Dynastie*, by Robert Eisler; Freiburg in Breisgau, Herder, 1919.

Dr. Robert Eisler has now followed Professor Sethe, and has presented us with a remarkably stimulating and interesting book on the subject. He is both learned and ingenious—indeed, too ingenious, for with the natural enthusiasm of the pioneer he wants to explain everything, in spite of the defective character of our materials. His restoration of lost or mutilated letters is, therefore, by no means always convincing; for the present, at any rate, we must be content with what we can clearly read. The name which he would assign to the authors of the monuments is an example in point; there is no trace of the final *n* of the name of the Kenite either in the photograph or in the Egypt Exploration Fund copy of the inscription in which he wishes to read it; there is, moreover, a fatal objection to supplying it, the word as Dr. Eisler reads it being קַפְתָּה with *kaph* instead of קַפְתָּה with *qoph*. At the same time I am quite willing to allow that the Kenites were employed in the mines of the Sinaitic Peninsula. I was the first to point out (in the *Academy* of January 27, 1886) that they were the “travelling tinkers” of Western Asia; they had their “nest” in Sinai, and before the introduction of iron, about 1600 B.C., would have been specially interested in the working of the copper-mines.

One of the most important contributions made by Dr. Eisler to the decipherment of the inscriptions is his recognition of the fact, pointed out by Professor Sethe, that the fish represents *samek*. About this there can no longer be any doubt. The discovery throws light upon certain words besides clearing up a difficulty in the history of the Semitic alphabet which has a particular interest for myself. In a paper I contributed to the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology for November, 1910, I endeavoured to show (1) that in order to make the forms of the letters harmonize with their names we must tilt them over to one side, which proves that they were once written vertically, and (2) that the names, and therefore, presumably, the objects denoted are arranged in couplets. I went wrong, however, in thinking that the couplets begin with *aleph*; they really begin with *beth* (*beth* and *gimel*, *daleth* and *he*, etc.), *aleph*, i.e. *aliph*.

"the leader", being the "head-piece", and *tau*, the mark branded by the owner upon the ox (Ass. *tū*), being the "tail-piece".

One of these couplets is *nun* and *samek*. We now know from the Sinaitic inscriptions that *n* was denoted by the Egyptian hieroglyph of "serpent" (Egyptian *z*). When it became cursive the serpentine form was obscured, and as the word for "fish" in certain of the Semitic languages was *nîn* and not *samek* we must conclude that the teacher's "*samek* or *nun*" became "*samek* and *nun*", causing *nun* to be transferred to what was originally the picture of a snake.

Professor Sethe has made it clear that the figure of a man with uplifted arms is not the determinative of deity, as Dr. Cowley and I supposed, but represents the letters *h* and *ḥ* in their South Arabian forms. Dr. Eisler is consequently justified in reading מאהבعلת *me'ahub-Ba'alath*, "beloved of Ba'alath," on the sphinx, and regarding it as a literal translation of the accompanying Egyptian text, *mri Hathor*, "beloved of Hathor," the single for the double ב not being a serious difficulty. At the same time I can find no certain instance of the use of the character before the name of the goddess, and in the case of one, at least, of the inscriptions (No. 348) I should prefer to translate the letters בعلת "O Ba'alath". But it is also possible, though not probable, that it is the article, in which case מ would be a transcription of the Egyptian *mri* (as in the Boghaz Keui tablets, where it is written *māi*), the goddess being entitled "the Lady". It must, however, be remembered that in Assyrian we have the verb *māl*, "to be mighty," so that we could translate מאה בعلת "mighty is Ba'alath".

The difficulty I find in accepting Dr. Eisler's translation is that מאהב would be written *plene*, which is hard to believe could have been the case at so early a date. The same objection lies against his ingenious explanation of another Sinaitic inscription on the sphinx. This he makes דוד, *yōd*, "a monument." His identification of the *daleth* is, I believe, correct; the character is the picture of a door. But the pronunciation

*yôd* for *yôd*, "hand" or "monument", is confined to its use as the name of a letter; in all the early Semitic dialects known to us we find no trace of it. The Assyrian form is *idu*, and that the Canaanite pronunciation was *yôd* is shown by the Tel el-Amarna gloss *badiu*, "in his hand." How could we have *yôd* written *plene* in the age of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty? Moreover, one letter, if not more, is broken away before the *yôd*, and the *daleth* seems to be on a different edge of the base of the monument from that on which the two preceding letters are incised.

Dr. Eisler's determination of the letter *gimel* is certainly right, though I question his identification of it in its original form with the boomerang. It is really a reproduction of the Egyptian *geneb*, "the corner" or "side" of a house, the Arabic *janb*. Its change of form in the Phoenician alphabet, and perhaps also the absence of a word *ganab* in the sense of "side" in Canaanite, caused it to be identified with the boomerang, which, as Dr. Eisler points out, was called *gamlu* in Assyrian.

I should also accept Dr. Eisler's identification of the letter supposed by Dr. Cowley and myself to be a bow, and accordingly to represent the Hebrew *qoph*, with the tooth, the Hebrew *shin*. I am more doubtful about Sethe's identification of the *teth*, which, however, may be the representative of the South Arabian *d*, but is certainly not either the South Arabian or the Phoenician *teth*. The latter is a picture of the sacred cake, Assyrian *tentu*, *tettu*.

*Lamed* is usually a picture of a roll of thread or rather a fishing-line, and Sethe has shown that its name in Samaritan, *labad*, the Arabic *labad*, "wool," is the original one of which *lamed* was a corruption. But instead of the fishing-line we find in No. 352 a picture of what resembles the Egyptian hieroglyph of a boat (*uha*). Perhaps it is intended for a sort of "lobster-basket".

*Zayin* is a difficulty. That Sethe and Eisler are right in their identification of the letter admits of little doubt; Dr. Gardiner had already suggested it; but what the letter depicts is a puzzle.

The "spear", which Dr. Eisler would also identify with *zayin*, seems to me in the photograph to be a flower rather than a weapon.

*Hē*, the man with uplifted arms, is replaced by another picture altogether in the Phoenician alphabet, where it has the form of a fringe. As I stated in the paper referred to above, it must be the *ea* of Assyrian, which the lexical tablets explain by *kuruššu sa dalti*, "the leathern fastening of a door"; *kuruššu* is the Hebrew *geres* (Exod. xxvi, 6), which is borrowed from it.

Dr. Eisler has displayed remarkable ingenuity in his interpretation of the texts, scanty, badly written, and terribly injured as they are. His reading of No. 351: אֶת בְּנֵשֶׁמֶשׁ נָצַב קְרֻרָה...，“This has B[en-she]mesh erected, offering incense [to . . . as a sin]-offering,” is especially clever. So, too, are his readings of No. 349, line 2: רְבִן אֲבָנָם, “chief of the stones,” or, rather, “stone-cutters,” and of No. 346: רְבִן רְבָנָם, “chief of the overseers.” In the first line of the last inscription he has been equally happy in his reading: עַל סֵבֶרְעָת “for the protection of the flocks”, as also in his explanation of the initial נְאָ for *ana* or *ani*, “I.”

The Sinaitic inscriptions probably belong to the age of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, though there is a possibility of their going back to that of the Twelfth. However that may be, Dr. Eisler claims to have discovered an inscription in the same alphabet, but in letters of a more cursive form, upon a wooden instrument discovered by Professor Petrie among the Twelfth Dynasty remains at Kahún, and it really looks as if he were right. There are four letters which certainly read Ahitob (*A-h-t-b*), the *h* and the *b* having already assumed the cursive shapes which they have in the Phoenician alphabet, while *t* is of the Sinaitic form. If it is not a mere palaeographical mirage, this carries back the origin of the alphabet to quite a remote period.

Dr. Eisler now tells me that he has detected similar letters on certain copper ingots found by the Italian expedition in the

Middle Minoan strata at Hagia Triada in Krete. They are described in Paribeni, *R. Acad. Lincei, sc. mor.*, ser. v, vol. xii, p. 317 sq., and Svoronos, *Journ. Internat. d'Archéologie numismatique*, 1906, ix, 167; and Dr. Eisler possesses photographs of the originals. On one is the Kypriote character *si*, which he believes to stand for the Assyrian *siparru*, "upper," on another the two Sinaitic letters *t-m*, which he is fully justified in reading  *tam*, "full-weight," while a third is inscribed with what he read *z-g*, i.e. *zug*, "clarified," though the identification of the second letter does not seem to me to be certain.

To this I can add a further fact. Mr. D. C. Robertson, of Edinburgh, has a bronze bowl which he bought many years ago at Luxor. It is of the age of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but must have been brought to Egypt as it is West Asiatic and not Egyptian in form. On the rim are engraved the two characters :-



Here we have the whole body of the ox in place of the head only, and reading from right to left obtain the Semitic name *Aba*.

And so the problem of the Semitic alphabet, as it has been termed, is at last in large measure solved. The use of the Egyptian hieroglyphs as alphabetic letters suggested to some Semitic genius the employment of them to represent the initial sounds of the Semitic words with which they corresponded. Naturally more than one hieroglyph could be employed for this purpose in the case of each letter, and accordingly we find at Sinai two different pictographs representing the letter *l*, while the South Arabian alphabet when compared with the Phoenician not only shows additional characters needed to express sounds that had been lost further north, but also variant forms of the same letter. Even where the same object is depicted it is not always represented in the same way; the letter *b* is a house at Sinai, in the Phoenician alphabet it is the picture of a tent. The Semites were nomads before they passed under the

influence of Sumerian culture; as I was the first to point out (in my *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes*), the Assyrian *alû*, "city," is the Hebrew *ohel*, "a tent," while *uru*, Hebrew *'ir*, was borrowed from Sumer. The pastoral Abel or Seth (cf. Num. xxiv, 17) stood in opposition to the agriculturists and artisans or "Cainites" of Babylonia. Once the alphabet had been formed its development varied in different parts of the Semitic world.

Invention and development alike go back, it is now clear, to the Hyksos age. After the fall of the Babylonian Third Dynasty of Ur the Western Semites spread over the greater part of the civilized world from Babylonia to Upper Egypt. The "Amorite" dynasties of Isin and Babylon ruled Babylonia for 525 years, and at one time their empire included Palestine. The name *Mizrâ*, "the Egyptian," is found in the contract tablets of the Hammurabi dynasty, and a tablet of the same age in the Amherst Collection is countermarked with the Egyptian character *nefer*, "all right." Even if the invention of the alphabet be older than the Hyksos period, its extension and development belong to that age.

The Sinaitic alphabet is not the only topic treated by Dr. Eisler, and his notes contain a wealth of learned conjectures and suggestions. Some of these demand assent, others dissent. Among the latter is his attempt to show that the Persian loan-word **גִּימֵל** occurs in one of the inscriptions (No. 353). But neither the photograph nor the copy supports his contention. The *gimel* is preceded by a character which in the copy is the picture of a beetle, and the letter which follows *gimel* has the same form as the *'ayin* of No. 346, while the next letter is the *lamed* of No. 352. After that all is uncertain. I may add in conclusion that I have long since retracted my objection to Dr. Cowley's identification of the goddess Tanit with the **תָּנִית** of one of the monuments.

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## Linguistic Affinities of Syrian Arabic

By G. R. DRIVER, Magdalen College, Oxford

THE dialect of the Arabic language which is spoken at the present day in Syria and Palestine has preserved many forms which bear a close relationship with the ancient languages which were formerly current in those countries. The origin of these peculiarities, which deviate from the canons of classical Arabic and which for the most part do not occur in Egyptian Arabic, is chiefly to be sought in Syriac, though many forms show the influence of Hebrew and Samaritan. Many of these resemblances, of course, are of an intangible kind, depending merely on the pronunciation of the vowels; in several cases, however, there is a definite change in the consonants, in which a return to some earlier dialect is seen.

### VOWELS AND CONSONANTS

The imperfection of the Arabic vowel system, which only provides signs for *a*, *i*, and *u*, does not enable us to decide the exact value of the vowels in classical Arabic. In the modern language, however, we have to note the reappearance of *e* (the Hebrew *seghôl*) very commonly and of *o* (the Hebrew *hôlem*) on a lesser scale; *e* is particularly common, chiefly with the soft consonants,

e.g.: نَفْس *nefs*, soul (Heb. שְׁנָךְ); وَلَد *weled*, child (Heb. בָּן); مَرْكَب *merkeb*, ship (cf. Heb. מַרְכֵב chariot); مَيْدَان *meidân*, square (cf. Heb. מִזְבֵּחַ best).

The diphthong *وَ* is generally pronounced *ø*<sup>1</sup> as in يوم *yôm* (Heb. יוֹם), day; كُوكَب *kôkab* (Heb. כּוֹכֶבּ), star.

<sup>1</sup> It is an interesting point that, while the pronunciation *ø* as in Hebrew prevails in Palestine, both *ø* and *au*, as in Syriac (e.g. *yôm* or *yaum*, *kôkab* or *kaukab*), occur in Syria.

Short *ə* is rare; it appears, for example, in the vulgar pronunciation of the suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. sing.

**كـ -oh** (cf. **נָהָ** in old Hebrew).

In the same class we must place the reappearance of the half-vowel, corresponding to *šewā* in Hebrew; this is a phenomenon of regular occurrence (1) where a word begins with two consonants, of which the first is vowelless, and (2) where a syllable begins with two consonants and immediately follows a closed syllable. An example of

the first kind is **حصان** *ḥisān*, horse; in many cases in modern Arabic a prosthetic 'alif<sup>1</sup> is prefixed to avoid the half-vowel, e.g. **الحاف** *ilḥāf* for **لحف** *lḥāf*, blanket.

This prosthetic 'alif also is derived from the older languages; compare *dīrā'* and *idrā'*, arm, with the Hebrew **עַרְזָ** and **עַרְזָה**, *ihkā'*, he spoke (for *ḥakā'*), with the Aramaic **אַשְׁתִּ** (for **חַשֵּׁ**), he drank, in .Dan. v, 3, 4,

and **نَحْنَا** *nīhna'* or **أَنْحَنْد** *anhnā'*, we, with the Syriac **مَنْ** or **أَنْ**.

In **خبز** *hubz* or **خبز** *hubiz*, bread, **قدس** "uds or "udis, holiness, **جَسِ** *ḥabs* or **جَسِ** *habis*, prison, it is easy to recall the segholate formation in Hebrew, by which **מֶלֶךְ** *malk* has become *melek*.

In the same way, in the verbs **يُكتُبُوا** *yiktbu* or **يُكتُبُوا** *yiktibu* corresponds to the Hebrew **וְכִתְבָּ**, in which the second *šewā* is a half-vowel.

Similarly, a short *a*-sound is now heard with the

<sup>1</sup> This prosthetic 'alif is also found in Samaritan, e.g. **אָנָשָׁ** *ansab* for **אָנָשָׁ** *nasab*, took (Petermann, *Grammatica Samaritana*, p. 9).

gutturals in connexion with an *i* and an *u*, corresponding to the furtive *pathah* in Hebrew, as in **واسع** *wási'a'*, wide, with which **עמץ** *umṣ* from the same root should be compared, and **ريح** *rī'ah*, wind, **روح** *rū'ah*, spirit, corresponding to the Hebrew  **ריח** *rī'ah* odour,  **רוח** *rū'ah* spirit. Other examples are  **مليح** *mālī'ah*, nice,  **قبيح** *"abī'ah*, ugly,  **جوع** *jū'ah*, hunger, and so on.

Another noticeable point is the weakening of hamzated 'alif into a mere *litera prolongationis*, e.g.  **راس** *rās* for **رأس** *ra's*, head; compare the regular weakening of **א** in Hebrew (e.g.  **שָׁנָה** *shānah* head) and in Biblical Aramaic (e.g.  **שָׁנָה** *shānah* head); in Samaritan the decay had proceeded even further, and often 'alif is there completely lost (e.g.  **רָאָס** *rās*, head).

As regards the consonants,  **ح** and  **ذ** become  **ئ** and  **ئ** unaspirated, as in Syriac (e.g.  **حَرَث** *harath* ploughed, Syr.  **مَدْعُونٌ**, Syr. Ar. *karat*; and  **أَخْذَ** *akhḍ* took, Syr.  **اِبْلِيزْ**, Syr. Ar. *'ablayd*).

### PRONOUNS

Two important variations occur in the pronouns in Syrian Arabic. Firstly, the indefinite pronoun is **حدا** one, in place of **أحد** *ahd* in the classical language. This is pronounced *hadā* or *hadan*; the word is clearly due to the influence of the Aramaic **חַדְ** (m.), **חַדְתִּ** (f.), Syriac **هَدَ** (m.), **هَدَتِ** (f.), Samaritan **חַדְ** *had* (m.), **חַדְתִּ**

*hada(h)* (f.). The alternative pronunciation *hadan* seems to be due to false analogy, by which the termination ل was taken to be a survival of the indeterminate form of the accusative in classical Arabic, ل -an, which now only survives in a few adverbs. This process would be helped by the fact that in the dual and plural the classical endings of the accusative ين -ain and -in are now used for the nominative also,<sup>1</sup> as in Hebrew (יִנְׁ and יִנְׁ), Aramaic (יַנְׁ and יַנְׁ), and Syriac (يَنْ and يَنْ).

In the 1st pers. sing. of the personal pronouns the Hebrew נִנְׁ is preserved in the negative form used with participles, مانيش *māniš*, not I, which is compound of ما *mā*, not + נִנְׁ (for أنا *I* + š, thing (an enclitic used to strengthen the negative). In the 2nd and 3rd persons plural the correct forms of the suffixes كُم and كُم have been largely replaced in the vernacular by كون *-kon* (vulgarly *-kōn*) and هون *-hon* (vulgarly *-hōn*). These forms recall -בָּן and -הָן in Aramaic, حُفَّ and حُورَ in Syriac, and بَرَّان -*kōn* or -*kūn* and بَرَّان -*hōn* or -*hūn* in Samaritan. A rare feminine يهين *-hein*<sup>2</sup> sometimes occurs, chiefly in old folk-songs, showing a remnant of the old Aramaic (cf. Aram. حَدَّى, Syr. حَدَّى, Sam. حَدَّى -ein, and also the

<sup>1</sup> With this may be compared the use of η νύκτα, the night, η γυναικά, the woman, as nominatives in modern Greek, and the derivation of the French *rien* from the Latin accusative *rem*.

<sup>2</sup> See Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwan* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 96, ii, 5.

Heb. **מִנְ**). In the vocalization of the 2nd pers. sing. the suffixes **كـ-ak** and **كـ-ki** resemble the forms **خـ-** (Syr.) or **خـ-** (Aram.) and **خـ-** (Syr.) respectively. In the same way **هـ-** is pronounced *-uh* or *-oh*, as **הـ-** in Old Hebrew, while the pronunciation *-eh* among the Bedouin recalls the Syriac **אֵלָי** and the Aramaic **אֵלָי**.

The form of the demonstrative pronoun with **هـ-** inserted—**هــيـذا** *haidâ*, this—should be compared with **هــلــئــين** *hailein*, these, a rare form of the plural in the Judean dialect of Palestinian Aramaic.<sup>1</sup>

The colloquial form of the relative pronoun **إـلــى** *illî*, who, which, closely resembles the Hebrew demonstrative **אـلــכــהــ** *al-khâ* these, though it is probably not more than a corruption of **أـلــنــي**. The interrogative **مــنــ** *min*, who? (for the classical **مــنــ**) recalls the Hebrew **مــ**, and the indeclinable interrogative adjective **أـيــ** *'einâh*, which? is identical with **مــنــ** which?, the masc. sing. of the same pronoun in Syriac.

#### STRONG VERBS

The *u*, which in the perfect distinguishes intransitive and other verbs in classical Arabic, has reverted to the *i* which appears in Aramaic; cf., for example, **لــبــســ** *libis*, wore, with **تــبــ** in Biblical Aramaic. In the perfect also,

<sup>1</sup> See Dalman, *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 11.

several other variations from the correct Arabic are noticeable. In the 2nd pers. masc. sing. the loss of the final *a* with the pronominal termination produces كتبت *kätäbt*, thou hast written (for كتبتَ), answering to the Syriac **אָכַתָּה**; the same form also occurs sometimes in Biblical Aramaic (e.g. **תִּתְבֹּאֵת**, thou hast given, Dan. ii, 23) and in the Aramaic of the Talmud (e.g. **בָּתְבַּחֲתָךְ** thou hast written). In the 2nd pers. fem. sing. the final *i* reappears, e.g. كتبتي *kätäbtî*, thou (f.) hast written. Compare the Syriac **אָכַתָּה** (although the *a* is quiescent); this form is occasionally found in Hebrew, especially in Jeremiah (e.g. **הָלַכְתִּי** thou (f.) wentest), though the text is often not above suspicion. In the 2nd pers. plur. the suffix شُتُّ has been replaced by توأ *-tu*, e.g. كتبتو *kätäbtu*, you wrote. This corresponds with the form **בָּתְבַּחֲתָךְ** which is sometimes found in the Aramaic of the Talmud.

The variations in the imperfect do not affect the consonants, being merely changes in the sounds of the vowels. In the first place, the vowel of the prefix has become *i* instead of *a*, as in Hebrew; for example, يسمع *yisma'* (for يسمى) corresponds to the Hebrew **עָשָׂה** and the Samaritan **אָקַתָּה** *yiktab*.<sup>1</sup> In the second place, the *u* of the final syllable shows a tendency, especially in the vulgar language, to revert to an obscure *o*, e.g. يكتب *yiktib*.

<sup>1</sup> This *i* can be traced back to the language of the Tell-el-Amarna letters (e.g. *tišpur* for *tašpur*, thou sendest).

yiktub or yiktab (for يَكْتُبُ); so the imperfect in Hebrew is יִקְתַּבּ, as against يَقْتَبِبُ in Biblical Aramaic. A small point may be noticed in the imperative: the vulgar forms أَكْتُوبْ (اَكْتُبْ) and أَكْتُبْيْ (اَكْتُبْيْ) recall respectively مִלְכָה (Judges ix, 8) and מִלְכֵי (Judges viii, 12) in the Old Testament; the lengthening of the vowel in the final syllable, however, is regular in Syriac (e.g. مَلَكَ, مَلَكَ, etc.), and is very common in Palestinian Aramaic (e.g. קָטֹל kill); the same ő occurs also occasionally in Samaritan (e.g. סְקָרֵר sekôr,<sup>1</sup> remember). The intransitive form with long ă, أَلَيْسَ 'lbîs, can also be paralleled from Palestinian Aramaic (e.g. שָׁבֵב lie).

In the derived stems the only peculiarity to be remarked is the addition of a prosthetic helping vowel in the vulgar language to the participles of the II (and III), e.g. مَكْتَبْ mukättib or imkättib,<sup>2</sup> writing much, which may be compared with the Samaritan emqettel (written אֶמְקֵטֵל), slaughtering. Perhaps, however, mention should be made of the weakening of the vowel of the preformative in the IV root, whereby أَسْلَمْ became a Moslem, becomes 'islam, since the Syriac مَعْتَدِلْ found, for the Aramaic נְשָׁבֵח is a phenomenon of a like nature.

#### WEAK VERBS

##### 1. Verbs *y"y*

In the perfect of these verbs the formation in colloquial Arabic is a conflation of the classical type of the doubled

<sup>1</sup> Petermann, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. M. Löhr, *Der Vulgararabische Dialect von Jerusalem* (Gieszen, 1905), pp. 37, 43.

verbs with those whose final radical is defective; namely, the final radical is doubled, but also the diphthong *ai*, *ei* is inserted between the stem and the pronominal suffix, exactly as in Hebrew ; is employed as a helping vowel:

for example, it is hardly unfair to compare رَدَيْتَ *raddeit*, I restored (for رَدَدْتُ), with סְבִּוֹתָה I turned round;

رَدَيْتَ *raddeind*, with סְבִּוֹתָה, and أَرْدَيْتَ *inraddeit*, thou wast restored, with נְסִבּוֹתָה, thou didst turn round—at least in the principle of inserting an auxiliary long vowel or diphthong in addition to doubling the consonant. A closer parallel, however, is seen in such forms as נְלִיּוּ *I entered*, which occur in some branches of Aramaic. In the active participle of the I form also the nom. sing.

masc. is uncontracted, as in Hebrew (e.g. حاجج *hadijj*, going on a pilgrimage, for حاج, which is parallel to the Hebrew *בְּחִיאָה*).

## 2. Verbs נְדַבֵּר

In the dialect of the *fellâhîn* of Palestine a peculiar imperfect occurs in these verbs, in which the 'ülif is replaced by *و*,<sup>1</sup> which, in conjunction with the *a* of the prefix (in this case not weakened to *i*), forms *وَ*, exactly corresponding to the Hebrew formation, e.g. :

يَا كُلُّ يُوكُلُ *yôkul* (for يَا كُلُّ אֲכַל he eats;

يَا خُذُّ يُوكُلُ *yôkhud* (for يَا خُذُّ אֲכַל he takes).

An unusual form of the VIII, أَتَكُلُ *ittakal*, was

<sup>1</sup> This tendency is seen also in the derived forms (e.g. III وَاحْدَدَ *wâhad*, blamed, for 'âhad), and may be compared with the Syriac مَسْكُونٌ *maskon* was black (for مَسْكُونٌ) and the regular IV form (e.g. بَخْرَى *baxra*).

eaten, was edible, is similar to the Samaritan *ettakal*, was eaten.

### 3. Verbs יָמַד and יָמַד

In the imperfect the *σ* or *ς* (viz. the first radical) is now treated as a *litera prolongationis* after the prefix, e.g.

يُوصِلُ *yúṣal*, arrives, for يَصِلُّ *yibṣal*, and يَبْسُ *yibṣas*, is dry (for يَأْبَسُ *yābas*). With the former **אָכַל** he can, may be compared, while the latter is also the case in Hebrew (e.g. טְהֹרֶת *təħoret* is good), and in Samaritan (e.g. טְהֹרֶת *təħoret*) *yittab*.

#### 4. Verbs יָמַד and יָמַד

In this class of verbs the only divergence from the classical language occurs in the 2nd pers. masc. sing. of the imperative, where *u* and *i* are vulgarly lengthened to *ü* and *ë*, e.g. قوم "üm, arise (for قم), جيب *jib*, bring (for جب). These forms exactly reflect those in use in the earlier languages: מָרַק arise, in Hebrew, مَوْقِد in Syriac, and مَرْقَم *qdm* in Samaritan; מְבִנֵּן understand in Hebrew, مَهْمَد put, in Syriac, and مَنْتَهَى *s̄lm*, put, in Samaritan.

## 5. Verbs נִלְעָד

These verbs have now been assimilated to those whose final radical is weak, <sup>ا</sup>I being replaced by <sup>ي</sup>I, e.g. قری "irā, he read (for قرأ) قریت "irait, I read (for قرأت); قراؤوا "iryu and قروا "iru, they read (for قرأوا). This process is already traceable in Hebrew, in which such

forms as **מָלַחַת** (Job xxxii, 18) and **מָלַחַת** (Ezek. xxviii, 16), beside the regular **מָלַחַת** I filled, and **לְאָתָה** they filled, should be compared. The verbs **אָפַת** are similarly merged in the verbs **לִשְׁׂרֵךְ** both in Syriac (e.g. **לִשְׁׂרֵךְ** he proclaimed, **לִשְׁׂרֵךְ** thou didst proclaim) and in Aramaic (e.g. **בְּכָא** he wept, **בְּכָא** thou didst weep, **בְּכָא** they wept; **שָׁתַּי** or **שָׁתַּא** he drank, **שָׁתַּי** or **שָׁתַּא** they drank<sup>2</sup>). So also **יָמַדְתִּי** replaces **יָמַדְתִּי** in the imperfect, as **يَقْرِئُ** *yiqra'*, reads (for **يَقْرَأُ**), and **يَبْدِي** *yibdi*, begins (for **يَبْدَأُ**); in this the language follows Palestinian Aramaic (cf. **וְלֹקֵי** was punished<sup>3</sup>). Again, in Samaritan this class of verbs derives most of its forms from the *y*-verbs, though *'alif* is sometimes retained; cf. from **גָּרַא** *qara*, he read, **גָּרְגָּרַא** *qareit*, I read, **גָּרְגָּרַת** *qigri*, he reads, **גָּרְגָּרַת** *nigra*, we read.

### NOUNS

In the nouns the feminine termination **ة** (-at<sup>m</sup>, -at<sup>s</sup> in classical Arabic) has reverted to **ه** -ah in the absolute state, while **ة** -at is the ending of the construct case only. With this it is necessary to compare the Hebrew terminations **תְּ** in the absolute state and **תִּ** in the construct state, e.g. **خَرْبَة** *hirkah*, ruin; st. c. **خَرْبَة** *hirkat*; **خَرْبَة** *hirkah*. Contrast with this the classical **خَرْبَة**, st. c. **خَرْبَة**.

In Syriac and Aramaic the *h* has become *'alif*, but in Samaritan it remains as *h*, though inaudible, as, in fact,

<sup>1</sup> For the vocalization, see **תְּנִינָה**, (Dan. ii, 26) and **צְבִיתָה** (Dan. vii, 19).

<sup>2</sup> See Dalman, op. cit., p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> Dalman, op. cit., p. 345.

the **ء** is in modern Arabic (e.g. اَمْدِنَة emdīna, city; st. c. اَمْدِنَةً emdināt).

### NUMERALS

The next correspondence between the colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine and the ancient languages of those two countries lies in the numerals; the evidence here is very important, because the change takes place not merely in the vowel-sounds but also in the consonants, and because it occurs, not in isolated words, but in a whole series. The numerals, from *eleven* to *nineteen* inclusive, are formed of the unit and the ten, which are combined into one word, as distinct from the classical forms, in which they are kept distinct. This form, though it does not occur in either Hebrew or Aramaic, is already stereotyped in Syriac as the only one in use; similar forms are found also as alternatives in Samaritan.<sup>1</sup> The following table exhibits the resemblances in parallel columns:—

No.	CLASS. ARAB.	COLL. SYR. AR.	SYRIAC. <sup>2</sup>	SAMARITAN.
11.	أَحَد عَشَرْ	حَدْعَشْ <i>h̄adu'sar</i>	هُبْشَتْ	אָדָשָׁר <i>adasar</i>
12.	إِثْنَا عَشَرْ	إِنْعَشْ <i>iṭna'sar</i>	لَفْدَسْ (No contracted form.)	
13.	ثَلَاثَة عَشَرْ	ثَلَاثَشْ <i>ṭalāṭa'sar</i>	لَفْدَلْ	אָלָאשָׁר <i>tallasar</i>
14.	أَرْبَعَة عَشَرْ	أَرْبَعَشْ <i>'arba'ta'sar</i>	لَفْدַلְ	אָרְבָּאשָׁר <i>arbasar</i>

<sup>1</sup> See Petermann, op. cit., pp. 69–70.

<sup>2</sup> The numerous variant forms of the Syriac numerals have been omitted.

NO.	CLASS. ARAB.	COLL. SYR. AR.	SYRIAC.	SAMARITAN.
15.	خُمْسَةَ عَشَرَ		خُمْسَةَ شَرِّ	אַמְשָׁסָר
			hamsta'šar'	amšasar
16.	سِتَّةَ عَشَرَ		سِتَّةَ شَرِّ	אַשְׁשָׁסָר
			sitta'šar'	ešsusar
17.	سَبْعَةَ عَشَرَ		سَبْعَةَ شَرِّ	אַשְׁבָּעָתָסָר (No contracted form.)
			saba'ta'šar'	
18.	ثَمَانَةَ عَشَرَ		ثَمَانَةَ شَرِّ	אַשְׁבָּעָתָסָר (No contracted form.)
			tamāna'ta'šar'	
19.	تِسْعَةَ عَشَرَ		تِسْعَةَ شَرِّ	אַשְׁבָּعָתָסָר (No contracted form.)
			tisa'ta'šar'	

The close connexion between Syrian Arabic and classical Syriac is more clearly demonstrated in these numerals than in any other case. It is, further, remarkable that no dialects of Aramaic appear to have adopted this contraction; in most of them the *y* of *שְׁנִי* is lost and its place taken by a diphthong or long vowel, as in Egyptian Arabic,<sup>1</sup> and only locally in Syrian Arabic.

Similarly, it remains to draw attention to the fact that the Syrians, as well as the people of Palestine,<sup>2</sup> use the names of the months traditional in those countries<sup>3</sup> rather than the proper Arabic words, which are only heard occasionally in the mouths of the Moslem population. These are as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> See *The Modern Egyptian Dialect of Arabic*, by Dr. K. Vollers and F. C. Burkitt (Cambridge, 1895), p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. M. Löhr, *Der Vulgararabische Dialekt von Jerusalem*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> These names were borrowed by the Jews after the exile from Babylonia. See Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), p. 215.

ENGLISH. HEBREW.<sup>1</sup> SYRIAC. SYRIAN ARABIC.

January	—	كانون الثاني حُنُف، آبَنْتِ	kánán ittádníy
February	שְׁבָט	شَبَّاتٌ مُّضَهْ	shibbat
March	אֶפְרַיִם	أَدَارٌ إِدَرْ	adár
April	צִיּוֹן	نيسان نِسَانٌ	nísán
May	אֵיֶר	أَيَّارٌ إِيَّارْ	eiyár; vulg. 'iyár
June	—	حزيران حَزِيرَانٌ	házirán
July	תָּמִים	تموز تَمْمُوزٌ	tammúz
August	אָבָה	آبٌ إِبْ	'ab
September	אַלְעָלָה	أيلول إِلْكُلُولٌ	'elkul
October	תִּשְׂרִיבָה	تسرين الأول تَسْرِينُ الْأَوَّلِ	tisrín il'aúwal
November	—	تسرين الثاني تَسْرِينُ الثَّانِي	tisrín ittádníy
December	—	كانون الأول حُنُف، صَمَدْ	kánán il'aúwal

The same types occur in Nabatæan and other inscriptions, showing how widely diffused they were in these countries. These forms, which are peculiar to Syria and Palestine in modern times, are clearly due to a Hebrew-Palestinian tradition, which has proved strong enough to oust the Mohammedan forms almost entirely.

<sup>1</sup> Where no names are given, those in use do not belong to the same tradition.

Finally, the method of naming the days of the week by a form of the numerals<sup>1</sup> is derived from Syriac :—

SYRIAC.	SYRIAC ARABIC.
Sunday سُبْتَ حَضْرَةٍ	يَوْمُ الْحَدَّ <i>yōm ilhadd</i>
Monday سُبْتَ ثَيْنَةٍ	يَوْمُ الشَّتَّينَ <i>yōm išttein</i>
Tuesday سُبْتَ ثَلَاثَةٍ	يَوْمُ الْثَّلَاثَةِ <i>yōm ištla'atā</i>
Wednesday سُبْتَ أَرْبَاعَةٍ	يَوْمُ الْأَرْبَاعَةِ <i>yōm il'arba'atā</i>
Thursday سُبْتَ خَمْسَةٍ	يَوْمُ الْخَمْسَةِ <i>yōm il'hamsatā</i>
Friday سُبْتَ —	—
Saturday سُبْتَ مُكَانَةٍ	يَوْمُ السَّبْتِ <i>yōm issabtā</i>

In modern Syriac the forms more closely resemble those in classical Syriac, the termination **حَضْرَةٍ** being retained ; as in Syrian Arabic, however, **هُوَ الْيَوْمُ** "the day of" is often prefixed to the name.<sup>2</sup>

We see, therefore, that the colloquial dialect of Syria and Palestine at the present day differs in a number of points from classical Arabic by preserving traces of the earlier languages of the country, notably of Syriac. Forms also occur which are directly due also to Aramaic or Samaritan, while a few show marks of Hebrew or even earlier influence.

<sup>1</sup> This system also prevails in Egypt ; see Völlers & Burkitt, op. cit., p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> From a different tradition in both languages.

<sup>3</sup> See A. J. Maclean, *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac* (Cambridge, 1895), p. 71.

## Taxila Inscription of the year 136

By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

SIR JOHN MARSHALL'S interpretation of *ayasa* in the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136 as "of Azes" has been the subject of adverse criticism by some of the most eminent antiquarians since the publication of the record in 1914. The latest is by Professor Sten Konow in the *Epigraphia Indica*, xiv, p. 286. Professor Konow revives two of the objections to Sir John's explanation: (1) "the word (*ayasa*) could hardly be the name of a king, because no royal title is used"; (2) "if *ayasa* were really the name of a king, it would place the inscription in the reign of this king, who would then most likely have to be identified with the Khushana mentioned in 1. 3." I hope to show in this note that these objections are not as insuperable as they are supposed to be.

(1) Professor Konow says: "The absence of every royal designation is so extraordinary that I think we must abandon Sir John's explanation of the word *ayasa* altogether." If the assumption on which the second objection is based were correct, if the explanation of *ayasa* in the sense of "of Azes" would place the inscription in the reign of Azes himself, the absence of the royal designation could justify the total rejection of Sir John's explanation. But if *ayasa* may mean "of (the era of) Azes" and not "(during the reign) of Azes", why should the omission of royal designation in the year 136 of the era of Azes, so long after his death, and probably some time after the destruction of the Śaka-Parthian dynasty by the Kushans, be considered "so extraordinary"? In the inscriptions dated in the Gupta and Śaka eras the usual practice, of course, is the addition of a royal title with the terms Gupta and Śaka. But the omission of such title is not also uncommon (see Kielhorn's *Northern List*, appended to

*Ep. Ind.*, v, and *Southern List*, appended to *Ep. Ind.*, vii, and also inscriptions published after the compilation of the *Lists*). It may be argued that the terms Gupta and Śaka as applied to the eras denote dynasties and not individual kings, and the absence of a royal title with dynastic names cannot be considered as serious an omission as the absence of such title with the names of individual kings. But from epigraphic records we know of an Indian era connected with the name of a real king in the mention of which the royal designation is omitted. (1) Bodh-Gaya inscription of Aśokachalla : śrīmal = *Lakṣmaṇasēnasy* = ātīta rājyē sam̄ 51 *Bhādra dinē* 29 (*Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 29). (2) Bodh-Gaya inscription of the time of Aśokachalla : śrīmal = *Lakṣmaṇasēnadēvapādānām* = atīta-rājyē sam̄ 74 *Vaiśākha-vadi* 12 *Gurau* 11 (*Ep. Ind.*, xii, p. 30). (3) Janibigha inscription of Jayasena : *Lakṣmaṇasēnasy* = ātīta-rājyē sam̄ 83 *Kārttika-sudi* 15 (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1918, p. 279).

I propose to translate No. 3 as, "After the extinction of the dominion of Lakṣmaṇasēna, (in) the year 83, on the 15th day of the bright half of Kārttika."<sup>1</sup> When the Mālava

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Panday reads "rājya". But the sign of *e-kara* before *jy* is clear on the heliozincograph. Mr. Panday's translation, "(on) the 15th day of the bright half of Kārttika, Lakshmanasēna samvat 83 expired" (JBORS. 1918, p. 280), is wrong; *atīta* goes with *rājyē* and not with *samvat*. Kielhorn, on the assumption that the *Lakṣmaṇasēna-samvat* began with the beginning of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasēna in A.D. 1119, translates No. 2 as "on the 12th of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the year 74 since the (commencement of the) reign, (now) passed, of the illustrious Lakshmanasēnadēva, on a Thursday" (*Ind. Ant.* xix, p. 2). But in his synchronistic table for Northern India, A.D. 400-1400 (appended to *Ep. Ind.* viii), column 7, Kielhorn shows Ballālasēna, father of Lakṣmaṇasēna, reigning in A.D. 1169, evidently in accordance with the date of the compilation of the *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasēna as given in the manuscripts of that work (Eggeling's Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library, p. 545). Sir R. G. Bhandarkar notices a manuscript of the *Adbhutasāgara* which, according to the introductory stanzas of the work, was begun by Ballālasēna in Śaka year 1090 = A.D. 1168, and was finished after his death by his son Lakṣmaṇasēna (Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1887-88 and 1890-91, p. lxxxv). In the printed edition of the *Adbhutasāgara* (Benares, 1905) the date of the commencement of the work is

(or Kṛtya) and Śaka eras came to be known after Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana respectively who were believed to be real kings, the royal title was not always added to the names of these kings in recording dates (Kielhorn's *Northern List*, Nos. 61, 72, etc., *Southern List*, Nos. 370, 379, etc.). So the absence of the royal designation before *ayasa* cannot necessarily vitiate Sir John Marshall's explanation.

(2) In answer to the second objection Sir John Marshall has already drawn attention to the significant fact, that in the Taxila inscription of the year 136, as in the Taxila plate of Patika of the year 78, "the year of the era in which they are dated comes first, then the name of the king, and lastly the month and day," whereas in other inscriptions the name of the king comes first, and then the year and the month (JRAS. 1915, p. 195). Though Professor Konow admits, "I do not know of any other old inscription where we find a similar addition between the mention of the year and the month," he does not recognize the necessity of explaining the date portion of these two epigraphs in a different way, but adds, "If, however, *Ayasa* is the name of a ruler, the inscription must, as urged by Messrs. Thomas and Fleet, be dated during the reign of the King." No explanation of this "must" is either expressed or implied, except the analogy of the prevailing explanation of the date portion of the Taxila plate of Patika. It runs:—

*Sānivatsaraye alhasatatalitamae 20 20 20 10 4 4 Maharayasa  
Maharātasa Mogasa*, "in the seventy-eighth year 78, (during  
the reign) of the Maharaja the great Moga" (Konow).

In his article on the Ara inscription of Kaniṣka II, Professor Konow has collected in a very convenient form the date

given as Śaka year 1089=A.D. 1167 (p. 4), and on p. 203 it is stated that the first year of the reign of Ballāśeṇa fell in the Śaka year 1082=A.D. 1160. So the tradition recorded by Abul Fazl in his *Akbarnāma* and relied on by Keilhorn that the era of Lakṣmanasēṇa is counted from that king's accession in A.D. 1119 is without historical basis, and we need not twist the meaning of expressions like *Lakṣmanasēṇasya=ātita-rājyē sam[vat]* in the light of that tradition.

portions of all the dated inscriptions of the Saka-Parthian and Kushan periods (*Ep. Ind.*, xiv, pp. 135-139). To this list may be added Nos. 906, 922, 962, 963, 965, 964a (1452) of Lüder's *List of Brāhma Inscriptions*. It will be seen from the extracts in these lists that the usual way of dating is, first the name of the king with royal titles, then the year of the unspecified era, then the month and the day. There are only four exceptions to this rule. Two of these are the two Taxila inscriptions under consideration, and the two others are the Manikiala stone inscription and the Panjtar inscription. All the authorities—Senart, Lüders, Pargiter—who have recently dealt with the former record, hold very divergent views regarding the reading of the date portion. So it is not yet possible to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the meaning of the passage that may command general acceptance. The date of the Panjtar inscription runs thus:—

Sam 1 100 201 1 Sravanasa masasa di pradhame 1 Mahārayasa  
Guṣanasa rajami, "anno 122, on the first, 1, day of the  
month Śrāvāna, during the reign of the Mahārāja the  
Gushāna."

Here the addition of *rajami*, "during the reign," renders the meaning clear. In the Gupta period the inscriptions are also dated on the same plan; first the name of the reigning king, then the year of the Gupta era (not specified), then the month and day. For examples see Kielhorn's *Northern List*, Nos. 437, 439, 440, 442, 447, 449, 450. Deviation from this rule is found in one instance (excluding inscriptions the date of which is embodied in verse),<sup>1</sup> in the Mankuwar Buddhist

<sup>1</sup> Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No. 454, and the two Sārnāth image inscriptions of the time of Kumāra Gupta (G.E. 154) and Budhagupta (G.E. 157). See *Report of the Superintendent of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle*, for 1914-15, pp. 6-7. In the two latter records the name of the era is specified as *Guptānām*, "of the Guptas." In Kielhorn's No. 454 the wording *bhupatau cha Budhagupte*, "while Budhagupta is the reigning king," leaves no room for doubt about the sense.

image inscription (Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No. 443), the date of which is thus recorded :—

*Samvat 100 20 9 Mahārāja-Sri-Kumāraguptasya rājyē Jyeshṭhamāsa-di 10 8*, “the year 129, during the reign of Mahārāja Śri-Kumāragupta, the month of Jyeshṭha, day 18.”

Here also *rājyē*, the Sanskrit equivalent of *rajami* of the Panjtar inscription, renders the meaning clear. In this connexion the main point to be noted is, while the addition of *rajami* (*rājyē*) is thought necessary when the name of the reigning king is inserted between the year (of the unspecified era) and the month, no such addition is ever made when the reigning king is named first and the year next. Therefore, in the absence of *rajami* in the date portion of the Taxila plate of Patika and of the inscription of the year 136, we are not justified in assenting to the following equations: (1) *Samvatusaraye aṭhasatatimae 78 Maharayasa Mahamitasa Mogasa Pa[nemasa] masasa divase pañchame 5 equals Maharayasa Mahamitasa Mogasa sañivatsarae aṭhasatatimae 78 Panemasa masasa divase pañchame 5.* (2) *Sam 136 Ayasa Aṣaḍasa divase 15 equals Ayasa sam 136 Aṣaḍasa divase 15.*

The acceptance of No. 1 makes Moga nearly a contemporary of the Mahākṣatrapa Rājuvula and his son Śoḍāsa (Suḍāsa) as Kṣatrapa, for the Mahākṣatrapa Kusulaka Padika of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription G is no other than Patika, son of the Kṣatrapa Liaka Kusulaka, of the Taxila plate of the year 78. About the date of Śoḍāsa, Professor Konow writes: “I think we are forced to the conclusion that Śoḍāsa dated his inscription in the Vikrama era” (*Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 141). So the year 72 during the reign of Śoḍāsa as Mahākṣatrapa = A.D. 15. This is in agreement with the views of Sir John Marshall. It is not reasonable to assume a distance much longer than 25 to 30 years between Patika's plate of the year 78 and the Mathurā inscription of the year 72 of the time of Śoḍāsa (Lüders' *List*, No. 59). So if the year 78 of the Taxila plate is placed during the reign of Moga, we bring down this Śaka king who is rightly identified with

Moa or Maues of the coins to about B.C. 15. But the very fine workmanship of the coins of Maues renders such a view impossible. It is therefore more reasonable to recognize the year 78 of the plate of Patika as a year of the era of Moga or Maues, and, on its analogy, the year 136 of the silver scroll inscription as a year of the era of Azes.

My esteemed friend Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra, of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi, suggests that, if *ayasa* is not a proper name, then, on the analogy of the Wardak Vase inscription of the year 51, the year 136 should be treated as a year of the Kushan era of Kanis̄ka. The Wardak Vase inscription opens with the date "In the year 51, on the day 15 (of the first half ?) of the month of Artemisios"; then follows an account of the deposit of the relic, followed by benediction on King Hoves̄ka (*Ep. Ind.*, xi, pp. 210-11). Similarly, in the Taxila inscription of the year 136 the date and the account of the deposit of the relic is followed by benediction on an unnamed Kushan (Khushana) king. The only new element in this latter record is the word *ayasa* between the mention of the year and the month. If *ayasa* is explained away as an adjective qualifying *Ashadhasa*, we have to recognize the year 136 as a year of the Kushan era. But I do not think that any scholar will subscribe to the view that the Taxila silver scroll was engraved 38 years after the last known date (year 98) of the reign of Vāsudeva, whose earliest known date is the year 74.

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## Assyrian Lexicographical Notes

BY S. LANGDON

### 1. BARARITU, evening, first watch.

The Babylonians divided the night into three watches, to which they gave the names *massartu bararītu*, evening watch, *massartu kablītu*, midnight watch, *massartī šat urri*, morning watch. *Bararītu* and *kablītu* are adjectives in this construction. The full forms occur rarely as in Ebeling, *Religiöse Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 58, Rev. 7; No. 91, Rev. 21-2. Ordinarily *massartu* is omitted in the Semitic texts and *bararītu*, *kablītu* are treated as nouns. So in the syllabars, where the Sumerian equivalents contain the word *ennun* = *massartu*, the noun for "watch" is invariably omitted.

*en-nun an-ta*<sup>1</sup> = *bararītum*.

*en-nun murub-ba* = *kablītum*.

*en-nun ud-zal-la* = *šatturrum*.<sup>2</sup>

These explanations occur in two syllabars, II R. 39, No. 2, obv. i, 11-13, and V Raw. 40, No. 3, with duplicate Rm. 345 in Meissner, *Supplement*, pl. xxii. Delitzsch and Muss-Arnolt both connect the word *bararītu* with *barāru*, shine, and interpret the word to refer to the shining forth of the stars, that is the evening. The Sumerian *an-ta* supports this derivation.

A variant of *en-nun an-ta* is *en-nun an-usan*,<sup>3</sup> i.e. *massarti šimētān*, evening watch; Virolleaud, *Sin*, No. 31, 5; III Raw. 55, 18; Ebeling, *ibid.* 52, 5. A new Sumerian variant is *en-nun dur-ri*, which is probably to be rendered by *massarti šimētān*, Ebeling, *ibid.* 91, Rev. 21. *Dur-ri* = *šimētān*,

<sup>1</sup> The going up watch, literally *massartu ellītu*.

<sup>2</sup> So II R. 39, 13, but Rm. 345 obv. 24 *šat urri*.

<sup>3</sup> It is erroneous to regard *an* as the determinative *dingir*. The word really means "darkness in the sky".

evening, is probably connected with *tur* = *erēbu*, to enter, and thence acquired the meaning "evening" from the Semitic phrase *erēb šamši*, sunset.

## 2. GUANNAKKU = *καυνάκης*, frilled mantle.

My present note concerning the Sumerian frilled mantle, which Leon Heuzey has convincingly identified with the Greek mantle *καυνάκης*, is confined to the philological aspect of the problem. The most ancient form of this woollen mantle, so woven as to imitate the locks of a sheep's fleece, was worn by men as a skirt hung from the waist; the mantle is draped from the left shoulder in the case of women. Both methods of wearing the kaunakes can be studied on the bas-relief of Ur-Nina. For the draping of a female see the figure of Ab<sup>1</sup>-da in the upper register, first personage before the king. After the archaic period the false flounces are more elegantly worked, having a graceful sinuous appearance, and the mantle is now draped from the left shoulder by both men and women. It is worn by the Semitic king Naram-Sin on the bas-relief of Diarbekr, but only by deities in Sumer. This old national Sumerian mantle ceased to be worn as a civilian dress among the Sumerians themselves after the archaic period which ends with the dynasty of Accad. Henceforth in pure Sumerian art we find the kaunakes worn only by deities<sup>2</sup>. The kaunakes became particularly associated with the mother goddess Innini and her various related female divinities, and she may be seen on a great number of Sumerian seals standing in prayer before a seated deity or conducting a worshipper by the hand. The seated deities on Sumerian seals also wear the kaunakes except when they are deified kings. In such great respect was this old mantle regarded that even deified kings who received full cult worship were not dressed in this robe of the gods. See for example of a seated

<sup>1</sup> The value *lid* for this sign is Semitic and improbable here.

<sup>2</sup> For early examples of this new regard for the kaunakes, see the figures Nos. 24, 25, 28, and 89 in Leon Heuzey's *Antiquités Chaldéennes*.

god robed in a kaunakes, Delaporte, *Cylindres Orientaux*, Nos. 131-3, and for a seated deified king robed in another kind of mantle and without horned turban (a certain indication of deity) see *ibid.*, Nos. 119, 120, etc.

The curious method of weaving this kind of heavy frilled mantle has been described by Heuzey in his article "Une étoffe chaldéenne"; see *Revue Archéologique*, 1887, pp. 257ff., and for other literature on the subject by the same writer see his *Antiquités Chaldéennes*, p. 204. The identification with the Greek mantle *καυνάκης*, sometimes written *γαυνάκης*, or *gaunakes*, is fully established by the evidence adduced in these able articles. The Greek kaunakes was imported from Asia, and Aristophanes mentions Sardis and Ecbatana as the principal centres of its manufacture. Heuzey could find no Sumerian word for this mantle, and, in fact, the Sumerian and Babylonian name of this woollen stuff has never been identified. My identification of the name is the result of two methods of reasoning. In the first place the Sumerians came to regard this dress with such reverence that it was reserved for the gods. The Semites, who borrowed its manufacture, and the Elamites, to whom it was also a prehistoric dress, continued to wear it right down to the Greek period, when the Greeks learned its manufacture from them.

Now it is highly probable that the old Sumerian custom of representing deities in the kaunakes imposed itself more or less upon the Babylonians, who invariably adopted Sumerian religious ideas. It is interesting, therefore, to note that the Babylonians have a preference for dressing the statues of their goddesses in a mantle called *gú-UD-DU*. The *tūggú-UD-DU* means literally "garment which leaves the shoulder bear", or "garment from which the shoulder rises".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The writer has in press in *Archæologia* a lecture read before the Society of Antiquaries concerning the archæology of the early Sumerian dress. After my paper was read I came upon Dr. Albright's very opportune note in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xvi, 177, where he shows that *tūggú-UD-DU* is rendered by *asit kišadi*, "garment of the protruding of the shoulder."

In my *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 213, *en* is given as the original value of *UD-DU* = *aṣú*. Delitzsch, in his *Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 30, adopts *ed* as the root. Both views depend upon whether the sign 𒂗, which so frequently follows *UD-DU* or the gunified form *DUL-DU* as a phonetic complement, has the value *ne* or *de* here. Even if *ed* be original *en* is certain. In fact, both are permissible according to our present evidence. Evidence for the reading *ed* is as follows : *da lù UD-DU-da-ta* = *itti* [amel *āṣi*], Haupt, *Assyrisch-Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, 94, 41; *mu-un-UD-DU-da*, Langdon, *Historical and Religious Texts*, 24, 42. Note especially *e-ti-a-zu-dé*<sup>1</sup> = *ina aṣt-ka*. These examples indicate a value *ed-da*. More doubtful are examples like *UD-DU-da-ni* = *ē-da-ni*, who went forth, where *da* may possibly represent *ta*, the suffixed particle "from" in a relative sentence.<sup>2</sup> Note also *ud-dé-a* of the rising of the sun, *Le poème sumérien du Paradis*, 170, 19. The reading *DUL-DU-da*, a participle, Gudea, Cyl. A. 27, 21, indicates the value *ed-da*.

On the other hand, *en* is established by the following passages : *UD-DU-na-zu-šú* = *ina aṣt-ka*, V R. 50, 1-7; *ù-um-mi-na-ta* (= *ù-um-mi-en-na-ta*), arise, Nippur, 4592, 2. I particularly emphasize the variant *tūggú-an-na*, in Grice, *Records from Ur and Larsa*, No. 94, 12. This proves that the Sumerian was pronounced *gu-èn*, *gu-èn-na*, *gu-an-na*. We must, therefore, assume a sound change *d* > *n*, or the change of dental *d* to the dental nasal *n*, a process for which I can find no explanation.

The word *tūggú-èn* is translated by *nahlaptu* in the syllabars. Since *gú-èn* means originally a heavy flounced mantle the noun yielded a denominal verb *gú-èn* = *ḥalāpu*, to clothe. But *tūggú-èn* is the name most frequently employed in Semitic texts for the robe of the goddesses, *tūg gú-èn* of red wool for the goddess Aja, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iv, 137, 8. The same *gú-èn* garment is made for the Belit of Babylon,

<sup>1</sup> Var. *e-ti-zu-dé*, Meek, *Cuneiform Bilingual Hymns*, No. 1, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 312, 20-1.

Strassmaier, *Cambyses*, 137, 3. A *gú-èn* of red wool and a *gú-èn* of variegated wool for Aja, Strassmaier, *Cyrus*, 7, 6. Four mana of red wool for a *gú-èn* of Aja, *Cuneiform Tablets of the British Museum*, vi, 38, A 5. Most important of all references on this matter is Radau, *Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts*, No. 1, 1; *d.girra ní-me-lam gú-èn . . .* "The god Girra, who is clothed in terror." Here *gú-èn* in a classical Sumerian text is employed for robing a god. And not only had the Sumerian custom of robing deities in the kaunakes thus imposed itself on the Semites, but the garment was supposed to possess magic power, and was worn by priests when they exorcised the demons, C.T. 16, 28, 68. The same magic property of the *gú-èn* is referred to in Ebeling, *Religiöse Texte*, 67, 8, where the image of a sick man is clothed in this garment.

All of these references to the *gú-èn* mantle agree admirably with archaeological facts regarding the ancient frilled skirt and later the mantle woven in the same manner. In Sumer this mantle became a divine dress, and the *gú-èn* is so employed by the Semites, but not exclusively so. The Sumerian word *gú-èn* is always employed in the texts, never the Semitic *nahlaptu* or *asit kišadi*, which were mere Semitic explanations. It is, therefore, almost certain that the Semites made a loan-word of *gú-èn*, or *gú-an-na*, and this should be *guennakku*, *guannakku*, the original of the Greek *καυνάκης*.

### 3. THE BABYLONIAN NAME OF THE MILKY WAY

Cautious Assyriologists have hitherto refused to believe that the Babylonians made much of the bright band of minor stars which form a complete circle in the heavens, passing approximately through the signs of the zodiac. Weidner appears to be the first scholar who actually discovered a metaphor for the Milky Way, when he interpreted a passage in Dhorme's text, R.A. 8, 46, 9, so as to refer to this galaxy of heaven. See *Babylonica*, vi, 59. The passage is as follows: *kakkab Kak-si-di [ ]-di-di mē tam-lim*. This

is translated by Dhorme, "O star Kaksidi who traversest the waters of the sea." Although one sign of the Sumerian verb is wanting (Dhorme supplies [*ne-*]-*di-di*) the translation is fairly certain. The star or constellation *kaksidi*, written *ka-ak-zi-zi* in a star list of Boghaz-Keui, was identified with the god Ninurta, Astrolab, Berlin, i, 13, in Weidner's *Handbuch der Babylonischen Astronomie*, and in the prayer published by King, *Babylonian Magic*, No. 50, as well as in the *ikrib* prayer, K. 128. The Babylonians identified this constellation with Canis, in which they saw, not a dog, but an arrow, *tartahu*, C.T. 33, 2, Rev. 6, or *šukudu*, Hemerology of the Berlin Astrolab, ii, 1. Weidner interprets this line to mean that the arrow or javelin of Ninurta (i.e. the constellation Canis Major) crosses the Milky Way, that is, the waters of the sea. His argument is astronomically correct (Fotheringham).

The question arises, however, as to whether the Babylonians did identify the dragon of Chaos, Tiamat, Tamtu, or the "sea" with the Milky Way. That they actually did the following passages prove. The Sumerian word *nab* is written with the sign *AN* doubled; and resembles the ordinary sign for star or constellation *mul*, depicted by writing *AN* thrice. *an* means heaven, the vault of heaven, and the sign *AN* doubled should, of course, refer to heaven and the stars. But *nab* is explained in C.T. 12, 4b, 19-22, by *nābu*, a loan-word, meaning lofty, noble (*Babylonian Liturgies*, by the writer, p. 140), *nāri*, river, *iluEnlil*, and *ti-am-tum*. Restore also C.T. 19, 41a, 27, [*nab*] = *nāru*, following *sag-uš* = *kajamānu*, a term for Saturn. *nab* as a title of Enlil refers to Enlil *ša šame*, or Enlil of the heavens, C.T. 24, 39, 10, and B.A. v, 655, 6. *nab*, therefore, means heavenly, pertaining to the stars, and hence Innini-Ishtar as Venus or Virgo has the title *nab* (*Babylonian Liturgies*, 72, 25), and *dingir nab*, the celestial divinity (*Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 170, 7). Why should *nab* mean "river" and *Tiamat* or *tantu* the sea? Clearly the celestial river or the Milky Way is intended, and the Rabbis called the Milky Way the "river of fire"

(נַחַר דִּינָר), Talmud, *Berakoth*, 58b.<sup>1</sup> Tiamat was therefore unquestionably identified with the Milky Way.

On two Babylonian seals, one in the British Museum and one in the Morgan Collection of New York City, is represented Marduk pursuing the great serpent dragon Tiamat (see Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 578-9). This illustrates beyond doubt a well-known Babylonian legend, so movingly portrayed in the fourth tablet of the Epic of Creation; here Marduk, champion of the gods, defeats in terrible battle the Titans and their hideous mother Tiamat, the dragon of the sea. The seals show her fleeing from before Marduk. This legend is referred to in a passage of Job xxvi, 13, a verse in two parts. The second half of the verse reads: "His hand pierced the fleeing serpent."<sup>2</sup>

Ralbag, that is, Levi ben Gershon, a French Rabbi (1288-1344), in his comment on this passage says that the "fleeing serpent" is the Milky Way. Now Job refers to Tiamat and her defeat by Marduk, armed with net, spear, and terrible winds. Tiamat, the sea serpent, was, in fact, identified with the Milky Way in Babylonia. Job may not have had in mind any reference to the astronomical aspect of this legend, but the Rabbi of the Middle Ages preserves a true tradition. Franz Delitzsch, in the second edition of his commentary on Job, p. 339, accused Ralbag of having made an unfounded statement. Whatever source Ralbag may have used it was certainly one based upon very ancient tradition, and came directly from the Babylonians themselves.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The passage reads, "If the sting of the Scorpion did not lie in the Milky Way, then no one who was bitten by a scorpion would recover." Canon G. A. Cooke, Regius Professor of Hebrew, called my attention to this passage, which now receives explanation from the Babylonian.

<sup>2</sup> The first half of the verse refers to the Babylonian *Epic of Creation*, iv, 98, where Marduk caused the "Evil wind" to enter into the belly of Tiamat. The text is hopeless.

<sup>3</sup> The identification of Tiamat or the dragon of the salt sea with the Milky Way leads to another important conclusion. In the astronomical texts *an-tir-an-na*, the forest of heaven, has been conjectured to mean Milky Way. *an-tir-an-na* is explained in these texts by *marratu*, i.e. *nāru marratu*, bitter river, Virolleaud, *Astrologie, Sin*, iii, 122; C.T. 26, 40, iv, 6. Note also the ideogram for *an-tir-an-na* in II Raw. 47, 36, [ - ]-ses and ses is the ordinary word for *marru*, bitter.



## The Dates in Merutunga's "Prabandha Chintamani"

By ROBERT SEWELL (I.C.S. RETIRED)

THERE are several ways of writing history. A conscientious historian does not invent details in the hope that their inaccuracy will remain undiscovered ; but there have been authors who seek to present to their readers a false appearance of accuracy by mentioning as facts minute details which have no existence except in their own brains. Merutunga, the author of the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*, an historical work of the early fourteenth century A.D., so far at least as regards the dates which he gives for the accession, etc., of the kings of Anhilvāda during a period of about 400 years, appears to belong to the latter class. We in Europe are quite content to know that one of our sovereigns 400 years or so ago began to reign in a certain year. We want nothing more. But Merutunga, to give an instance, tells us that in the Vikrama year 862 Yogarāja was crowned on "Āshāḍha śukla 5, Thursday, the moon being in Aśvinī, when [the zodiacal sign] Siṅha was in the ascendant ", the last detail giving us within two hours the exact time of day.

Into the general truthfulness or otherwise of his narrative we need not at present enter, but it is desirable that students of history should be warned against putting too much trust in his chronological assertions. Parts at least of most of his dates appear to be mere blind shots made at random, and to have been entered in order to give an appearance of verisimilitude to his story. And if this is so we have to be cautious in our acceptance of the whole. Contemporary records are far better guides.

The work embraces the period of the rule of the Chāpōtkaṭa kings of Anhilvāda (A.D. 746 to 934) and of their Chaulukyan

successors till about A.D. 1241. It was written in A.D. 1304 or thereabouts.

Merutunga generally gives us in his dates the following details : (i) the number of the year of the Vikrama era, (ii) the lunar month and tithi ( $\frac{1}{30}$  of a lunation), (iii) the week-day, (iv) the nakshatra (the moon's place in the heavens), (v) the lagna (the zodiacal sign in the ascendant at the moment of the action recorded, which, as already stated, fixes within two hours the exact time of day). All these elements of a date were undoubtedly known to the framers of almanacs of Merutunga's time, but they were not generally in use during the earlier years of the period comprised in the book. The earliest mention of the lagna, for instance, in inscriptions known to the late Professor Kielhorn, is in one of A.D. 945 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxv, p. 291), but Merutunga notes it as part of his earliest date, two hundred years before that time. Suspicion is therefore at once aroused. The nakshatra is stated in fifteen of Merutunga's dates, but not a single one is correct, most of them being quite impossible on the given lunar day (tithi) of the month, and some of them absurdly so. He apparently did not understand the theory of nakshatras, and wrote down their names at haphazard.

At the request of the late Dr. Fleet I made a very close and prolonged study of these dates. It was necessary to be very careful in order to avoid unjust condemnation, and to examine each date in a number of different ways. At the beginning of the period concerned the framers of almanacs may have used either the *First Ārya Siddhānta* (A.D. 499), probably as amended by Lalla, or the *Brāhma Siddhānta* (A.D. 628). Towards the end the *Second Ārya Siddhānta* (? 950 A.D.) or the *Rājahmṛigāṅka* (A.D. 1042) may have been consulted, or even the *Present Sūrya Siddhānta* or the *Siddhānta Śirōmaṇi*, both of which were introduced early in the twelfth century. These authorities, however, do not greatly differ in their lunar fixtures.

Again, while the year is always stated as in the Vikrama

era, such a year may be either a current or an expired year. It may be a year beginning with either the luni-solar month Chaitra or of Āshāḍha or of Kārttika, all of these having at various times and places been the first month of the year. The date in the lunar month, i.e. the lunar fortnight and the number of the tithi, may be calculated as in a month beginning with full moon (the pūrnimānta system) or with new moon (the amānta system). Moreover, the almanac-makers of years earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. are known to have very commonly calculated by the mean motions of the sun and moon and not by their true or apparent motions. Many different tests, therefore, had to be applied to the statements made by our author.

It will be seen in the end that the given weekdays in most cases could only be made to correspond accurately with the given lunar month and tithi by using sometimes one kind of year and sometimes another, and sometimes by using first one system and then a different one; but this does not in itself necessarily disprove the accuracy of the dates, which may have been traditional and not the result of calculations made during the lifetime of Merutunga. The reasons for my conclusions are given below.

Let it be remembered that if a writer makes up his mind to make a bold shot at the weekday corresponding to a lunar month and tithi in a year long gone by he stands a fair chance of hitting either on the right day or on the day next to it. His chances are two in seven. As regards the lagna his chance of failure is very small, since in twenty-four hours the meridian passes through all the zodiacal signs.<sup>1</sup> But in the matter of the nakshatra he must choose one out of twenty-seven, and here Merutunga altogether breaks down. So that we are left with practically nothing but the weekday by which to judge of the accuracy of the given date. Into this I shall now enter.

<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless Merutunga is wrong in six cases out of eleven.

## MERUTUNGA'S VERIFIABLE DATES NOTED IN DETAIL

*Chāpōtkata Kings*

1. Foundation of city of Anhilvāḍa by Vanarāja. Vikr. 802, Vaiśākha śukla 2, Monday. The weekday is wrong by all calculations except that for an expired Vikrama year beginning with the month Āshāḍha or Kārttika, and then only when the reckoning is by mean planetary motions. When true motions are the guide the quoted tithi was coupled with Tuesday, but was current for the most part of Monday (March 28, A.D. 746).

2. Yōgaraja's coronation. Vikr. 862, Āshāḍha śukla 3, Thursday. If taken as a current Vikrama year beginning with Chaitra or Āshāḍha the weekday corresponding to the given tithi was Friday, but it was current for part of the previous Thursday (June 13, A.D. 804). Same result whether reckoning mean or true.

3. Kshēmarāja's coronation. Vikr. 898, Jyēshṭha śukla 13, Saturday. Weekday correct if the year be taken as an expired Vikrama year beginning with Chaitra, or a current Vikrama year beginning with Āshāḍha or Kārttika. (May 7, A.D. 841.) Result by mean reckoning same as by true.

4. End of Kshēmarāja's reign. Vikr. 922, Bhādrapada śukla 15, Sunday. If the year be taken as an expired Vikrama year beginning with Chaitra or Āshāḍha, or as a current year beginning with Kārttika, the given tithi is correct for the lunar month Nija Bhādrapada (this month was intercalary), whose fifteenth śukla = Sunday, September 9, A.D. 865. If taken as a current Vikrama year beginning with Chaitra or Āshāḍha the given tithi was coupled with Monday, but was current on part of the previous day = Sunday, August 20, A.D. 864. Same result by mean or true reckoning.

5. Chāmuṇḍarāja's anointment. Vikr. 935, Āśviṇa śukla 1, Monday. The given tithi is correct if the year be taken as the expired Vikrama year 935 beginning with Chaitra or Āshāḍha, or as a current Vikrama year beginning with

Kārttika, the date being Monday, September 1, A.D. 878. Same result whether by mean or true reckoning.

6. End of Chamuṇḍarāja's reign. Vikr. 938, Māgha Krishṇa 3, Monday. If the year be taken as an expired Vikrama year beginning with either Chaitra, Āshādha, or Kārttika, with the pūrṇimānta system of lunar months, the given tithi was coupled with Tuesday, but was current on part of the previous Monday = December 11, A.D. 881. This either by mean or true reckoning.

7. Ākadēva's accession. (This date goes with the last, if we change the number of the tithi from "14" to "4". If not it is altogether wrong.)

8. End of Ākadēva's reign. Vikr. 965, Pausha śukla 9, Wednesday. By both true and mean reckoning the date is correct if the year be taken as a current Vikrama year beginning with Chaitra, in which case it = Wednesday, December 16, A.D. 907.

9. Accession of Bhuyagaḍadeva. Vikr. 990, Pausha śukla 10, Thursday. It is fairly clear that the number of the year is wrongly stated, and that it should have been given on 965, being the day following No. 8 above. In such case this date goes with the last. If the year be taken as 990 the weekday is wrong by all reckonings.

### *Chaulukya Kings*

10. Mūlarāja's coronation. Vikr. 993, Āshādha śukla 15, Thursday, "at midnight." The date of Bhuyagaḍadeva's death (or end of reign) being given in the text as "Vikr. 991, Āshādha śukla 15", it is probable that the year of Mūlarāja's coronation should also have been given as "991", or else both as "993". If we take the date as 993, the weekday, when classing the year as a current Vikrama year beginning with Chaitra or Āshādha, was coupled with Friday, but was current at midnight on Thursday, June 18, A.D. 935. To change the date given means to put the date out of court for present purposes.

11. Chāmuṇḍarāja's accession. Vikr. 1050, Śrāvāṇa śukla 11, Friday. If the year be taken as in Nos. 8 and 10 above as a current Vikrama year beginning with Chaitra or Āshāḍha, the weekday is incorrect. But if it be taken as an expired Vikrama year beginning with Kārttika, the given tithi by true reckoning was coupled with Saturday, but was current for part of Friday = July 20, A.D. 994. By mean reckoning the tithi could not be connected with the Friday.

[Fleet, however, was of opinion that the number of the year is wrongly stated, seeing that there is extant a copper-plate record dated as in Mūlarāja's reign and on a day = January 19, A.D. 995 (Kielhorn's Northern List, *Ind. Ant.*, vi, 191; xix, 83, 166). The grant was issued at Anhilvāda.]

12. End of Chāmuṇḍarāja's reign. Vikr. 1055, Āśvina śukla 5, Monday. Here, again, there would appear to be an error in the number of the year, for the length of this king's reign is stated as over thirteen years. Probably the year should be "1065". The date goes with the next one.

13. Vallabharāja's accession. Vikr. 1065, Āśvina śukla 6, Tuesday. If the year be taken as an expired Vikrama year beginning with Kārttika the weekday is correct, i.e. the given tithi was coupled with Āśvina śukla 6 = Tuesday, September 27, A.D. 1009, and this whether by true or mean reckoning. That the year was one beginning with Kārttika is evidenced by the details given as to the length of this king's reign and the day of his successor's accession ; for Vallabharāja is said to have reigned for only five months and twelve days, and the accession of Durlabharāja is quoted as having taken place in the same year, Vikr. 1065, in the month Chaitra. Kārttika and Chaitra, therefore, were in the same Vikrama year, Chaitra being the later.

14. Durlabharāja's coronation. Vikr. 1065, Chaitra śukla 6, Thursday (see No. 13). Taken as an expired Vikrama year beginning with Kārttika the weekday by true reckoning was properly connected with Friday, but the given tithi was

current for about half the day on the previous Thursday, March 23, A.D. 1010. By mean reckoning the given tithi was current almost the whole of the Thursday.

15. Bhīmarāja's reign began Vikr. 1077, Jyēshṭha śukla 12, Tuesday. The weekday is incorrect by all systems of reckoning.

16. Karṇadeva's accession. Vikr. 1120, Chaitra kṛishṇa 7, Monday. Taking the year as an expired Vikrama year beginning with Kārttika, as in Nos. 13, 14 above, and reckoning the lunar months as on the pūrṇimānta system, the given tithi was regularly connected with Tuesday, but was current for twenty-one minutes on Monday, February 28, A.D. 1065, i.e. in European reckoning, only from 5.39 to 6 a.m. on Tuesday morning, 29th. This can hardly be taken as correct. As a mean tithi it could not be connected with the Monday.

17. Jayasīṁha Siddharāja's anointment. Vikr. 1150, Pausha kṛishṇa 3, Saturday. If the year be taken as an expired Vikrama year beginning with either Chaitra Āshāḍha or Kārttika, and if the lunar month be reckoned by the amānta system, the weekday is correct and = Saturday, January 7, A.D. 1094. The result is the same by mean reckoning.

18. Kumārapāla's anointment. Vikr. 1199, Kārttika kṛishṇa 2, Sunday. If the year be taken as a current Vikrama year beginning with Chaitra or Āshāḍha with amānta month reckoning the weekday is correct and = Sunday, October 19, A.D. 1141. Same result by mean reckoning.

To analyse these results. Correct weekdays have been found only by changing the methods of calculation in many cases. The dates have been checked in a number of different ways which yield a different weekday for the given tithi in different years. My list, however, states only one solution, namely, that where the given weekday agrees more or less with the stated month and tithi. Omitting dates in years the numbers of which appear to have been wrongly quoted,

and dates which seem only half correct, i.e. where the stated weekday is the one next previous to the actually correct one, we have nine instances where, by one or other of the many modes of calculation, the weekday names fits the tithi.

But although this result would appear at first sight fairly satisfactory, it must be borne in mind that it rests on a series of assumptions.

Taking the first four dates, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5 (omitting No. 2), it is seen that while the last three may have been calculated as current Vikrama years beginning with Kārttika, No. 1 is only correct when the year is an expired Vikrama year beginning with Āshāḍha or Kārttika. No. 8 is only correct when taken as a current Vikrama year beginning with Chaitra. Nos. 13, 14, and 17 are correct for expired Vikrama years beginning with Kārttika, while No. 18 is only correct for a current Vikrama year beginning with Chaitra or Āshāḍha.

Granted that the practice of sometimes naming a year as current and sometimes as expired was not unusual, still the genuineness of these nine dates cannot be assumed, except on the following hypothesis. Between A.D. 878 (No. 5) and 907 (No. 8) the Vikrama year in Gujarāt must have been made to begin with the month Chaitra instead of, as formerly, with Kārttika. Between A.D. 907 and 1009 (No. 13) the beginning of the year was again changed back to Kārttika, and between A.D. 1094 (No. 17) and 1141 (No. 18) still another change was made, the year being considered as beginning with Chaitra or Āshāḍha.

A further change must also have been effected in or before A.D. 1065, computation of the sun's and moon's places being made by their true, instead of as formerly by their mean, motions. This is quite possible.

Lastly, while in A.D. 1065 the lunar months were made to begin with full moon they had, before the year A.D. 1094 (No. 17) been made to begin with new moon.

The most important of these supposititious changes, as bearing on the present question, is the first, namely, the three

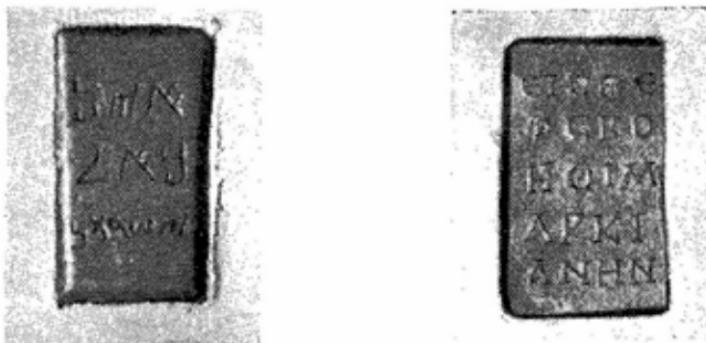
changes in the beginning of the year—three changes in the popular New Year's Day. So many changes seem quite improbable, and even if they had actually occurred it cannot be imagined that Merutunga was so well acquainted with the subject that he allowed for them when he entered the name of the weekday in each of his dates. That he was not an expert astronomer is proved by the entire irregularity of his fixtures for the nakshatras. If these three changes did not take place—if, that is, calculation is made by allowing for only one change in the beginning of the year, say, from Kārttika to Chaitra prior to the year A.D. 907—then the weekdays do not agree with the given tithis in dates 13, 14, 16, and 17, and we have only five instances left of correctness in the dates. The only conclusion at which we can safely and logically arrive is that while the given years, and possibly the given months and tithis, may be traditional and more or less correct, and while it cannot be said decidedly whether the weekdays mentioned are also traditional or whether they were guessed at and written down at random as assuredly the nakshatras were, it is clear that Merutunga's unfortunate manipulations of his dates and the fanciful additions which he made to them render it impossible for us to trust them. The true history of the kings of Anhilvāda must be threshed out from a careful study of contemporary records, and no reliance can be placed on the chronology of the *Prabandha Chintāmani*.



## A Samaritan Periapt

BY E. J. PILCHER

THE illustration shows a small amulet which is remarkable as being the first known example of a bilingual in Greek and Samaritan. On the obverse it bears, in Samaritan characters, אֵן כָּל יְשׁוּרֹן *ēn ka'el Yeshurón*, "None like the God of Jeshurun" (Deut. xxxiii, 26). On the reverse, Εἷς θεός: Βοήθ[ε]ι *Marcianē*, "One God. Help thou Marciane!" The female name, Marciane, recalls *Markah* מִרְקָה (a variant of the Latin Marcus), the first great Samaritan theologian. He has left a large literature, and is usually considered to have flourished about the fourth century of the Christian Era. His original name was Moses



ben Amram ben Sered ; but from humility, or other consideration, he altered *משה Mosheh*. Instead of the *w*, which has the numerical value of 300, he substituted *ר = 200* and *ρ = 100* : thus preserving the original total, but replacing the revered name of Moses by the obscure *Markah*.

It will be noticed that the Samaritan characters are of different sizes in each of the three lines ; the object being to fill up the entire width of the stone. The same method is followed in some manuscripts, with a similar intention.

These inscriptions are engraved upon a piece of hæmatite, of the size of the photograph, which appears to have been originally mounted in a metal frame, to be hung round the neck as a periapt. It was recently discovered at Nablus, in Palestine, and is now in the collection of Signor S. Raffaeli, of Jerusalem. From the character of the lettering, it would appear to date from about the fifth century.

The intense monotheism of the Samaritans is reflected in these two short legends. The phrase "None like the God of Jeshurun" is found on Samaritan inscriptions of all kinds; while the Greek *Elē θeós* recalls the יהוה אֶחָד, *Yahweh ekkod*, "One Yahweh" (Deut. vi, 4), of equally frequent occurrence. This very same Greek phrase *Elē θeós* is carved on the fourth century capital of a column discovered by Professor C. Clermont-Ganneau in 1881, at al-Amwas (the ancient Emmaus-Nicopolis). This Ionic capital bears on one side, in Greek characters, *Elē θeós*. On the other side, in ancient Hebrew lettering, ברוך שם לנצח, *berūk shemō l'olam*, "Blessed be his name for ever." Underneath the block of stone is the Latin *S*. In this case, it will be noted, the relic is not Samaritan, but Jewish, as the learned discoverer has fully demonstrated; but it need scarcely be added that Judaism and Samaritanism are identical in their rigid monotheism.

When in Damascus in 1900 Dr. Sobernheim, of Berlin, acquired a small periapt, consisting of an oval plate of bronze, with loop for suspension; and with Samaritan inscriptions on both sides, reading *obv.* "The self-existing Yahweh. None like the God of Jeshurun. One Yahweh." *Rev.* "Yahweh the Mighty. Yahweh the victorious. Yahweh his name." Thus the magical effect is sought to be attained by the repetition of the divine name יהוה usually transcribed by European scholars as *Yahweh*.

Samaritan lapidary inscriptions have long been known. They are all from the walls of houses, either internal or external, where they were supposed to ensure the divine

protection by following the rescript of Deut. vi, 4-9, which directs that "these words" are to be inscribed on doors and gates. By a licence of interpretation, Samaritan devotees extended "these words" to mean the "ten words" or Ten Commandments, which are employed in a more or less abbreviated form. Others preferred the "Words of Creation", that is to say, the first chapter of Genesis, treated in a similar fashion; while another favourite passage was Exodus xii, 23, inscribed over doors in the expectation that the Angel of the Plague would pass over the house so protected. The phrases found on the two amulets mentioned above are also frequently met with.

In 1915 Dr. Moses Gaster made a fresh contribution to our knowledge by the publication and description of a number of Samaritan MS. talismans, written upon parchment, and intended to be folded, and worn upon the person as a protection against witchcraft and other ills that flesh is heir to. These charms contain passages of scripture, divine names, and other mystical elements, including "None like the God of Jeshurun" and "*Yahweh ekhod*", showing the unity of idea and phraseology that underlies all these examples of Samaritan superstition. Some of Dr. Gaster's talismans were specialized by bearing the name of the owner, just like the Samaritan periapt from Nablûs, though, naturally, in a longer formula, as in PSBA. xxxix, pp. 16 and 25:—

"I pray thee, Abiel, the angel who rules over fire; may the fire be on the enemy, and may everyone who wears this writing be saved from the fire. . . . May the burning fire be quenched for him who is clothed with it [i.e. this writing], Abraham, son of Ab-Sakua, the Danafite. Amen."

(The Danafites are a celebrated family of Samaritans, probably connected with the village of Defne, situated to the east of Nablûs.)<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gaster assigns this particular charm to the second half of the seventeenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Montgomery, p. 305.

We may see, therefore, that this newly discovered periapt from Nablûs, in spite of its brevity, is strictly parallel to the other known examples of Samaritan mysticism, which have received so much attention from scholars during recent years.

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## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### VOCAL HARMONY IN KAREN

Karen, an important Indo-Chinese language spoken in Burma, is, like other members of the group, a tonic form of speech, in which each root-word remains unchanged, its relation to the other words of the sentence being indicated by its position, or by the addition of auxiliary syllables with or without independent meaning.

I have said that the root-word remains unchanged, but there is an interesting exception to this general rule in one dialect—the Karen-byu or White Karen, spoken in the east of Central Burma. Through the kindness of Mr. L. F. Taylor, of the Indian Educational Service, I have received a list of words and grammatical forms of this dialect, and Mr. Taylor points out that the vowels of four of the pronouns vary in harmony with the vowel of the word following. He gives the following examples of the present tense:—

Verb.	Singular.			Plural.		
	1st person.	2nd person.	3rd person.	1st person.	2nd person.	3rd person.
<i>le</i> , to go	<i>ye le</i>	<i>ne le</i>	<i>ze le</i>	<i>we le</i>	<i>θi le</i>	<i>ze-tà-zå le</i>
<i>bü-po</i> , to be carried	<i>yü bü-po</i>	<i>nü bü-po</i>	<i>zü bü-po</i>	<i>wü bü-po</i>	<i>θi bü-po</i>	<i>ze-tà-så bü-po</i>
<i>pu</i> , to carry	<i>yu pu</i>	<i>nu pu</i>	<i>zu pu</i>	<i>wu pu</i>	<i>θi pu</i>	<i>ze-tà-så pu</i>
<i>po</i> , to awake	<i>yo po</i>	<i>no po</i>	<i>zo po</i>	<i>wo po</i>	<i>θi po</i>	<i>ze-tà-så po</i>
<i>la</i> , to fall	<i>ya la</i>	<i>na la</i>	<i>za la</i>	<i>wa la</i>	<i>θi la</i>	<i>ze-tà-så la</i>
<i>śi-śa</i> , to fear	<i>yi śi-śa</i>	<i>ni śi-śa</i>	<i>zi śi-śa</i>	<i>wi śi-śa</i>	<i>θi śi-śa</i>	<i>ze-tà-så śi-śa</i>
<i>å</i> , to drink	<i>yå å</i>	<i>nå å</i>	<i>zå å</i>	<i>wå å</i>	<i>θi å</i>	<i>ze-tà-så å</i>

Similarly, *yi twi*, my dog; *wi twi*, our dog; *ni twi*, thy dog; *yo bo*, my ox; and so on.

From the above it will be seen that, while the second and third persons plural remain unchanged, all the others change

so as to conform to the succeeding vowel. I may add that *tà-så* in *ze-tà-så* is the regular suffix of the plural. The *e* of the *ze* does not appear, in this case, to be affected by the *à* of the following *tà*.

This is very interesting. I have come across no similar instance of vocal harmony in any other Karen dialect, or, indeed, in any other Indo-Chinese language. It will be observed that the harmony is retrogressive—the vowel of one word governing that of the word that proceeds. It is well-known that vocal harmony is a prominent feature in Turkī, but here it is progressive, the vowel of the root governing the vowel of all the following suffixes (pronominal and other).

I should be glad to know if other instances of vocal harmony in Indo-Chinese languages has been observed by students who are more familiar with these languages than I am.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

*April 19, 1920.*

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#### “JOMPON”

The origin of this familiar word for a kind of sedan-chair used in the Hill stations of Upper India has puzzled the authors of *Hobson-Jobson*, and even its indefatigable editor, Dr. Crooke. Several tentative explanations have been suggested, but, admittedly, none is satisfactory. May I add another?

The word is part of the regular vocabulary of Kāshmīrī, where it appears under the form *zampāna*, which the Pañjits translate by the Sanskrit *yāpyayāna*—a word which the Amarakōśa explains as meaning “palanquin”. *Yāpyayāna* would become *jappaāṇa-* in Prakrit, which would develop into *jāpān* or *jāpān* in the modern Indian languages. The corresponding word for the latter in Kāshmīrī would be *zampāna*.

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*April 19, 1920.*

## WHAT IS SOMA ?

In the course of collecting historical data from the economic products mentioned in the Vedas, I have come up against the problem which has exercised the minds of Sanskritists from the time of Max Müller down to the present day—what was the plant from which the old Aryans in India prepared their famous drink, the Amrita of the gods, Soma ? The prolonged discussions on the subject are summarized by Professor Julius Eggeling in the introduction to his translation of the Shathapatha-Brāhmaṇa.<sup>1</sup> The facts regarding the plant given in the Vedas are to be found in Professor Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*. The most important for the purpose of identification are these :—

1. That it resembled cows' udders.
2. That it had a likeness to the fingers of a man's hand.
3. That it was "tawny" in colour.
4. That it grew on the mountains.

Another very important clue is that in the Shathapatha-Brāhmaṇa several plants akin to Soma, which might be substituted for it, are given ; among these are two well-known Indian grasses—*dūb* or *dūrvā* and *kusha* grass. Another of these substitutes was called *Shyenahrita*, "that which is carried off by eagles," or falcons.

Armed with these facts I went recently to the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew to consult my friend, Sir David Prain. He had no theories of his own on the subject, and so kept an open mind to the suggestions I made to him. We first discussed the possibility of the young shoots of the deodar having been used, but this hypothesis did not fit in well with all the known facts. But when I mentioned that *dūb* and *kusha* grasses were used as substitutes Sir David at once said, "Then very likely Soma was a kind of grass, probably *Eleusine coracana*," or *rāgi*, the common millet still used in the Eastern Himalayas for making the intoxicating drink called *marua*. We then went to the Herbarium, where the

<sup>1</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxvi.

Curator showed us specimens of the plant and of others collected by the Afghan Boundary Commission in its search for the real Soma.

There can be no doubt that the rāgi plant answers perfectly to the description given in the Vedas. The spikes of the unripe ear (usually five in number), growing upwards, may very aptly be compared to the outstretched fingers. It is also quite easy to understand that the fat ripened ears, heavy with grain, when cut and held downwards suggested cows' udders to the old Aryan peasant farmers. They are also "tawny" in colour. I have now again gone carefully through all the data collected by Professor Macdonell and others, and find no single detail which conflicts with the theory now presented, that the original Soma plant is no rare or obscure thing, but the common, familiar rāgi.

I will try now to describe the whole operation of preparing the famous drink of immortality as it pictures itself to my mind, and leave it to Sanskrit scholars to criticize. First the carts came in from the forest plantations with their loads of ripened rāgi. Possibly the ears were soaked in water, or sprinkled, before being brought to the sacrificial ground. Then a skin was spread on the bottom of the sacrificial cart, and while one Brahman rubbed the ripe fat ears between the hands [or milked the udders of the Soma cow], another sat and ground the falling grain with a stone roller—the familiar curry stone of modern times. The next step was to pour water [perhaps hot water, for the Soma rite was closely connected with the fire rite] over the Soma mash and pass the liquid through a strainer of sheep's wool. While the Brahmans were at work they sang a song, which reminds one of a good old Aryan sailors' chantey, with a refrain, "Flow Indu, flow for Indra" (*Rig Veda*, ix, 113). Indu, meaning a drop, was suggested by the small round grains of the millet, which were likened to drops of rain sent by Indra, or to drops of milk from the Soma cow. Both of these similes, very characteristic of the bucolic mind, seem to have misled Sanskritists into

supposing that Soma was a succulent plant exuding a milky juice. The liquid as it passed through the strainer was collected in jars placed under the cart, and when mixed with milk it was ready to be used as a libation for the gods.

Whether fermentation took place before or after it was so used is a point which is not very clear. A more important question is why Soma was described in the Vedas as coming from the mountains. Rāgi is now cultivated along the Himalayas up to a height of 8,000 feet. It may be assumed that the plant was brought to India by the early Aryan immigrants at a time when it constituted the principal food and drink of the Brahmins. In the later Vedic times they had already descended from the mountains to the Ganges Valley, where rice and not rāgi was the staple food of the population. The Brahmins found rice a more palatable and more easily digested food. They adopted it then as a substitute for rāgi, and perhaps under the influence of Buddhism gradually gave up intoxicating liquors, or "went dry". So that when Soma was required by them for sacrificial purposes, either substitutes were found for it, or it had to be obtained from the original home of the Aryans in the mountains. Gradually the old name of it was forgotten. Rāgi itself, however, remained the principal food of the Sūdras, as it is in the present day, and thus the cultivation of it gradually spread over all the plains. The legends connecting Soma with eagles or other mountain birds is easily explained—the birds used the dry stalks of rāgi as a lining for their nests !

The only other point requiring explanation is that Soma is sometimes believed to have had a nauseating effect and an unpleasant smell. This is the case with *marua* when it is kept too long, but when freshly made it is an exhilarating drink which easily intoxicates the uninitiated.

E. B. HAVELL.

February 23, 1920.

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## THE BANTU LANGUAGES

In his review of Miss Alice Werner's *Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages* in the January number of this Journal Mr. Torday remarks :—“Naturally, the book deals with the spirit of the languages and not with the sound, consequently the author is quite justified in using Steer's simple spelling, instead of a complicated phonetic alphabet, the study of which would require a book for itself.”

As this remark is calculated to deter writers on languages, and especially unwritten languages, from using the phonetic alphabet in general use in this country, and, in my opinion, to injure the cause of linguistic knowledge in proportion as it does so, I think it necessary to deal with it.

I confess myself unable to understand what the writer means by the spirit of the languages as distinguished from the sounds, which are the languages themselves. It is as if one should compliment the author of a treatise on boat-building for dealing, not with the boats themselves, but with the spirit of the boats. One can conceive of such a treatise as being readable, but not of its being of practical use to a person who wants to build boats. If Miss Werner had given no Bantu words in her book, Mr. Torday's remark might be intelligible; but the book is full of Bantu words, and these indicate sounds, and nothing but sounds. The only question is whether the written forms should make it easy for the reader to pronounce the words as they are pronounced in Bantu, or make it difficult or impossible for him to do so without previous knowledge of the language, or mislead him into giving some other pronunciation. For when he reads them he cannot help pronouncing them somehow, either mentally or aloud. The result of a failure to indicate the correct sounds is not to defer this part of his studies to a later stage; it is to teach him wrong sounds, which he will afterwards have to unlearn,—with how much difficulty and painful effort only those who have been through the process can know.

Far from omitting to deal with the sounds of the languages,

Miss Werner has a whole chapter headed "Some Phonetic Laws". She also fully recognizes the danger of neglecting sounds. On p. 230, for instance, she says:—"A study of General Phonetics is indispensable to anyone taking up an African language." It is the more remarkable that she has made no attempt to explain the meaning of the symbols she uses, beyond the general remark that the vowels are pronounced as in Italian and the consonants as in English. She thus leaves the reader completely in the dark as to how he is to distinguish *vi* from *vy* (p. 30), whether he is to pronounce the *ng* in *kanga* (p. 28) as in *singer* or as in *single*, and what values he is to give to *γ* (p. 87), underlined *v* (p. 98), and *χ* (p. 162).

This note, however, is not a criticism of Miss Werner's book, but of Mr. Torday's remark quoted above, and it is only fair to Miss Werner to say that she refers the reader to several books on phonetics, and in particular to work done by Mr. Daniel Jones on the Bantu languages themselves.

Mr. Torday is mistaken in supposing that a phonetic alphabet is necessarily complicated, or that its study would require a book in itself. The Sinhalese reader reviewed in this number of the Journal contains an exhaustive description of the Sinhalese consonants and vowels in four small pages.

R. GRANT BROWN.

#### FONDATION DE GOEJE

##### *Communication*

1. Le Conseil de la Fondation, n'ayant subi aucun changement depuis le mois de novembre, 1918, est composé comme suit : MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje, président ; M. Th. Houtsma, Tj. De Boer, K. Kuiper ; et C. Van Vollenhoven, secrétaire-trésorier.

2. Dans le cours de l'année 1919 la Fondation a fait paraître chez l'éditeur Brill, à Leyde, ses quatrième et cinquième publications : no. 4, Bar Hebraeus's *Book of the*

*Dove*, together with some chapters from his Ethikon, translated by A. J. Wensinck, with an introduction, notes, and registers; no. 5, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, door C. Van Arendonk. L'ouvrage de M. I. Goldziher sur l'histoire de l'interprétation du Qoran (édition augmentée des conférences tenues par l'auteur à Uppsala en 1913), dont la publication a déjà été annoncée, est sous presse et paraîtra comme no. 6 de la série.

3. Sont encore disponibles un certain nombre d'exemplaires des cinq ouvrages publiés par la Fondation. La vente se fait chez l'éditeur, E. J. Brill à Leyde, au profit de la Fondation: no. 1, Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la *Hamâsah d'al-Bul̄tūrī* (1909), au prix de 96 florins hollandais; no. 2, *Le Kitâb al-Fâkhîr d'al-Mufâddal*, publié par C. A. Storey (1915), au prix de 6 florins; no. 3, *Streitschrift des Gazîlî gegen die Bâtinijja-Sekte*, par I. Goldziher (1916), au prix de 4,50 florins; no. 4, Bar Hebraeus's *Book of the Dove*, together with some chapters from his Ethikon, translated by A. J. Wensinck (1919), au prix de 4,50 florins; no. 5, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, door C. Van Arendonk (1919), au prix de 6 florins.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS

JEAN LESQUIER. L'ARMÉE ROMAINE D'ÉGYPTE D'AUGUSTE À DIOCLETIEN. Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux Arts. Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie du Caire sous la Direction de M. GEORGE FOUCART. Tome xli.  $14\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ . pp. xxxi, 586, with map. Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut. 1918. [Published in two fascicules: division at p. 280.]

To the Greek of the fifth century B.C. Egypt presented all the fascination of a land of mystery; under the early Roman Empire the imperial administration of Egypt was one of the *arcana dominationis* (*Tac. Ann.* ii, 59), and the penetration of that secret has for the modern student also its own peculiar attraction. In other provinces of the empire only inscriptions can supplement our incurious literary tradition, but in Egypt there are papyri to aid our research, and while the energies of scholars are rightly concentrated upon the editing of unpublished papyri, it is essential that the historian should at the same time by monographic treatment summarize our new knowledge, and by so doing throw into clearer relief those questions which still await solution. English scholarship has learnt the lesson that the historian of the Roman Empire must be an epigraphist as well as an archæologist; it has, perhaps, not realized sufficiently that he must also be a constant student of the papyri—that it is his duty thus to lighten the task of the professed papyrologist by setting him free to concentrate his energies upon the decipherment of unpublished material.

It is in this spirit that J. Lesquier has written this excellent work upon the Roman army of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian; it is to be followed by a study of that army in the fourth century on which Mlle. G. Rouillard is at present

engaged, which will in turn prepare the reader for a just appreciation of Jean Maspero's book on the army of Egypt in the Byzantine period.<sup>1</sup> This division of labour is an example of that scientific planning of co-operative work which must more and more in the future replace the anarchy of individualistic research.

Lesquier first sketches the history of the Roman army in Egypt, so far as our meagre material allows. Cæsar, after the conquest of Egypt, left three out of his four legions to garrison the country, and after the defeat of Antony Octavian gave C. Cornelius Gallus a force of the same strength. The history of the imperial army in Egypt begins with the campaign against Arabia, of which Lesquier gives a detailed account. He considers that this campaign forms the single exception to the defensive policy otherwise consistently followed by Augustus (p. 9); he thus apparently regards as proven Oldfather & Canter's contention<sup>2</sup> that Augustus never sought in the West of Europe for any permanent extension of the frontier beyond the Rhine. It may, however, be doubted whether our sources are adequate to enable us to reach any certain conclusion on this disputed issue. In the Arabian campaign Rome's aim was economic—the control of the Red Sea commerce—and though the operations were in large measure a failure, Lesquier suggests (p. 13) that their moral effect was considerable. When the author of the *Periplus of the Red Sea* wrote his book, the king of the Homerites and the Sabæans is the "friend" of Rome, and the great trading station of Adana was under Roman control. The absence of the army of Egypt on this campaign was the opportunity of the Ethiopians, but the result of the expedition

<sup>1</sup> Jean Maspero, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*. Paris, Champion, 1912 (=Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques, fasc. 201). pp. 159.

<sup>2</sup> W. A. Oldfather & H. V. Canter, *The Defeat of Varus and the German Frontier Policy of Augustus*. pp. 118. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. iv, No. 2, June, 1915. University of Illinois, Urbana.

against them, led by C. Petronius, was that henceforth Lower Ethiopia was definitely incorporated into the territory of the empire.

After 23 B.C. the garrison in Egypt was reduced by a legion. The Legio iii Cyrenaica was probably encamped in Upper Egypt from the time of the conquest, and at least from the year 5 B.C. the old regiment of Deiotarus of Galatia as Legio xxii Cyrenaica or Deiotarana formed part of the imperial garrison in Egypt; for many years it was the sole legion to be stationed at Alexandria. In the discussion of the origin of these two legions—were they both legions of Antony's army occupying the Cyrenaica in 31 B.C.?—Lesquier shows that Mommsen's theories on the composition of the Roman army under Augustus must be reconsidered, and the whole question studied afresh in the light of the Egyptian evidence (pp. 43 sqq.). Under Claudius in A.D. 43 the campaign in Britain necessitated the virtual transfer to the West of Legio xxii Cyrenaica; the Legio xxii which remains in Egypt is thus really a new creation. This will account for the fact that Legio xxii *in the West* appears as Primigenia; it was the original Legio xxii; perhaps at the same time the Legio xxii stationed in Egypt received the distinguishing epithet Deiotarana. As a result, it would seem, of this transfer, Legio iii Cyrenaica was now moved to Alexandria, and shared a single camp with Legio xxii Deiotarana at Nicopolis. From this Egyptian army some vexillations were sent in Nero's reign to reinforce Corbulo towards the close of his operations in the East, while Lesquier considers it probable that there was a concentration of troops in Egypt for the Ethiopian campaign, planned by Nero, which was prevented by the outbreak of trouble in Judea.<sup>1</sup> The legions at Alexandria were the first to declare for Vespasian, and 2,000 men were detached to take part in the Jewish War.

<sup>1</sup> "Il est possible que la préparation de la campagne éthiopienne ait été poussée plus loin qu'on ne l'estime généralement" (Lesquier, p. 20). For our literary evidence, cf. Bernard W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*, 1905, pp. 223-4, 479-80.

The next important event in the military history of the province is the creation (c. A.D. 109) by the Emperor Trajan of Legio ii Traiana, stationed, perhaps, in Babylon. Lesquier concludes as the result of an elaborate discussion of the evidence that this legion owes its numeral to the fact that Trajan first formed Legio xxx Ulpia, and that Legio ii Traiana was the *second* legion of his creation. This increase in the garrison of Egypt can hardly be explained by any need for larger forces within the province itself; it was rather due to Trajan's general military policy which demanded more troops in the East, while the emperor was unwilling to add to the four legions already united under the single command of the governor of Syria. Legio iii Cyrenaica and Legio ii Traiana both sent detachments to Asia A.D. 114 or spring A.D. 115 (?), but whether Legio xxii Deiotarana took part in the Parthian War is, Lesquier considers, on our present evidence an insoluble problem. The Egyptian army of occupation thus reduced had to be reinforced to cope with the great Jewish revolt of A.D. 115–16, and in this crisis occurs the only instance known to us of a general levy amongst the inhabitants of the province. Legio iii Cyrenaica was removed from Egypt by Hadrian to Bostra, when the annexation of Arabia was completed, while Legio xxii Deiotarana ceases to exist at some time between A.D. 119 and 170; it may have been annihilated in the revolt of the Jews A.D. 132–5, or in the campaign against the Parthians begun in A.D. 161; Lesquier inclines to the former date. Thus the garrison of Egypt was reduced to a single legion.

The extreme gravity of the crisis produced by the war against the Marcomanni under Marcus Aurelius is shown with startling clearness by the temporary transfer of Legio ii Traiana to the west (A.D. 172 ?).<sup>1</sup> Avidius Cassius was ordered to Egypt from Syria to suppress the ensuing Egyptian revolt, and as a result the troops in Egypt declared for him in

<sup>1</sup> The reader might have been referred to Von Premerstein's study of military conditions under Marcus Aurelius published in *Klio*, xii, 1912.

A.D. 175, though they subsequently deserted his cause. The army in Egypt enthusiastically supported Pescennius Niger against Septimius Severus,<sup>1</sup> but in the first half of the third century its activity would seem to have been confined to the repression of the periodic revolts which were a constant feature of the turbulent life of the citizens of Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> It repulsed the invasion of the Blemmyes, whose aggression, Lesquier suggests, may have been caused by the foundation about this time (c. A.D. 262) of the kingdom of Axum, and later held out with difficulty against the contemporaneous attacks of the Blemmyes and of the Palmyrene troops (269). When Probus had recovered Egypt (271), and Aurelian had suppressed the revolt of Firmus, the Egyptian army turned king-maker and declared Probus emperor.

Such in outline is the military history of the army in Egypt; though, at times, the garrison (cf. pp. 101–14) may perhaps have reached a maximum of some 23,000–25,000 men, this high figure is exceptional. After the conquest of the country and before Roman rule was assured, the garrison numbered 22,800; under Trajan, when the figure may have been close upon 25,000, the increase was due, as we have seen, not to the needs of Egypt, but to the general aggressive Eastern policy of that military emperor. The normal figures were those of the first century—some 17 or 18 thousand men; or of the second century after Hadrian—some 13 thousand, including the auxiliary troops (3 or 4 alae, 9 to 6 cohorts). Amongst the latter it is interesting to note the increase in the strength of the cavalry; four cohorts out of eight are mounted in the first century, five out of six in the second, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Platnauer, *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus*, Oxford, 1918, pp. 79, 122.

<sup>2</sup> My friend H. I. Bell has pointed out to me that the supposed 'Ιουδαῖος τάραχος of A.D. 136–7 (cf. Lesquier, pp. 26, 67) is due to a misreading of the papyrus (Berlin Papyrus, 899, edited by Schubart in B.G.U. iii): the reference is to the revolt of A.D. 116–17. Cf. U. Wilcken, *Zu den jüdischen Aufständen in Aegypten*, Hermes, liv, 1919, pp. 111–12; in consequence "jener jüdische Aufstand von 136/137 aus der Geschichte wieder zu streichen ist".

among these are dromedarii. The strength of the cavalry and the prevalence of light-armed troops reflect the conditions of the country which the Egyptian army was called upon to defend (cf. pp. 113-14, 478-9).

One of the most valuable sections of Lesquier's work is devoted to the study of the *ἐπίκρισις* and its significance for Roman administration. In place of the current view that there existed different kinds of *ἐπικρίσεις*—military, fiscal, *ἐπίκρισις* of the Epheboi<sup>1</sup>—Lesquier contends, it would appear with reason, that there was but one: its object not merely to establish immunity from the capitation tax, but rather the determination of a general personal status; those who have proved their title to be included in the list of the *ἐπικεκριμένοι* can claim the rights belonging to the two privileged nations, Romans and Greeks. The *ἐπίκρισις* has thus no special military significance, save in so far as admission to the legions confers Roman citizenship, and thus creates a title to establish the resulting position of privilege before the delegates of the Praefect acting as *ἐπίκρισις* commissioners, or, as in the case of the auxiliary troops, citizenship is conferred by *honesta missio* after twenty-five years' service, and thus gives rise to a similar claim. The native Egyptians as *dediticii* subject to the capitation tax are excluded from the *ἐπίκρισις* and from the army (cf. Lesquier, pp. 201, 210, 215), though in certain cases, through participation in the training of the gymnasium and the Greek life of the home metropolis, they may secure admission to the privileges of the earlier conquering race—the Greeks. The whole section is an admirable example of lucid and convincing reasoning (Lesquier, pp. 155-201); the details do not admit of any summary statement.

This study of the *ἐπίκρισις* is followed by a consideration of the recruitment of the Roman forces. At the first the

<sup>1</sup> For the view previously held of a peculiarly military *ἐπίκρισις*, cf. the summary in M. Modica, *Contributi Papirologici alla Ricostruzione dell' Ordinamento dell'Egitto sotto il Dominio Greco-Romano*, Athenaeum, Roma, 1916, pp. 254-5, a useful manual not mentioned in Lesquier's bibliography.

Egyptian army, it would appear, was mainly recruited from the East, especially Asia Minor (Galatia), but from the end of the first century a marked change is observed ; the legions are recruited within the province itself, and above all in the camp from the sons of soldiers, from the *ex castris*.<sup>1</sup> These latter appear in Egypt from the reign of Augustus, or that of Tiberius. Local recruitment for the army of Africa dates from the time of Hadrian, and this, it would seem, holds good for the rest of the Empire ; the evidence from Egypt suggests that local enlistment was the custom in Egypt long before it became general in other provinces (Lesquier, pp. 216, 479-80).<sup>2</sup> Another remarkable feature of the Egyptian army is that from the beginning of the second century Roman citizens are found in the auxiliary corps ; before 156 it has apparently become habitual, since in that year legionaries are transferred without any question of degradation from Legio ii Traiana to the Cohors i Augusta prætoria Lusitanorum equitata. "Conscription locale, institution des *ex castris*, assimilation dans l'estime publique du service des auxilia à celui des légions, ces trois traits caractéristiques du développement des armées impériales se manifestent plus tôt dans les légions égyptiennes que dans celles des autres provinces" (Lesquier, p. 480).

<sup>1</sup> Here Lesquier would see the influence of the Egyptian military system of Ptolemaic times when in peace the soldiers lived as farmers on the land, and were allowed to marry : their sons, as under the later Roman system of the *limitanei*, inherited their lands on condition of themselves entering the army. "Le légionnaire ne peut transmettre à son fils, servant comme lui, un κλῆρος tenu de l'Empereur : il n'en possède pas ; mais en le faisant entrer dans l'armée, il assure à ce bâtard le droit de cité romaine. Le recrutement en est facilité ; et il est probable que Rome a hérité des Lagides à la fois le mal d'une discipline relâchée et le remède qui l'a pallié" (Lesquier, p. 211).

<sup>2</sup> It is strange that Lesquier should discuss the recruitment of the auxilia in Egypt (pp. 216-26) without any reference to G. L. Cheesman's *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (Oxford, 1914) : Section II, *Recruiting and Distribution*, pp. 57-101 (for Egypt, cf. pp. 163-4, and for the Palmyrenes especially p. 88). Local recruitment for the *auxilia* in the first century was apparently general ; cf. Cheesman, pp. 77-80.

This quotation leads, indeed, to the wider question, raised by Ernst Kornemann in his boldly suggestive study *Aegypten und das Reich*,<sup>1</sup> of the influence of Egypt upon the general constitutional and administrative development of the Roman Empire. Here in Egypt the Emperor through his Viceroy, the Praefect, had been absolute ruler from the first; here were no Republican traditions. Here, too, centralization of government in the hands of the Praefect was complete (for his military position cf. Lesquier, pp. 115-19, for the ἐπίκρισις, pp. 189 sqq.). Gallienus excludes the senators from the army, but they had always been excluded from the Egyptian army; in the third century the praefectus castrorum is not only administrative head of the legionary camp, but general as well; Lesquier, after an elaborate study of the evidence (pp. 119-32), concludes that while in Egypt under the early emperors the praefectus legionis was distinct from the praefectus castrorum—the latter being then only a simple *primipilus*—at some time shortly after the union (c. A.D. 43) of the two Egyptian legions in the single camp at Nicopolis—at least by A.D. 90—the praefectus castrorum, now only chosen from among the *primipili bis*, took the place of the praefectus legionis; he has “le commandement tactique” added to his administrative functions, and ranks immediately after the Praefect of Egypt. In fact, at the end of the first century the praefectus castrorum in Egypt occupies a precisely similar position to that of the equestrian praefectus castrorum in the rest of the empire after the exclusion of senators from the army by Gallienus (cf. Lesquier, p. 483). Modern papyrological research has, indeed, opened up the whole subject of the influence exerted by Egypt upon the general constitutional military and administrative development of the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

There is no space here to consider Lesquier’s treatment of

<sup>1</sup> In Gercke & Norden’s *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, Bd. iii<sup>2</sup>, pp. 281-95, Leipzig, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> An outstanding example of such research is Rostovtsev’s study of the origins of the colonate.

the lower grades of the officers of the army, or of the work of soldiers in guarding the trade routes, whether towards the mines of Sinai or towards the Erythræan Sea, or their part in the execution of public works or the maintenance of frontier defence; Lesquier discusses the cults of the soldiers, their pay, their rations,<sup>1</sup> the discharge of veterans, and the immunities which they enjoyed on retiring into civil life as Roman citizens; he traces elaborately the character and extent of the Roman occupation, and the line followed by the frontier of the Roman province (pp. 377–470). For these chapters a bare mention must suffice. A word must, however, be said of the section on the marriage of soldiers in the Roman army (pp. 262–79). Here Lesquier shows from the papyri the strictness of the application of the rule of Roman law that no soldier during service could contract a legal marriage, while military service even suspended all the legal effects of a marriage duly contracted before enlistment. But he also illustrates the constant efforts of the soldiers to circumvent this prohibition, e.g. the attempts to disguise dowries under the form of contracts of loan and depositum. On the other hand, imperial legislation, while maintaining the principle intact, yet modifies the rigours of the law in some particulars, allows soldiers to appoint as heirs their bastard sons, who are, of course, strangers to the testator in the eye of the civil law (cf. Gaius, ii, 109–10), even admits (letter of Hadrian to the Praefect of Egypt) them among the cognati to a share in their parent's property in the case of succession *ab intestato*, until Septimius Severus grants the right of marriage at least to those soldiers who were Roman citizens (A.D. 197?)—this is surely the true view of the much disputed passage in Herodian<sup>2</sup>—this right, as a result of the edict of Caracalla, being extended to all free inhabitants of

<sup>1</sup> For new evidence on this subject cf. the ostraka published by Hugh G. Evelyn White, "Graeco-Roman Ostraca from Dakka, Nubia": *Class. Rev.*, xxxiii, May–June, 1919, pp. 49–53.

<sup>2</sup> Herodian, 3. 8. 4. For a discussion of the passage cf. M. Platnauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–9.

Egypt, save perhaps the native dediticii; for them it may still have been true that military service in auxilia or fleet excluded marriage. This whole section of Lesquier's book is an admirable study of the way in which human nature in the long run triumphs over the tyranny of the *raison d'état*.

At the close of the work there follow five Appendices: I, Inscriptions previously published only in periodicals not generally accessible; II, III, IV, Papyrus texts; V, a list of the Praefects of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian; and VI, a prosopographia of the army in Egypt. There are four Indices: I, Texts discussed or cited; II, names of persons; III, names of places; and IV, *Index des Matières*. There is also a large map of Roman Egypt. A reviewer can hardly be mistaken if he pronounces the work to be indispensable for the student of the history of the Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup>

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

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THE TRAVELS OF PETER MUNDY IN EUROPE AND ASIA,  
1608-1667. Vol. III (in two parts). Travels in England,  
India, China, etc., 1634-8. Edited by Lt.-Col. Sir  
RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt. Published (1919) by  
the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. xlv.

The two tomes in which vol. iii of Peter Mundy's Travels is issued maintain the reputation of the Hakluyt Society, and are a model of scholarly and painstaking editing. The Society has given us a type which is bold and restful to the eye, and has reproduced many of Mundy's illustrations in admirable form; the editor has drawn freely on his own knowledge of many of the places visited, includes 159 titles in his list of books and manuscripts quoted in his notes, and has taken pains to explain every word in Mundy's text which would not ordinarily be known to the casual reader;

<sup>1</sup> There are very few misprints not mentioned in the Corrigenda, but for *clinabarii* (p. 35) read *clibanarii*, and for *populus* (p. 225, n. 1) read *populum*.

and both have joined in drawing on other sources to supply gaps in Mundy's narrative or to elucidate his remarks.

These other sources are of great value. They include :—

1. MSS. in the Public Record Office.
2. Marine records preserved at the India Office.
3. Captain Weddell's account of the expedition described by Mundy in this volume.
4. The Courteen Papers in the Bodleian Library.
5. Transcripts from the Dutch archives at The Hague.
6. Transcripts from the Portuguese archives at Lisbon.

This volume contains the full account of Weddell's voyage to Canton, undertaken on behalf of the Courteen Association, which had been licensed and subsidized by Charles I to supplement the deficiencies of the East India Company in developing a lasting and profitable trade with the Indies. Mundy gives, interspersed with his narrative, many fresh first impressions of the strange sights he saw, in natural history, in ethnology, in the weights and currencies, in language—in everything that would strike an observant traveller as being worthy of remark ; and for these observations, elucidated by Sir R. C. Temple's notes, his diary must take a foremost place as a work of reference. But its principal value is in the account it gives of the first English trading venture to a Chinese port, one which ended ingloriously but was not wholly unsuccessful. This venture was characterized by English bulldog tenacity and Drakian impetuosity, by Portuguese chicanery in defending the monopoly of Macao, and by Chinese rapacity and imbecility in excluding the foreigner from their ports. These characteristics marked the whole of Weddell's stay in Chinese waters, from June 27 to December 29 (o.s.), 1637. For the narrative of events the reader may be referred to the diary ; but some comment may be permitted on the conduct of the Portuguese, the Chinese, and the English.

It should first be noted that, though the enterprise was a failure, leading to no future results, yet, in seeking the causes, we must beware of applying to the seventeenth

century the well-ordered and fully established standards of the twentieth. That was an age of monopoly and of buccaneering expeditions—the holders fighting to exclude all others from sharing in their profits ; the intruders fighting for free trade, which, when they obtained it, they in their turn sought to turn into a monopoly for their own benefit. Under these conditions the conduct of each of the three parties concerned was what might have been foretold.

The Portuguese held a valuable monopoly, the trade of Macao amounting to a million taels (£350,000) a year. This monopoly they enjoyed on sufferance ; the Chinese officials maintained a strict control over Macao and the Portuguese in it, and exacted from the Portuguese a tribute of 30,000 dollars a year for the privilege of trading ; while the Chinese merchants held the Portuguese in the hollow of their hand, and granted them such trading conditions as they pleased. The Portuguese officials in the Indies were notorious for their rapacity even in that age of official corruption. They all, officials and merchants, saw their monopoly threatened and their profits endangered, and adopted every means in their power to shut out the interlopers, to make trade impossible for them, and to induce them to think it inexpedient to return. They were charged by Weddell with inciting the Chinese to their acts of obstruction and hostility ; in the nature of things, there can be no proof of this, but it is not inherently improbable ; and, lacking the force to compel the English, it is very probable that they adopted the indirect means with which they were charged.

The Chinese were naturally rapacious in their extortion from foreign traders ; they had, a hundred years before, suffered from the aggressive conduct of the Portuguese, and, like the hermit crab, sought every means of protecting themselves from similar action by other encroaching foreigners. With the tamed Portuguese they could deal, as, from 1638, the Japanese also began to deal with the Dutch in Nagasaki ; but with the turbulent, intrusive, unsubmissive English

they had a harder task. The uneducated military at the outset saw their opportunity, and grasped it, to fleece Weddell ; the huckstering traders, not yet elevated to the high standard to which they had attained by the end of the eighteenth century, rushed to the mêlée of plunder, to get what they could, each for himself. The higher provincial officials, even in those days when the Ming Empire was drawing to a close, had a saving sense of wise discretion, and intervened to call off the plunderers, and to bring the English to a recognition of their wrongdoing, and a promise to conduct themselves better if they should ever return to a Chinese port.

The English, by our standards, behaved badly ; but, by the canons of the day, their conduct was normal. Weddell had, fresh to his mind, the memory of Drake at Nombre de Dios, the disputes over the Assiento ships, and other more recent instances of forcible opening of trade in the East Indies, in which he had himself taken part. China had been a closed house ; the Portuguese had a side door opened to them on terms ; but against the English the door had been shut and barred. Weddell came, ready to use the Portuguese side door, ready to knock humbly at the front door, but ready also to burst open the door if it should be slammed in his face. He had been for years in the service of the East India Company, and his opinion may be assumed to have been the same as that expressed in 1627, in a reasoned memorandum on opening trade with China, by the Presidency of Batavia to the Directors of the Company. The memorandum begins :—

“Concerning the Trade of China, three things are especially made known unto the World.

The One is, the abundant trade it affordeth.

The Second is, that they admit no Stranger into their country.

The Third is, that Trade is as Life unto the Vulgar, which in remote parts they will seek and accommodate, with Hazard of all they have.”

Weddell was resolved to seek trade with hazard of all he had. He waited patiently for more than a month in the hope that he might obtain what he wanted through the Portuguese. Then he applied at the Bogue, and when he was requested to wait, he waited ; but when his boat was fired on, he considered that his face had been slapped, and he hit back. If the position had been reversed, even in those days, and a Chinese trading ship had been ordered to wait below Tilbury Fort until the London Customs authorities could be referred to, a boat from the Chinese trader engaged in taking soundings past the fort would not, perhaps, have been fired on ; but the police would have been sent to arrest it. Being in remote parts and ready to hazard all he had, Weddell struck. When his ships were attacked by fireships, with suspicions of intrigues by the Portuguese, and knowing that his Merchants were in peril at Canton, he took strong action and sought to force the Chinese to their knees. He had now put himself in a position such that he could not ensure the safety of his Merchants, and, to obtain that, he was driven to eat humble pie ; he acknowledged his wrong-doing, undertook never to repeat his offence, and, on those terms, was allowed to complete his trade for the present voyage.

H. B. M.

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OUTLINES OF CHINESE ART. By JOHN C. FERGUSON. The Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1918. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press. 1919.

The author of the standard work on China some forty years ago wrote : "The time is speedily passing away when the people of the Flowery Land can be classed among uncivilized nations." His words have come true in a sense he little dreamed of ; for, instead of the Chinese growing westernized and regenerated through missionary endeavour till they emulated the one model of civilization recognized by Dr. Wells .

Williams, we ourselves have become appreciative students of the oldest existing culture, and find our own art mysteriously influenced and modified thereby. A number of writers have aided the process : some as sinologues, some as archaeologists, and at least one as poet and art critic combined. The author of these lectures contributes to the good cause in a different rôle. He appeals to us as transmitter and exponent of native virtuoship, a knowledge of which he has had unusual opportunities of acquiring during thirty years residence in the country.

It is in this direction that Dr. Ferguson is specially interesting. He is able to present new matter besides summarizing the work of previous Western writers. For instance, he devotes a whole chapter to calligraphy, and discusses that peculiar quality of jade which appeals to the sense of touch, and mentions, too, a host of technicalities familiar to native experts, but little known to us. As for calligraphy—an art by the Chinese given the place of prime importance—it is doubtful whether any occidental student, however enthusiastic, can ever fully appreciate its mysteries. It is certain that he cannot without undergoing the laborious course of training necessary to the making of a Chinese scholar of the old school.

In his description of ancient bronzes it is not quite clear what Dr. Ferguson means when he says that "the artists exhibited a high degree of imagination in their depictions and avoided the pitfall of attempting to represent animal forms by crude designs". The animal motifs used fall into two main classes : patterns elaborated and conventionalized beyond semblance to their basic forms, and frank attempts to portray realistically actual birds and beasts. It is true that the former often exhibit considerable imagination, or rather ingenuity, and that the latter sometimes reach a high plane of artistic achievement. But the word "realistically" just used needs qualification, because it may be understood in different senses. The realism attained in many ancient Chinese bronzes with

such extraordinary mastery is the kind that, ignoring superficial trivialities, is concerned with the forces of life interpreted through the salient characteristics of the being represented. It may be associated with purely conventional elements; witness the famous bronze owl in the Eumorfopoulos Collection, which, though far removed from imitative reproduction, has an air of vitality positively uncanny.

Of all the conventionalized motifs the meander and the *t'ao-t'ieh* are the commonest, and therefore deserve more consideration than the author gives them. The latter sometimes appears in definite human or brute shape. For instance, a Chou drum represented in the *Collection of Chinese Bronze Antiques*, published by the Shimbi Shoin in 1910, has an undoubtedly human face surrounded with the traditional pattern forming part of what is termed the *t'ao-t'ieh* mask. So, too, the *t'ao-t'ieh* on the *ting* figured in *Hsi ch'ing ku chien*, v, 17, represents fairly realistically the head of an ox. Whether the ogre-like mask was originally founded on the facial characteristics of a savage tribe, of the Tibetan mastiff, of the ox, or of a debased and vicious human type, is a subject for conjecture, and likely to remain so. No less uncertain is the truth of the popular explanation that the design was placed on ancient bronzes as a symbol of and a warning against the sins of greed and lust. And this introduces the whole question of the symbolic interpretation of decorative motifs. In repudiating the theories of Sung critics the author follows Dr. Laufer, who in turn based most of his arguments on the *Ku yü t'u k'ao*, published in 1884 by the discriminating archæologist Wu Ta-ch'êng. Thus Dr. Ferguson says: "There are diapers, in the centre of which are nipples. This is the only instance in ancient Chinese art where the motive seems to have been drawn from the body, and I am not sure that the Sung dynasty scholars were correct in interpreting this round, bulging shape as intended to represent a nipple."

There is no gainsaying the resemblance to a nipple shown by the boss often employed in the design of ancient bronzes,

and the similarity in shape may sufficiently account for the technical term "nipple" used in this connexion. It is another matter whether the "nipple" was put there, as explained by Wang Fu in *Po ku t'u*, in order to symbolize the nourishment of mankind in antithesis to the surrounding "cloud and thunder pattern" that stands for the fertilization of plant life. When Dr. Ferguson says in the sentence above quoted "the body", it is presumed he means the human body. He is wrong in this statement. Representations of man do occur, though rarely, in objects of art as ancient as the San Tai. One example has already been alluded to.

The author is disappointing as an art critic. One of the paintings reproduced is entitled "Lion and Barbarians", and it shows two jocular well-dressed men in company with an alleged lion. The creature is a sorry and insipid burlesque that would scarcely pass muster in the most provincial of our pantomimes, and, so far as can be judged from the small-sized reproduction, it never came from the brush of the artist who so ably painted the figures. Of course, there are lions and lions in China. Most of them are either fierce or dignified, even if unknown to zoology. But this is a miserable boneless thing, feebly patting a brocade ball; yet Dr. Ferguson would have us believe that it inspired the imperial eulogy he quotes, and that (to use his own words) "the purport of this painting is to show the triumph of Buddhism, represented by the human-faced lion, even among the barbaric frontier tribes".

Then there is the picture attributed to the T'ang artist Liu Shan. Presumably Dr. Ferguson is not acquainted with the masterly portrait of Lü Tung-pin exhibited at the Musée Cernuschi in 1912, and reproduced in the first volume of *Ars Asiatica*, or he would not have been so dogmatic in asserting that the Liu Shan picture represents Kuo Tzü-i. There are reasons, which cannot be gone into here, for considering that the latter picture is the work of some copyist who had seen this wonderful portrait of Lü Tung-pin.

It is somewhat rash to specify Pāli as the language of the

Buddhist books brought to China in A.D. 67, and exception must also be taken to the statement (on p. 30) that Persian workmen left no permanent impression on Chinese art.

A highly satisfactory feature of this interesting book is an index with Chinese characters, though it is a pity that the romanization is as inconsistent there as it is in the body of the work.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

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PERSIAN TALES. Written down for the first time in the original Kermānī and Bakhtiāri, and translated by D. L. R. LORIMER and E. O. LORIMER. Illustrations by HILDA ROBERTS. Macmillan. 1919.

In a delightful preface Major and Mrs. Lorimer dedicate their book of *Persian Tales* "to their nephews and nieces, real and adopted . . . who, disregarding our misfortune in being grown-ups, have met us with so great frankness and friendliness, as a token of gratitude". Taking down folk-tales phonetically appears to have been one of the methods adopted by Major Lorimer and his wife in learning the Kermānī and Bakhtiāri dialects. The final results of that study we shall shortly possess in the Grammar of Bakhtiāri and its kindred dialects now in the press in our Prize Publications Fund. That book will not be dedicated to the young nephews and nieces ; meanwhile, they have the firstfruits of the study in this collection of Persian tales, translated into English. The Kermānī stories are those of town-dwellers ; the Bakhtiāri tales belong to the hill-dwelling nomadic tribes of south-western Persia. They are short, varied, and full of Eastern colour. Many of them begin and end in a fixed formula which we do not remember to have seen elsewhere. "Once upon a time there was a time when there was no one but God." "And now my story has come to an end, but the sparrow never got home." So the Kermānī people appear always to begin and end their tales, but the Bakhtiāri folk

have no such formulæ. There are incidents that remind the reader of the *Arabian Nights*, such as "The Story of the Magic Bird" and "The Baker and the Grateful Fish"; there is the familiar theme of the handsome prince who was a snake by day and a man at night, with other "far-travelled tales". Miss Marian Cox has no examples of a Persian Cinderella in her great collection of Cinderella stories, but they are found in this book; and there are several examples of stories containing the cumulative rhymes, of which the most familiar is our nursery song of the "House that Jack built", and the most notable the Had Gadya or "One Kid", that strange Aramaic song recited at the close of the first two evening Passover home services. It is a type of nursery jingle as old and as widespread as the world.

We must add a word in commendation of the illustrations, which are fresh and unconventional.

E. H.

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MOTS ET CHOSES BERBERES. Notes de Linguistique et d'Ethnographie. *Dialectes du Maroc*. Par E. LAOUST, Professeur titulaire de Langue berbère à l'école supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat. Paris : Challamel, Rue Jacob 17. 1920.

In the preface to this fine volume of over 500 pages the author states that it is a collection of notes relative to the lexicography and ethnography of the Berbers, which he has gathered in the course of five years of research and study, which he now offers to the "*berberisants*" and to all who are interested in whatever way in Berber Morocco; but in this country, at any rate, the book will probably appeal most of all to the student of folklore. The author speaks as if he were a mere picker-up of unconsidered trifles which had been missed by Doutté and Westermarck, but his book is an independent work, and well worthy of study, even by those who may not have worked at this particular vein before.

This volume covers practically the whole of the life and work and interests of the Berber of West Africa. It is true that the tribes specially studied were those living to the south and west of the city of Morocco, but others are not excluded, and in any case the Berber dialects at least are so similar to one another that the study of one is to all intents and purposes the study of all. The subject-matter is divided into ten chapters, dealing with dwellings, furniture, food, the human body, clothes, medical, the weather, tillage, the harvest, garden and orchard, flora of Morocco. As each chapter opens with a vocabulary giving the principal words, both verbs and nouns, it is evident that every one who should master these would have a very good stock from which to begin. Each vocabulary is accompanied by very full and detailed notes on the etymology and local habitat of the words given above. Then follow some pages of text with, or in some cases without, a translation in French. In this part of the book one is struck by the extreme fewness of the words bearing any visible resemblance to their Latin equivalents. The influence of Rome and Christianity seems to have vanished and scarcely left a trace. Arabic words are common, and not only in the sphere of religion. But one may surmise that when Islam ceases to be the religion of North Africa, Arabic will vanish as completely as Latin has done.

But, as has been said, the portions of the book which will appeal to the largest circle of readers will no doubt be those coming under the head of folklore, which occupy much the larger space in the book. In this respect it may be considered as a supplement from the Berber point of view to *The Golden Bough*. The treatment of the matters dealt with is very thorough and minute, and the text is illuminated by numerous woodcuts. The author is to be congratulated on producing a work which, in point of exhaustiveness and detail, is what one had come formerly to associate with German scholarship. It is one more sign of the admirable work which has been done since the French occupation, under the able hands of

General Lyautey. It has always seemed to the present writer that if Christian missions are to make headway in Morocco they will have to do so through the medium of the native Berber tongue.

T. H. W.

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A COLLOQUIAL SINHALESE READER. By H. S. PERERA and DANIEL JONES. Manchester University Press and Longmans, Green & Co. 1919.

This little book, the joint work of a Sinhalese gentleman and our leading phonetician, contains a description of the Sinhalese language itself (that is, of its sounds, for a language is, of course, made up of sounds), followed by a few texts with translations and a vocabulary. The first part is not only admirably clear and concise, but shows a marked advance on any language textbook yet published, and deserves to be carefully studied by all writers on languages. There are detailed and careful descriptions of the consonants and vowels, and a diagram from which the exact nature of the latter can be recognized at a glance by anyone with an elementary knowledge of general phonetics. But the most interesting part of the book is that dealing with the sound-attributes—length, stress (on syllables and words), rhythm, and, above all, intonation. The last is illustrated by an entirely new method of notation, which bids fair to become as universal as our system of musical notation now is. The importance of learning intonation from the first, even where words are not distinguished by it as in Chinese, has hardly yet been recognized ; yet many of us know that we can sometimes, by listening to a group of distant talkers, recognize the language they are using, though we cannot hear the words. The system used demands no previous knowledge of phonetics, and can be learnt by simply reading the page devoted to it. It seems probable that anyone with an ear for music can accustom himself to use the proper intonation within a very short time, if he does not consider it beneath his dignity to do so.

Some improvements on the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association as hitherto printed are observable. A dotless *j* is used for the sound of English *y* and German *j*. This dispenses with an unnecessary diacritic, conforms with the Esperanto usage, and is less confusing to English and French readers than a dotted *j*. The *ch*, *j* in *church*, *joy*, or sounds "somewhat similar" to them, are treated as single sounds, and written accordingly.

No grammar is attempted, and the words in the texts are merely divided into groups and a translation given of each group. Perhaps the authors felt that they were not competent to write a grammar which would be above criticism—a description which certainly applies to their treatment of the phonetics of Sinhalese.

R. G. B.

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KARNATAKA KAVI CHARITE, or Lives of Kannada Poets.

Vol. II (from the fifteenth century to the end of the seventeenth). By RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A., M.R.A.S., Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore. Mysore University Publication. 8vo ; pp. 19, 22, 34, 583. Bangalore : City Press. 1919.

In 1907 appeared the first volume of this monumental work, the authorship being shared between Mr. R. Narasimhachar and Mr. S. G. Narasimhachar. Of the second volume, the advent of which we now welcome, Mr. R. Narasimhachar is the sole author. The death of the admirable scholar who had collaborated with him in the first volume, the vastness of the field to be covered by him in this section of the work, and above all the heavy and continuous labours entailed by the researches of the Archæological Department of the Mysore Government, furnish more than sufficient reasons for the lapse of time ; indeed, they make us marvel how the author could find leisure and energy to write at all a book of such size and excellence. It sums up all that

is known of some 350 poets who flourished in the period and wrote on all the branches of literature studied in India, and it gives copious extracts from their works. *Mens agitat molem*: the mass of information is clearly arranged and well indexed, the style lucid and concise.

The period here treated is rich in talent, if not prolific of genius. The greater classics belong to an earlier age, and their memorial is writ in the first volume of this history; but they found in this later age many followers, some of them men of brilliant talent, such as Kumāra Vyāsa, Kumāra Vālmiki, and Shaḍakshara Dēvar, whose glories have almost eclipsed those of their masters. To all of them, great and small, Mr. Narasimhachar extends the hospitality of his scholarly attention; and he prefixes to his biographies of the period a supplement to the first volume in which he gives much additional information regarding various poets of dates ranging from *circa* 700 to *circa* 1380. The book, like its predecessor, reveals the intense and passionate interest in literature which possessed the Kanarese country. The land was full of song, learned and simple. Even where the written books have perished, inscriptions preserve the record of scores of otherwise forgotten scholars who could and did turn verses, and especially complimentary verses, with all the niceties of classical style; and it is one of the many excellent features of the present work that it has reaped from epigraphic sources a rich harvest of this fruit.<sup>1</sup> Assuredly the work is a worthy

<sup>1</sup> Considerable additions, of course, might still be gleaned from unpublished inscriptions. For example, I may note that the Sogal record of Śaka 902, of which the poetical portion is exceptionally good, was composed by Kamalāditya, who in it addresses or quotes an otherwise unknown Dēvavaṇa Pāṇḍita. A Hottur inscription of Śaka 959 was "written", i.e. drafted, by the *sēnabōra* or town-clerk Dūsimayya, who was also a poet, and who has appended at the end a moral stanza bearing his name; whether he composed the rest of the record is not clear. Another Hottur inscription, of Śaka 988, was the work of the poet Rājavallabha, and was corrected and amplified by Chandra Bhaṭṭa and Bajabhadra Dēva. Perhaps this Chandra Bhaṭṭa is the same as the poet of that name noted in the present work (vol. i, p. 136, and vol. ii, p. 3); at least, there is nothing to be said against the identification.

record of that *sobagina suggi* the literature of the Kannada land.

L. D. BARNETT.

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ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE DECCAN. By G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL. Translated from the French by V. S. SWAMINADHA DIKSHITAR. 8vo ; pp. 114, i. Pondicherry. 1920.

This is an outline of the dynastic history of the Deccan from 261 B.C., the probable date of Asōka's conquest of Kaliṅga, to A.D. 610, when Pulakēśī II became supreme, based mainly on the epigraphic records. After dealing summarily with Asōka, Kubēra of Bhāttiprōlu, Khāravēla of Kaliṅga, and the earlier Sātavāhana kings, the author takes up in succession the rulers of the Śaka period (the Kṣaharātas, Caṣṭana, and the later Sātavāhana kings), the Pallavas, the Vākāṭakas, and the kings of Śarabhapura, the dynasties of the Western Deccan (Abhiras, Traikūṭas, and Kalacūris), those of the Eastern Deccan (Ikṣvākus, Bṛhatphalāyanas, Śālaṅkāyanas, Viṣṇukuṇḍis, and the kings of Kaliṅga), and finally the rulers of the Kanarese districts (Kadambas, Gaṅgas, and Calukyas), and sketches their history in general outlines, in which he puts together the latest results of epigraphic research with much ability and propounds several very ingenious combinations, of various degrees of probability. Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil is always a boldly original thinker, and on several points the conclusions at which he has arrived are more or less in conflict with some long-cherished theories and *idola fori*; but usually he can make out for his views a good case, sometimes indeed a convincing one. Thus he shows us the famous expedition of Samudragupta to the South in what seems to be its true light, as "simply the unfortunate attempt of a king from the North who wanted to annex the coast of Orissa but completely failed" (p. 61). There seems also to be much probability

in his reconstruction of the dynasties of the Pallavas and Gaṅgas. The Gordian knot of the latter he boldly cuts by the hypothesis of a pedigree branching out into two lines after Mādhava I. Altogether the little book is most interesting and stimulating, and will be exceedingly useful to students of the history of this rather obscure period.

L. D. BARNETT.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1919. By RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A. Fol. ; pp. i, ii, 55, with 12 plates. Bangalore. 1919.

Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar's reports arrive every year with the first flowers of the spring, and are no less welcome. The work recorded in the present one is somewhat less sensational than that of previous years, but is equally solid and instructive. No long tours have been made by him, owing to the pressure of office work; but short visits have been paid to a number of places in the Bangalore, Mysore, and Tumkur Districts in order to revise and extend previous surveys, and about 180 new records were found. Perhaps the most interesting buildings noticed are the *dargāh* and *gumbaz* at Hoskote and the Jain temple of Śāntīvara at Nittur. Two more Gaṅga grants are reported. One of them, which purports to be issued by Rājamalla II and gives a considerable amount of historical data, seems on the whole most likely to be genuine, though there are some slightly suspicious features in it; the other, which is imperfect, is an obvious fraud. A finely engraved though brief inscription at Khaji Hossahalli records the name of a hitherto unknown ruler, Binayādityarasar, who was governing the district about the seventh century. We may congratulate the Rao Bahadur on a year of useful labour, and cordially join with him in the prayer that the Government of Mysore will speedily realize "the urgent necessity for making proper arrangements for the preservation of all the artistic structures in the State, for

the early introduction of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, and for making a special allotment in the annual budget for the systematic conservation of these noble monuments".

L. D. B.

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INDIA AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR. An Economic Study. By W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E. London : Macmillan. 1920.

This book is contrived a double debt to pay. In one aspect it is a university textbook, providing the Indian student with a closely reasoned study of an important period in the history of his own land. In another it appeals to every Englishman who is interested in India and its economic development, for it gives a survey of the state of the country at the time when the Mogul Empire was at the height of its power, and when the servants of the East India Company were just about to enter upon the scene ; and if the Englishman has been disturbed by the assertion so often made that the connexion between the two countries has been to India's detriment, he will welcome all the more this calm and thorough investigation of the facts.

The author reviews in turn the form of the administration, agricultural production, industrial organization, internal and external commerce, the standard of life, and the wealth of India. To anyone acquainted with Mr. Moreland's previous contributions to Indian economics, it is needless to say that these topics are dealt with in a broad-minded way and with an evident determination to be accurate, comprehensive, and impartial. The writer lays before the reader the evidence he has collected and indicates his conclusions ; but he carefully indicates any gaps that exist in the information available, and he points out objections that might be raised to the views he entertains. At the same time the skilful way in which he marshals his facts, and the interest he manages to impart to what might at first appear to be a dull subject, make most fascinating reading. A work of this kind was badly needed,

and the want has been supplied in a manner that could not be improved upon ; and we trust that Mr. Moreland will give us similar handbooks on the later stages of India's economic history.

W. F.

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THE POEMS OF 'AMR SON OF QAMI'AH. Edited and translated by Sir CHARLES LYALL, D.Litt. Cambridge University Press. 1919.

'Amr son of Qami'ah belonged to the tribe of Bakr, and was an elder contemporary of Imra'u'l-Qais, whom he accompanied on his journey to Constantinople. During this expedition he died, it is said, at the age of 90, so that the date of his birth may have been *circa* A.D. 450. His family excelled in poetry : among his near kinsmen were the two bards known by the name of Muraqqish, as well as the more celebrated Tarafah. That he himself ranked high as a poet appears from the verdict of Asma'i, and also from the fact that most of the few pieces by him that have come down to us are quoted in anthologies. The present complete edition, which is based on a manuscript preserved at Constantinople in the library of the Sultan Fātilī Mosque, contains only about 240 verses altogether. As to their authenticity the editor brings forward some striking evidence. His remarks here and in the introduction to his edition of 'Abīd b. al-Abraṣ should convince anyone who still doubts whether the pre-Islamic poetry in our hands can, on the whole, be accepted as genuine. 'Amr has a less pronounced character and individuality than others ; but if in spite of this his poems attest themselves, their antiquity renders improbable a different conclusion with regard to the work of his successors.

It need hardly be said that the treatment and interpretation of the text leave little opportunity for criticism. In ii, 18, Sir Charles Lyall translates صَبَائِرُ مَوْتٍ "all possible shapes of death ", taking صَبَائِرُ as a metathesis of ضَرَائِبُ ;

but the word is better understood, I think, in the sense of "troops". The almost illegible <sup>(?)</sup> أَجْنَاسٍ, by which the commentator explains it, may very well stand for أَجْنَادٍ. v. 7 is a puzzling verse. According to a suggestion made by Professor Bevan and adopted by the editor, the words لِفَيْنٍ إِهالِتُهَا كَالظِّلَالِ mean that in times of famine the cooking-pot becomes white "from the shadow-like movement of the melted fat (on the surface of the boiling liquid)". Possibly, however, the movement of the fat is compared to that of the shadows in order to denote that it goes on all day long—a token that the poet's tribe were generous in their hospitality, even at times when food was scarce. Drought and famine are, of course, associated with incessant sunshine (and shadows). Under cloudless Arabian skies and in the mouth of a Bedouin such an application of the simile would not seem unnatural. In the second hemistich of xiii, 13, the translation offered is no doubt the best if we retain أَذْرَعٌ. With this reading, which is apparently correct, the words مَا صَدَعْتَ بِهِ cannot bear their obvious sense indicated by الفَلَة in the first half of the verse: the expression صَدَعَ الفَلَة, "he traversed the desert," is quite common. One might feel tempted to propose أَذْرَعَ, if there were any authority for the use of that verb with a causative meaning. The verse would then present no difficulty:

"He skims swiftly across the desert and overcomes it (without effort), while that (wilderness) which thou didst traverse by means of him 'extended' the (other) beasts (to the utmost)."

The English version is in prose throughout and has all the force and felicity which Sir Charles Lyall has accustomed us to expect from him.

R. A. N.

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STUDIEN ÜBER DIE PERSISCHEN FREMDWÖRTER IM KЛАSSISCHEN ARABISCHE. By A. SIDDIQI, M.A., Dr. Phil. Göttingen. 1919.

This is a scholarly monograph on an interesting subject. Dr. Siddiqi uses the term "classical", which has no definite meaning as applied to Arabic literature, to cover the period extending from the earliest times to the death of Yazdigird in A.H. 31, A.D. 651-2. Persian loan-words occur in the oldest surviving Arabic poetry, and many of them must have been in common use long before the sixth century began. They mostly came into Arabic through Aramaic, but a considerable number were imported directly by way of Hira, Bahrayn, 'Umán, and Yemen, lands always open to Persian influence and culture. The author shows (with copious references) how this foreign material was handled by the philologists—often Persians themselves—who built up a scientific grammar of Arabic; how they found criteria which helped them to distinguish Arabicized words from those of native origin; and how, notwithstanding their ignorance of other languages, they deduced principles, formed general rules, and gradually developed a philological method which, considered as a whole, is sound and exact. His own work deserves these epithets, and its linguistic range is remarkable. Attention may be called in particular to his account of the various changes undergone by Persian words on passing into Arabic, and of the manner in which the genius of the latter language assimilated and adapted them to its peculiar structure. We are glad to see that Dr. Siddiqi promises a larger book dealing exhaustively with the Persian loan-words in Arabic.

R. A. N.

## THE HARSHACHARITA OF BĀÑABHĀTTĀ (UCHCHHVĀSAS I-VIII).

Edited with an Introduction and Notes by P. V. KANE,  
M.A., LL.M. First edition. pp. [v], xliii, 55, 86, 231,  
12, 274. [Bombay], 1918.

THE HARSHACHARITA OF BĀÑABHĀTTĀ (UCHCHHVĀSAS IV to  
VIII). Edited with a Sanskrit Commentary (Bālabodhī)  
by S. D. GAJENDRAGADKAR . . . and an Introduction,  
Notes (critical and explanatory), and Appendices by  
A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR. pp. [vi], 262, vii-lix, [i], 285.  
Part II: pp. 286-423, [i], iv. Poona, [1919].

Ditto . . . (UCHCHHVĀSAS I-IV). . . . pp. xix, 64, 53, 53, 46, 96,  
89, 84, 98, vi. Poona, [1919].

We have here two very substantial, complete, learned, and scholarly editions of Bāñā's famous work. Mr. P. V. Kane, sometime Professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College, and Senior Dakshina Fellow, Wilson College, is well known for his editions of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, the *Kādambarī*, and the *Uttarā-Rāmacarita*. Messrs. S. D. and A. B. Gajendragadkar, the former Śāstrī in the Elphinstone High School, sometime senior Dakshina Fellow, Deccan College, and now Lecturer in Sanskrit at the Karnatak College, Dharwar, are two younger scholars, who previously had published an edition of the *Rtusaṅghāra*. Both works are, it will be seen, of considerable extent, and both, though designed primarily for the use of students, are entitled to be regarded as having independent value. Mr. Kane gives us about 500 closely printed pages of notes, while the joint editors, who have seen Mr. Kane's work, present in addition to an original commentary in Sanskrit, over 650 still fuller pages of exegesis. Inasmuch as the last decade has seen the publication of Dr. Führer's edition of the text, in the Bombay Sanskrit Series, and of the Ānandāśrama edition, it cannot be said that in Bombay, at any rate, Bāñā's work is suffering from neglect.

The late Dr. Vincent Smith, in his recent, remarkably full, clear, and comprehensive *Oxford History of India* (1919), refers to the *Harṣa-carita* as "an historical romance, which gives

much accurate and valuable information wrapped up in tedious, affected rhetoric, as tiresome as that of Abu'l-Fazl in the *Akbarnama*". This rather too genial expression marks the point at which the requirements of the historian part company with the purpose of the author. The *Harṣa-carita*, like the *Kādambarī*, is a work of literary art. Like the romances of our own Middle Ages, it had behind it a long tradition of troubadour practice, convention, and theory ; and it was designed for the ears, or the reading, of courts and noble houses, where professional minstrels and panegyrists mingled with men of war and state in companies "where stories went round full of the delight of famous fights". Such works are not repositories of historical information, nor do their style and matter reflect the taste of an early epic age or of unsophisticated societies of later date. They are closely packed with observation, wit, and literary conceits, and if a judgment is to be passed upon them the standard must be one which fully recognizes the claims of the intellect.

The *Kādambarī* is apt to evoke a more sympathetic judgment than the *Harṣa-carita*. We are all, in fact, susceptible to the charm of a delightful tale. Mr. Kane finds the *Harṣa-carita* very much inferior to the *Kādambarī* as a literary work, and he draws a fine and just contrast between the two works. But in spite of all our admiration for the *Kādambarī* we should by no means go with him all the way. "In the ease and flow of speech and in the happy description of impulses, emotions, and sentiments that sway human conduct" the *Kādambarī* does indeed excel the *Harṣa-carita*, but *not* "in the force and vigour of thought and expression". The two works will exhibit, in fact, the difference which exists between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the highly masculine and the more feminine style. The *Harṣa-carita*, full of vigour and reality, represents the growth and maturity of the author's powers ; while the *Kādambarī* shows the mellowness of a riper age. Each, but more especially the former, has splendid passages which would not be possible in the other.

Both editions include excellent Introductions concerning the author, his subject, and his times. If it cannot be said that many new facts emerge, the reason is, no doubt, that our present sources are exhausted. Mr. Kane draws attention to two interesting points, first that the " seal with a bull for its emblem " in c. vii is actually represented to us by the Sonpat copper seal, and secondly that the phrase " Sātavāhana, the lord of the three oceans " (not four oceans) contains a title vouched by one of the inscriptions at Nasik.

In one important respect Messrs. Gajendragadkar challenge the views of Mr. Kane and of most previous writers : they deny that the *Vāsavadattā* mentioned by Bāṇa is the extant work of that name. Like the late Professor Peterson (who, however, subsequently retracted) they question how,

" after the graceless string of extravagant and indecent puns presented by the present *Vāsavadattā* had been received with approval into the national literature, a reversion should have been possible to the chastity, alike of sentiment and of diction, of Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti."

Messrs. Gajendragadkar take the same view, and construct also a case based on literary history. But the facts are too strong. The early and sustained reputation of the present *Vāsavadattā* excludes an argument from matters of taste and decorum, and in point of fact the work is not " a graceless string of extravagant and indecent puns " ; it is a string of highly ingenious, intellectually and poetically often very striking, bon mots, similes, and conceits, in punning language ; and it is sometimes indecent. But there is nothing in this that implies a date. The just comparison with the " *estilo culto* " and Euphues is well worked out by Dr. Louis H. Gray in the excellent Introduction to his edition and translation of the book.<sup>1</sup> The suggestion that Bāṇa refers to an old

<sup>1</sup> In the *Athenaeum* for June 11, 1920 (p. 768) we light upon the following :—

" Poetry is always written before prose and always in a language as remote as possible from the language of ordinary life. The language and versification of ' Beowulf ' are far more artificial and remote from life than those of, say, ' The Rape of the Lock.' The Euphuists were

*Vāsavadattā* is barred by the very form of his expression. The numerous correspondences in idea, phrase, etc., between the *Harsa-carita* and the *Vāsavadattā* exemplify merely that competition which is such a feature of Sanskrit literature; and where they extend to whole passages (on which see translation p. 2, n. 8, and reff.) we are sometimes in the presence of conventional topics where each new writer is outdoing a predecessor. For example, the theme of royal misdemeanours or errors (H.C. iii, *sub init.*; *Vāsavadattā*, *sub fin.*) goes back as far as the *Kauśiliya-Arthaśāstra*; other commonplace topics are the Śokarvinodana of H.C. viii and Śukanāsa's Polonius-like speech of advice to the young prince in the *Kādambarī*.

The copious annotations comprised in the two editions are commendably businesslike; though both supply a full exegesis and citations from the grammatical, rhetorical, and general literature—here Messrs. Gajendragadkar are specially strong—there is no otiose display of learning. Both editions have made much use of the English translation, to which they refer in courteous terms. Not very infrequently they express a frank dissent, and, apart from some instances where criticism is directed to a mere turn of phrase, the justice of the observations must be acknowledged; elsewhere it would be a pleasure to break with one or other edition a friendly lance. In one case, which has some general interest, Messrs. Gajendragadkar are provoked to a certain liveliness of expression. They remark:—

“With reference to the third clause [*Harsa-carita*, trans. p. 114, n. 5] C. & T. remark, ‘It is a great cause of congratulation when a Hindu grows fat—they hold that it not barbarians making their first discovery of literature; they were, on the contrary, highly educated. But in one thing they were unsophisticated; they were discovering prose. They were realizing that prose could be written with art, and they wrote it as artificially as they possibly could, just as their Saxon ancestors wrote poetry. They became intoxicated with their discovery of artifice.’”

This is exactly the case with Subandhu, whose prose *kāvya* “brought down the pride of the poets”.

implies a virtuous life and a good conscience.' We are not aware of any such belief among the Hindus, and we doubt whether it has any existence outside the brains of these learned translators of *Harsha-Charita*."

As an original observation on the part of Professor Cowell, the statement is not likely to be erroneous. But have the joint editors sufficiently considered the matter of adiposity in its wider aspects? In India, not to speak of Hindus, it is said, or even seen, that Europeans of good conscience may do what is called "putting on flesh". The ancients were struck with the fact that a large body is not embarrassed by its own weight. And, if we turn to literature, Shakespeare has commended obesity by the mouth of Julius Cæsar and in the person of Falstaff. Socrates, if memory does not deceive us, was of portly figure, and in the brothers Cheerible and other notable characters Dickens has combined virtue with embonpoint. In token of prosperity Jeremiah notes of some persons that "they are waxen fat, they shine", and according to the book of Proverbs "the liberal soul shall be made fat"; the aspiration of the *Rg-veda* poet, "Let me like a rich man advance to fatness" (R.V. viii, 48. 6), scarcely receives justice from a translation which neglects the word "like" and weakens *pūṣṭi* to "well-being". It has been suggested to me that in India, fat (which has, of course, no obvious ratio to eating) was regarded as a sign of well-being, and hence of moral health. I await further evidence upon this point.<sup>1</sup>

We must resist the temptation to deal with certain special cruxes in the book. The close-packed text of the *Harshacarita* abounds in matter for elucidation. We can confidently commend the reader to the guidance of these two editions, which are a credit to the flourishing school of Sanskrit

<sup>1</sup> There exist certain Indo-Persian sketches of "The Good Shepherd" which are curious in this respect. The interest of the topic has penetrated even to the strictly intellectual domain of Sanskrit logic, as witness the syllogism (*arthāpatti*, "consequence") "the fat Devadatta does not eat by day: therefore he eats at night" (a serious fault).

studies on the Bombay side. A word of recognition is due to the clear and thorough Sanskrit commentary, whereby Śāstri Gajendragadkar has met the needs of Indian students.

Mr. Kane reprints the *Suprabhāta-stotra* (p. 260), and Messrs. Gajendragadkar give the Madhuban copperplate of Harsha.

F. W. THOMAS.

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RUPAM. A Journal of Oriental Art. January, 1920. 7 Old Post Office Street, Calcutta. 16 Rs. annual subscription.

This is the first number of a new Indian quarterly devoted to Oriental Art, with a special eye to India. The editor is Mr. O. C. Gangoly, who is hon. secretary of the Calcutta Society for Oriental Art, and *Rūpam* may in some sense be considered as an organ of this Society, which was founded under the presidency of Lord Kitchener and is now in receipt of a substantial grant from the Bengal Government. The journal is a large and handsome publication, containing four articles, all well illustrated, one of them in colour. The latter is on the very interesting subject of "The Continuity of Pictorial Tradition in the Art of India", by E. Vredenburg, who will continue the discussion in the next number. The editor contributes a short paper on Pallava Sculpture, with an illustration of striking artistic merit from "Arjuna's Rātha" at Mahāvalipuram. A. K. Maitra writes on "Garuda, the Carrier of Vishnu", and there is an unsigned article of considerable iconographic interest on "Kirtimukha", the "glory-face" of Siva.

T. W. R.

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## OBITUARY NOTICES

### VINCENT ARTHUR SMITH

THE Society records with sorrow the death of Dr. Vincent Arthur Smith, which is a great loss to it and to all students of Indian history.

He was born in Dublin on June 3, 1848, the son of Aquilla Smith, M.D., a well-known numismatist and archaeologist, whose collection of coins is now in the British Museum. He studied at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degree, winning the highest distinctions. He passed the open competition for the Indian Civil Service in 1869 and the final examination in 1871, standing at the head of the list, and was appointed to the United Provinces (then called the N.W. Provinces and Oudh). He served through the regular magisterial and executive offices, with a period from 1874 in the Land Settlement Department (which led him to write the *Settlement Officer's Manual*), and with a further period from 1880 on special duty. He became a district and sessions judge in 1895, was Chief Secretary to the Government in 1898, and finally became a Commissioner that year.

His duties thus made him acquainted with all the features and conditions of the country and people in the principal arena of Indian history. His inclinations and interests turned him early towards studying its archaeology and history. His first publications appeared in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and dealt with Bundelkhand and its popular songs, early inhabitants, and history in 1875, 1877, and 1881. He soon formed the resolution of writing the ancient history of Northern India from the monuments. Accordingly he collected materials and began researches, though official duties prevented him from devoting the time and attention necessary. He made, however, detailed preparatory studies of particular matters and published them from time to time

in anticipation of the complete history, in the Journals of the Bengal Asiatic Society, of this Society, and of the German Oriental Society, in the *Indian Antiquary*, and elsewhere. In 1892 he read his "Observations on the Gupta Coinage" before the International Congress of Orientalists in London,<sup>1</sup> and published at Allahabad two treatises, *The Remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District*, in 1896, and *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, in 1901.

The call that history made on him led him to retire from India comparatively early in July, 1900, in order that he might devote undivided attention to it. He settled first in Cheltenham, but moved in 1910 to Oxford, where he joined St. John's College, and was appointed a Curator of the Indian Institute.

Dr. Smith in 1901 published his book, *Aśoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, a popular yet scholarly account, of which he was engaged on the third edition when he died. He completed in 1904 the first part of his contemplated history as the *Early History of India*, which fashioned all the evidence scattered in many publications, his own and those of others, into a reasonable account of the period from 600 B.C. to the Mohammedan conquest. This was so highly appreciated that a second edition was published in 1908, and a third and enlarged edition in 1914. In 1906 he issued the first volume of the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*. He also wrote the *Oxford Student's History of India*, a short work that has gone through seven editions.

His *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, published in 1911, was acknowledged to be the first comprehensive and masterly survey of fine art in all its branches from its beginning to the present time. The next year was issued his *Oxford History of England*, for Indian students; and in his *Life of Akbar, the great Mogul*, he gave in 1917 an admirable account of that great emperor. His last work was the *Oxford History of India*, published last year, a compendious and

<sup>1</sup> Published JRAS. 1893, p. 77.

valuable account from the earliest times to the present day, based on the results of modern research. He edited *Bernier's Travels* and *Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections*, contributed to the *Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, and wrote *Indian Constitutional Reform viewed in the light of History* in 1919.

Dr. Smith became a member of the Council of this Society in 1915 and a Vice-President last year. The Society awarded him its gold medal for his historical works in 1918, and they were acknowledged by the Government of India with a C.I.E. and honoured by Dublin University with a Doctorate last year. He was assiduous in the discharge of his duties on the Council, and aided the Society's interests in all that appertained to his fields of learning. His health began to fail seriously last December and he died on February 6.

Dr. Smith devoted much attention to Indian numismatics and some to inscriptions and original research, but his activities and strength lay chiefly in collating the results supplied by other scholars in their various departments. Thus his knowledge of Indian history and art and all their connexions was comprehensive and unrivalled, his experience in India enabled him to use his materials with judicious discrimination, and he co-ordinated and wrought them up into complete treatises that were acknowledged as authoritative. He accomplished a great work that lay beyond the scope of the researches of other individual scholars, and conferred notable boons of permanent value not only on them but also on all persons interested in India.

The following list contains, it is hoped, all the important papers that he published on Oriental subjects. His smaller pieces were numerous.

#### THIS SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty (1889). Observations on the Gupta Coinage (1893). Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihrauli) and the Emperor Candra ; Samudragupta and his Conquests ; Birthplace of Gautama Buddha (1897).

Iron Pillar of Dhār; Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī; Piprahwa Stūpa (1898). Śrāvastī; Buddhist Monastery at Sohnāg (1900). Kuśinara or Kuśinagara and other Buddhist Holy Places (1902). Kushan or Indo-Scythian Period and the Autonomous Tribes of the Panjab conquered by Alexander (1903). White Hun (Ephthalite) Coins from the Panjab and the White Hun Coin of Vyāghramukha (1907). History of Kanauj and King Yaśovarman (1908). Gurjaras of Rajputana and Kanauj (1909). Vākāṭaka Dynasty of Berar (1914). Treasure of Akbar; Consideration of Albert de Mandelslo's Travels (1915). Death of Hemū (1916). Akbar's Mother and Humāyūn's Senior Widow; Akbar's House of Worship (1917). Invasion of the Panjāb by Ardashir Pāpakān (Bābagān), the first Sasanian King of Persia, A.D. 226-41 (April, 1920); Identification of the "Ka-p'i-li Country" of Chinese Authors (*ibid.*) ; see pp. 221-9.

#### JOURNAL OF THE BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Catalogue of Gold Coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty (1884). Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India (1889). Further Observations on the History and Coinage of the Gupta Period (1894). Numismatic Notes and Novelties (1897).

#### INDIAN ANTIQUARY

Inscriptions of Mahāmāman at Bodh Gayā (1902). Meaning of Piyadasi (1903). Aśoka Notes, I-XII (1903, 1905, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1918). Most Southern Hoard of Bactrian Coins in India (1904). Rumindei Inscription; Aśoka's alleged Mission to Pegu; Alexander, Porus and the Panjab (1905). History and Coinage of the Chandel Dynasty of Bundelkhand (1908). Pāla Dynasty of Bengal (1909). Archaeological Notes from Burma (1910). Outliers of Rājasthāni; Indian Painting at the Festival of Empire (1911). Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore; Date of Akbar's Birth (1915).

## JOURNAL OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

Andhra History and Coinage (vols. 56, 57). Indian Kings named Śilāditya and the Kingdom of Mo-la-p'o (58). Indo-Parthian Dynasties (60). Sakas in Northern India (61). Identification of the Aśoka Pillar N.E. of Benares (63). Monolithic Pillars or Columns of Aśoka (65). Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana (68).

## OTHER JOURNALS

Indian Sculpture of the Gupta Period, A.D. 300-650 (*Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift*, Jahrg. iii, Heft i, 1914).

F. E. P.

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## James Kennedy

The Society has to mourn the loss of one of its old members in the death of James Kennedy. He was son of the Rev. James Kennedy of the London Missionary Society in North India, and was educated at the High School and University of Edinburgh. He passed the open competition for the Civil Service of India in 1862, and went out there the next year, being appointed to the North-West Provinces and Oudh (now called the United Provinces). Serving through all the grades of revenue and criminal administration, including land settlement, he became a Magistrate and Collector in 1884 and retired comparatively early in 1890.

He then joined this Society in 1891, became a member of its Council in 1898, and was Treasurer from 1904 to 1917, and again for a short while in 1919 after the death of Mr. Crewdson, who had succeeded him. Though he suffered from a severe malady of the eye for years, he was always most assiduous and genial in his duties, a most prudent custodian of the Society's purse. His health began to fail seriously early this year, and he died on June 20 at the age of 78.

James Kennedy was widely read in works on the history, religion, geography, and commerce of Asia and other Eastern subjects, and contributed many articles and notes to this Journal, as well as to the *Asiatic Review* and other periodicals. His notes elucidated minor points, and in his longer papers he brought abundant information together and discussed questions from an independent point of view, and his conclusions, based on much reading and study, helped towards the understanding of those questions.

His first papers were "Serpent Worship" (1891) and "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India" (1898), and notes dealt with the early Aryans (1909, 1915), the *Periplus* (1913, 1916, 1918), and other points (1900, 1904, etc.); but ancient Indian historical and religious questions interested him most. His articles on the latter discussed them in connexion with Greek writings and Christian beliefs and doctrines, as in "Buddhist Gnosticism" (1902), "Hinduism and its debt to Nestorians" (1907), "The child Krishna and Christianity" (1907; also 1908), and "The Gospels of the Infancy, the Lalita-vistara and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa" (1917). In history his important articles were "Indians in Armenia, 130 B.C. to A.D. 300" (1904); "The Secret of Kaniṣka" (1912; also 1913), which led to a discussion about that king's date, in which many scholars took part with great learning in 1913; and his last paper concluded this year, in which he set out his views regarding the Aryan invasion of Northern India.

His personal character and literary work were always attractive, animated with charm and humour, giving hearty appreciation to the labours of others, and, if dissenting, countering them with genial criticism.

F. E. P.

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## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April-June, 1920)

**Address delivered at the Reception held on the occasion of the opening of the Society's new Quarters on March 30, 1920, by His Excellency Sao-Ke Alfred Sze (Minister of the Republic of China at the Court of St. James's)**

### ON CHINA AND WESTERN EDUCATION

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply sensible of the honour which you have shown me in inviting me to attend to-day the formal opening of these premises for the use of the Royal Asiatic Society. I realize that this honour is not shown to me individually, but as the representative of an Asiatic race and nation, with a great area and population, with vast resources developed and undeveloped, and with historical and other records going back to over three thousand years. It is a pleasure to me to receive this invitation on behalf of my country from your Society with its record of scientific work done by your learned members during a whole century, and that it comes by the hands of your Lordship, who has given to the Society the benefit of your ripe scholarship and your great administrative ability during the quarter of a century that you have served as its President.

It is a great and important work that your Society has been engaged on—to unravel the tangled threads of the past, to reconstruct its history, religion, language, customs, and buried monuments; and you may well be proud of the long line of scholars of different generations that have all been engaged in interpreting the East to the West, and thereby enabling the West to understand more clearly the needs and aspirations of the East.

Your membership is drawn for the most part from those who are learned in the history and antiquities of India, of Persia, and of the Nearer East; but there have also been distinguished men who have instructed the West in the knowledge of China and of its people. Among the English Sinologues of the past I may name a few. The two Stauntons; the father, Sir George Leonard Staunton, the historian of Lord Macartney's embassy to the Emperor at Peking; the son, Sir George Thomas Staunton, commentator and translator to the criminal code of China, and writer of valuable articles on Chinese subjects; Dr. Robert Morrison, the compiler of the first Chinese-English dictionary; Sir John Davis, Governor of Hong-Kong, who wrote some valuable books on China and translated some Chinese works; Dr. John Bowring, also Governor of Hong-Kong; Dr. James Legge, who translated the classics; and Dr. John Chalmers, who knew as much of the Chinese language as the Chinese themselves. To these might be added the names of Medhurst, Stronach, and Milne; of Wylie, Edkins, and McClatchie, and many others who were profound and learned students of the language, literature, and religions of China, and imparted their knowledge in many published works of great value.

England has also been represented in China by many men who knew well the country, and the people to whom they were accredited: Sir Rutherford Alcock, who served in the Far East from 1844 to 1869 and wrote a book on Japan, but his contributions to your knowledge of China are buried chiefly in blue-books; Sir Thomas Wade, who provided what were for many years the best textbooks for the study of Chinese, colloquial and documentary; Sir Harry Parkes, who began his public service and his study of Chinese at the age of 16, and died in harness at the age of 57; Sir Robert Hart, who entered the British consular service in 1854, and the Chinese Government service in 1859, continuing in that service for fifty years, with the exception of three months in 1885, during which he was British Minister

to Peking—one who spoke and wrote and thought Chinese like the Chinese themselves. I may further recall that Sir John Jordan, the retiring British Minister in Peking, has served his Government in China since 1876. The consular service has also given many brilliant minds to the study of Chinese conditions—prominent among them being Mr. William Frederick Mayers, who was a qualified interpreter after six months study of the language, and who published works on China which will always be standard books of reference; and Mr. Thomas Taylor Meadows, whose *Desultory Notes* and *Chinese and their Rebellions* have furnished foot-notes for two generations of writers who have followed him. Passing over many others, I may mention among Englishmen distinguished in Sinology who are still living, Dr. Herbert A. Giles and Mr. Edward H. Parker, besides others, who may be present to-day, who have studied deeply the religions of China, her philosophy, and origins of her writing.

These are only a few indications of the amount of work done by Englishmen in Sinology, and when you add the researches of learned Frenchmen and Americans—and amongst the latter I must not omit to mention the name of Samuel Wells Williams, whose *Middle Kingdom* and Chinese dictionaries in the Cantonese dialect and in Mandarin have been textbooks and aids to study for many generations of students of all nationalities—you may perhaps ask what has been done by the Chinese themselves in clearing up obscure questions in the history of Chinese civilization, and in interpreting the East to the West. The Sinologues among your members will tell you that China has had its brilliant epochs in the past. They may differ among themselves about her present or recent past; but on the distant past there is no dissenting voice. Her philosophers were writing on religion or on ethics at the same period as Plato and Aristotle in Athens; her historians were recording the story of her past before Cæsar described his conquest of Gaul and his invasion of Britain;

her poets wrote melodious verse, which is read with pleasure to-day, while Alfred reigned in England, while William the Norman was invading it, while John was signing Magna Charta ; and her scholars were writing, through a thousand years, commentaries on her classics which have moulded the thought of the Chinese during more than two thousand years. I say this in no boasting spirit, but only to submit respectfully an historical fact which is universally admitted.

But the age of original and constructive thought was followed in China, as were the corresponding ages in the West, by a long period of commentary, and what we may call scholasticism, in which rigid lines and fixed views were laid down within which Chinese thought was compelled to confine itself, and so in the East, as had happened in the West, original thought on the problems of the world and of life and conduct was discouraged, and as far as possible suppressed. But the time came, as it did in the West, when thought struggled to be free and gradually succeeded in shaking off its shackles. In the first place, through their developing intercourse with foreigners the Chinese began to recognize that there was knowledge in the West different from Confucian philosophy which China, for her own sake, ought to be possessed of. In the course of many centuries China had imposed her civilization, her religion, her literature, her art, law, and customs on all the nations and races of Eastern Asia, but to-day we are asked to prove to the nations of the West that we are entitled to rank with them, and we have come to realize that it is not enough to point only to our past record. In the second place our awakening to a sense of our shortcomings in the right kind of knowledge must be allowed to be largely due to the instruction which has been so generously given us by French, American, and English teachers, who for various reasons have come to China and settled there for their working lives to do what they each individually can to promote the spiritual and intellectual, and through these the material welfare, of individual Chinese.

For three centuries and more the Roman Catholic priests were our instructors, and from them we learned some valuable lessons. Then, less than a century ago, the English and Americans took up their share of the burden, and have taught us much from textbooks, but more from the impact of mind on mind ; above all else they taught us that the ruler had duties to his people, and parents to their children. On some questions in which we differ, we still think that we are right and you wrong, but in others we have learned new lessons. We no longer believe that we alone are civilized and you barbarians, as we so frankly declared but a little over half a century ago. If we still think that our civilization is, on the whole, as good as yours, we now admit that yours is as good as ours, each in its own environment. To have learned that lesson is, I respectfully submit, to have accomplished something in the world.

So much for what has been done in the past to explain the East and West to each other and to bring them closer together for their mutual information and benefit.

Let us now glance briefly at what has been done in recent years, and will continue to be done in future years, to bring the two hemispheres into closer touch and still better understanding of each other. The means to accomplish this end will be chiefly the study of foreign languages and the acquisition of Western science in its more useful branches by young Chinese specially selected and prepared for the purpose.

The English and American teachers gave us not only of their bodies and minds, they gave us of their money as well ; for their hundreds of schools in China have been supported by funds subscribed by the people of the United Kingdom and the United States. There are now scattered through China many hundreds of schools supported and staffed by the English and Americans.

For their higher instruction generally Chinese students now go abroad ; every year some thousands to Japan, some

hundreds to America, some dozens to England. They go in thousands to Japan because it is near and because for them the Japanese language is much easier to master. Those, however, who have a good knowledge of English go for the most part to the United States. To begin, however, more at the beginning—about the year 1845 three Chinese boys went to the United States for the purpose of obtaining a Western education. They were sent to Wilbraham in Massachusetts. One of the boys soon returned to China on account of ill-health; one came to England to take up a course of study in medicine; and the third remained in the United States, and finished his studies at Yale College, graduating with the Class 1854. This was Yung Wing.

Yung Wing returned to China soon after his graduation, and carried back with him a scheme for spreading the benefits of American education among the coming generation of Chinese students. But those were the troubrous times of China. The Tai-Ping Rebellion was wasting the country with fire and sword. Yung Wing had to abide his time. It came in 1870, when a serious riot took place in Tientsin, in which the French consul and a number of Catholic nuns were killed by the mob. The foreign Powers exerted pressure upon the Peking Government to initiate various administrative reforms, and there was an immediate demand for Western-educated men.

This was the opportunity which Yung Wing had been waiting for. At that time Tseng Kuo Fañ and Li Hung Chang, the successful commanders who suppressed the Tai-Ping Rebellion, were the most powerful officials of the Empire. He laid before them a plan of sending 120 boys to the United States for the purpose of giving them a thorough Western education. His ideas were to take boys between 10 and 15 years old, at an age before their habits are already formed. This plan was duly approved by Tseng and Li, and an appropriation was made from the customs revenue to carry the scheme into effect. A preparatory school was established

at Shanghai to test the intelligence of the various candidates who desired to go to America as Government students. Of those that responded to the call about two-thirds came from the Province of Kwangtung and one-third from the neighbourhood of Shanghai and Ningpo.

The first batch of thirty students left China in 1872, and similar groups followed in 1873, 1874, and 1875. All those students were placed two by two in private families in New England. After the entire number of 120 students were sent over to the United States, the preparatory school at Shanghai was transferred to a school home for the students at Hartford, Connecticut. When the Chinese Government decided in 1876 to establish a legation at Washington the heads of this Educational Mission, Chin Lan Pin and Yung Wing, with their staff, were transferred to Washington to take charge of the legation.

Most of the boys took readily to their English studies, and went through grammar schools and high schools with credit. In 1880, just as most of the students were ready to enter college, they were recalled through a combination of political changes at home and unfavourable reports from the United States. At the time of their recall about half a dozen of them were in college, and two had the good fortune to have graduated from the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University. One was Jeme Tien Yow, who became the foremost engineer in China ; and the other was Owyang King, who became Consul-General at San Francisco, Vancouver, Panama, and Batavia. Although the students did not finish their education in the United States in accordance with the original plan, their training in America gave them marked advantages in their future careers both as officials and as business men. Those that took to business were remarkably successful ; and many of those that chose an official career held high positions in the Government. Tong Shao Yi became first premier of the Chinese Republic, Liang Tun Yen and Liang Yo Hu became Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Sir Chentung Liang-Cheng

was Minister to the United States from 1903 to 1907, Lew Yuk Lin was Minister to England from 1910 to 1914.

After the abrupt termination of the first educational mission, the Peking Government for the next thirty years made only sporadic efforts to send students to the United States. In the meantime, however, a steady stream of private students continued to flow across the Pacific. At the same time some of the provincial governments—as the Provincial Government of Hupeh—sent large contingents of students to America from time to time.

In the winter of 1905–6 two special commissions were sent to Europe and America to study the political conditions abroad, with a view on their return to make suggestions as to how the change of the form of government of China from that of an absolute monarchy to a constitutional government with a parliament of appointed and elected representatives could be introduced. The commissioners who went to the United States visited the Cornell University, where I had the honour of being the first Chinese graduate. On the occasion of their visit to the University, President Schurman proposed to the Board of Trustees to create six free scholarships to be awarded annually to Chinese students. As each scholarship is good for four years this generous act means that since the third year of their creation twenty-four free Chinese scholars have been yearly in attendance at the Cornell University, Yale University, and Wellesley College; other institutions of learning soon followed the lead of Cornell by creating similar scholarships for Chinese students.

At that period there was a widespread sentiment in the United States from the President downwards to welcome Chinese students to their country, and to give them every facility and encouragement.

The return of a portion of the Boxer indemnity by the United States Government gave a new impetus to American education for Chinese students. In 1901 a protocol signed

by the Chinese Government with the foreign Powers at Peking allowed about 24½ million American dollars to the American Government as its share of the indemnity growing out of the so-called Boxer disturbances in North China.

The American Government after satisfying all claims against the Chinese Government found that there was still an unused balance of about eleven million dollars. When John Hay was Secretary of State he intimated to the then Chinese Minister at Washington, Sir Chentung Liang-Cheng, that it was the intention of the American Government to return this unused balance to China; and that this would be done while he was Minister at Washington as a mark of the appreciation of the American Government of his unremitting efforts in improving the friendly relations between the two countries. But John Hay died before the necessary arrangements could be made, and it was left to his successor, Elihu Root, to carry out his wishes. There was no condition attached to this act of the American Government. The Chinese Government, who could have used the money in any way it deemed best, upon being informed of the generous action of the American Government, made it publicly known that it would use this money for sending students to the United States.

In execution of this trust a college—the Tsin Hua College—was established in Peking to prepare students for the United States. Graduates from this college are sufficiently advanced to enter the junior class at Harvard University. Every summer between sixty and seventy graduates are sent from this college to the United States. Besides this number ten students are sent every year to America on Fellowship Scholarships, and every other year ten girl students, selected after rigid competitive examinations, are sent. A number of students who are already in the United States, who need and deserve help, are awarded by the Chinese Student Commissioner at Washington what are called “Partial Scholarships” in order to help them to continue and complete their

studies. Their number in 1919 was thirty-two boys and six girls.

Last year there were about 1,600 Chinese students in the United States, of whom 329 are supported by the Boxer Indemnity Funds remitted by the American Government, 190 by the different provincial governments of China, and the rest, that is, over 1,000 students, are supported by their parents or other relations. It is estimated that between 300 and 350 Chinese graduates of American universities return home every year.

The first effort to send Government students to Europe was made about forty years ago, when two score of students were sent to England and France. They were followed later by three more detachments of about twenty-five each. The most noted among them are Admiral Sir Shah Chen Ping, who is at the head of the Chinese Navy, and Sir Chihchen Lofenglu, who served as English secretary to Li Hung Chang, and later became Minister to England. In 1902 Government students were again sent to Europe. At present there are about 190 students in this country. During the last few months quite a considerable number of new students have arrived. The Anglo-Chinese Friendship Bureau is rendering most valuable assistance to our students in this country. Speaking generally, the medical students in this country seem to have been the most successful. They are more fortunate in being able to get practical experience to supplement their theoretical training. During the War, when there was a shortage of doctors in this country, Chinese medical students, in order to show their gratitude for the education they had received here, stayed behind after they were qualified and served at different hospitals in various posts, ranging from consulting officers, house surgeons, house physicians, and resident medical officers to registrars and tutors. In some instances they were in charge of military wards. A qualified lady doctor became the school medical officer at Bradford, and three men successively held the post of resident medical officer at the General Post Office, London.

In this connexion, I should not omit to make mention of the work that the Rockefeller Foundation is doing in China in the line of medical education. Under their scheme it is planned to do all the teaching in medicine and medical research in China. For this purpose they took over the Union Medical College in Peking and the Harvard Medical School at Shanghai, and have brought out to China a large band of eminent professors of medicine and surgery. With their huge endowment the Board of Trustees is able to equip their colleges in a most up-to-date way. And it is worthy of note that the goal of the Board is not only to train Chinese students to become doctors and surgeons, but to so train them that the Chinese themselves will eventually take over the full responsibility for carrying on the work. With this object in view the Board has taken under its wing all the Chinese students who are studying medicine in the United States.

The Chinese students who have been educated abroad have exerted on their return home an inestimable influence on the various branches of the Government, on the social conditions of China, on education, and on the habits and mode of thinking and living. Speaking broadly, their influence has permeated gradually into every institution. A member of the British Government once told me that as early as 1909, when he was in the United States he was struck by the large number of Chinese students in all the leading American universities, and by their intelligence and their keenness to learn and study their new environment and to absorb new ideas. He predicted then that within a short period those young men would turn China into a republic.

I can do no better in order to give you a comprehensive idea of the spheres of activity in which the returned students from abroad are exercising, or aspire to exercise, their influence than to give you as briefly as possible the results of the Second Annual North China Western Students' Conference, held in Peking in April, 1919. The importance of this Conference can be gauged from the fact that both the British

and American Ministers in Peking accepted the invitations of the Conference to address them. In politics (1) the Conference declared for the need of a united China ; (2) they declared, as their belief, that democracy was the best form of government for China, and in order to strengthen the foundation of the government they advocated education of the masses and freedom of speech and of the Press ; (3) they advocated governmental reforms along the lines of modern efficiency, especially with regard to greater responsibility in financial administration ; (4) the Conference considered it most important that the economic development of the nation should be hastened by the unification of the currency system and of the railway system ; (5) the Conference stood for the abolition of foreign spheres of influence in China through the gradual abrogation of extra-territoriality.

The question of how to make good use of their Western education and their spare time for the betterment of the social conditions in the community wherein they lived was also discussed by the Conference, and the following programme was adopted as their platform :—

1. Furtherance of teaching of simplified Chinese.
2. Development and extension of publicity work in China to further constructive projects.
3. Extension of popular education through public schools, public lectures, and reading-rooms.
4. Extension and improvement of playgrounds and recreation facilities.
5. Publicity work among foreigners and in foreign communities (such as the interpretation of China to foreigners).
6. Investigation of industrial and commercial conditions with the object of encouraging the development of new enterprises.
7. Public hygiene and health, including anti-narcotic propaganda.
8. Co-operation with the Peking Social Service Club and the development of interest in social service.

9. The education and training of orphans.
10. Welfare work among employees and apprentices.
11. Preparations to meet China's national needs.

By the training they received abroad the returned students convinced the Government that the old system of examinations based solely on Chinese classics had outlived its usefulness. Accordingly, in 1905, the Government abolished the system and organized a full scheme of State education, leading from primary elementary schools through higher elementary schools and middle schools to the university. The new system of schools instead of being based solely on classics has for curriculum elementary mathematics, physical exercise, manual training, etc., in the lower elementary schools. History, geography, science, English or other foreign languages are taught in the higher elementary and middle schools. In the universities it is provided that there should be seven faculties, namely Arts, Science, Applied Science, Law, Commerce, Medicine, and Agriculture.

It is worthy of note that during recent years the percentage of students returning from abroad have gone more and more every year into professional work, in which they are specially trained, and into the work of education. It is found that among the students returned from the United States in 1918 half of them took up teaching. Only little over 10 per cent entered the Government services. It is most gratifying to know that among the returned students there is in their mind a keen sense of patriotism, which is gradually changing the narrow provincialism to a deeper sense of nationalism. In the old days when communications were poor, the radius of a man's vision was limited to the locality where he lived. As these young men go abroad at the age of life when the mind is most impressionable, and live for a number of years in a totally strange environment, they cannot fail to receive new ideas, impressions, and inspirations from the people with whom they have associated.

From the details I have laid before you it will be admitted,

I am sure, that neither the Government nor the people of China have been slack in availing themselves of the opportunities that are given them of obtaining a Western education, and both the Government and the people are grateful to all the nations who, by opening their schools and colleges to Chinese students, have given them every facility to acquire the education in Western knowledge they are so anxious to obtain.

I mentioned just now that last year it was estimated that there were some 1,600 Chinese students in America, of whom not more than one-third were supported by Government funds or grants, the remaining two-thirds having been sent abroad and being supported by their relations and friends at no small expense to a Chinese family, considering the distance to be travelled and the present cost of living in Europe and America.

Large as the number of students abroad may seem, the ambition of the Chinese people is that the number be greatly increased from year to year until the schools in China are well established, and that in addition to the school and college teaching practical training shall also be obtained.

I am glad to think also that the students themselves evince their gratitude for the opportunities given them, and commend themselves to their teachers and professors by the assiduity with which they pursue their studies, and do so with no small measure of success, as regards the majority, considering that the language in which the knowledge has to be acquired is not their mother tongue.

It is also the hope and object of this movement that the students who go abroad will assimilate the knowledge they acquire so completely as to be able to transmit it in textbooks and by oral teaching in their own language to the multitude of their fellow-countrymen and countrywomen at home who have neither the opportunity nor the means of going abroad to acquire it; and that, as for a hundred years your Society has interpreted the East to the West, so these

students of the new China may interpret the West to the Chinese people, and bring the two into more complete sympathy.

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### The President's Address

IT was on January 16, 1823, that the desire of HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE to bring into being a Society for Oriental Research in Great Britain first took formal shape in the Prospectus which prefaces the first collection of Reports of the Royal Asiatic Society. He there points to the distinguished success which had attended the work of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and he expresses surprise that a similar enterprise had not been taken in hand by the great body of Englishmen who had passed a great part of their lives in India and the East. It is worthy of note in connexion with our gathering here to-day that he refers specially to the literature of the Chinese as being, with few exceptions, "untrodden ground in Great Britain." Chinese and Japanese studies have always formed part of the recognized work of our Society. At the first meeting of the newly formed Society held on March 15 in the same year (1823), in the Thatched House, St. James's, Henry Thomas Colebrooke occupied the chair and made an address in which he pointed out the wide scope of interests which such a Society should aim at keeping in view.

It was proposed to make Colebrooke the first President of the Society, but he declined the post, which he believed might be more usefully held by someone connected with public affairs. The Right Hon. Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, M.P., was elected President, and Colebrooke became the first "Director" of the Society.

The modern London clubs, with very few exceptions, had their origin after the Napoleonic wars, between 1815 and 1825, and the R.A.S. was probably part of the same movement. It was founded about the same time as the "Oriental", and

was in its early days meant to be a meeting-place, not only for scholars, but for all Anglo-Indians who took an interest in Indian antiquities and philology, etc. It was composed mainly of Anglo-Indians living in or near London, and for over fifty years, down to nearly the end of the eighties, the resident members outnumbered the non-resident. Within the last thirty or forty years, this has changed, and the non-resident members are now largely in the majority. Many of the original members had been members also of the Bengal Asiatic Society, the earliest of all Asiatic Societies.

In the fifth volume of the Society's Journal (1839) there appears a lengthy account of the life of Henry Thomas Colebrooke by his son, Sir Edward Colebrooke, who was himself for a short time in 1871 President of the R.A.S., his name standing in that distinguished list between those of Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., and Sir H. Bartle Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B. He tells us that his father went to India at the age of 16, having been appointed in 1782 to a writership in the Civil Service of Bengal, but that it was only after a residence of nearly eleven years in that country that he seriously embarked on Sanskrit studies. The death of Sir William Jones, who was engaged on a translation of a copious digest of Hindu Law, led him to take up the work left incomplete by that great scholar. From this time onward he poured forth a number of papers, chiefly published in *Asiatic Researches*, on the Sanskrit language, on Hindu Law and Religious Ceremonies, and the Sacred Writings of the Hindus, etc. In our own Journal he was later to publish an important series of papers on the Philosophy of the Hindus (Vols. II to X), besides chapters on various Oriental topics. He lost no time on his return to England in endeavouring to put into shape his project of instituting a Society for the Promotion of Oriental Research. In this project he was warmly seconded by other Orientalists, and the Royal Asiatic Society soon arrived at fame and dignity. Three volumes of *Transactions* were published between the years 1823 and 1834, when a

*Journal* in the octavo form was substituted for the *Transactions* in quarto, and has continued ever since.

During this period the Headquarters of the Society was at 14 Grafton Street, whence in 1850 or 1851 it moved to 5 New Burlington Street, and thence on May 31, 1869, to 22 Albemarle Street, its place of sojourn for over fifty years.

In the year 1923, three years hence, the Society will have reached the centenary of its foundation by Colebrooke. It is hoped to mark the event by the publication of a History of the Society similar to that published on the occasion of its centenary by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The Society is fortunate in possessing an excellent bust of its founder in white marble, executed by Sir Francis Chantrey, which now suitably stands in the entrance hall of our new quarters. Colebrooke died on March 10, 1837.

About the same time Col. JAMES TOD, the historian of Rajputana, who was the Society's first librarian, bequeathed to it a large collection of manuscripts and drawings, which are among its most valued possessions. Tod was born in 1782 of an English father and a Scotch mother. In 1799 he went to India as a cadet, and from 1805 to 1823 he was engaged in Rajputana, first as a surveyor and afterwards during the Pindari wars as intelligence officer. In 1818 he became Government-General's Agent for Rajputana. He was extremely intimate with the Rajput chiefs, and through his surveyors he obtained a vast mass of material regarding their history. The Government in Calcutta suspected him of being too intimate; they thought he was corrupt, and although the charge, according to Bishop Heber and others, was totally unfounded and unjust, he threw up his appointment and returned to England in 1823. He took a house near Regent's Park, and resigned the service in 1825. His history of the Rajputs, in two large and sumptuous volumes, beautifully illustrated, appeared in 1829-32. He died in 1835. Tod's work is a classic, and has often been reprinted;

the Oxford Press is just now bringing out an edition of it edited by Dr. Crooke. His knowledge of the Rajput history for the last 250 to 300 years is unrivalled, and his speculations were far in advance of his age. He was prominent among the founders of the R.A.S., and is still one of its most illustrious names.

Immediately succeeding that of Colebrooke as Director of the R.A. Society we find the distinguished name of Professor HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, who occupied the post of Director from 1837 to 1860, combining with this post that of the Presidency from 1855 to 1860.

His loss to the Society was summed up in these words, read at the annual meeting in 1860, immediately after his death : " In him the Society has lost a leader and an instructor, whose place it will be impossible immediately to supply, but we have this consolation . . . that in the same degree as he was assiduous in acquisition, so also he was bountiful in imparting the fruits of his study ; he has left, in his invaluable works and publications, and in his contributions to the Journals of this and other Societies of analogous aim, records that will remain for ever for the instruction of Oriental Students, and for the aid and guidance of all searchers in the mine of Asiatic lore."

Horace Hayman Wilson went to India in 1808 as Assistant Surgeon in the Bengal Establishment.

It was largely through his association with Colebrooke that his mind was turned in the direction of those studies, " which being consistently carried on through more than half a century placed him at last in the proud position of being the acknowledged highest authority of the day upon all questions of Sanskrit literature and of Hindu theology and antiquities, as well as of the social habits and customs of the races through which that religion and literature have come down to us in this present generation."

Wilson's dictionary of the Sanskrit language, prepared for the press from Colebrooke's materials and completed in 1819,

has been the key by which the learned of Europe have obtained access to this branch of literature.

In 1833 Wilson was called, unsolicited by himself, to be the first occupant of the Boden Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford University, a chair now occupied by a member of our Council, Professor A. A. Macdonell. He was a man of wide and varied attainments ; but his Oriental studies, begun at an early age when he became, in 1811, Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, henceforth engrossed his whole attention. Scarcely a Journal of our Society was published which did not contain some paper from his prolific pen, and the depth of his Oriental knowledge and extent and variety of his information enriched the meetings of the Society and enlarged the field of Asiatic research.

His admirable portrait looks down on us from the walls, and we have a constant reminder of the place occupied by Professor Wilson in the annals of our Society in the unfailing and steadfast interest taken in our affairs by his grandson, Mr. Alexander Wilson, our esteemed Honorary Solicitor. Especially at this time of our move his advice and practical help have been always freely placed at the service of the Society. He has come to our aid again and again. We owe him, and we here desire to render to him, the assurance of our heartfelt gratitude for his great services to the Society, to which his grandfather's learning added lustre in the past.

Two other names stand out pre-eminently from the roll of our distinguished men. They are Major-General Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., who was Director of the Society from 1868 to his death in 1895, and President during part of the same period (1869-71 and 1878-81), and Col. Sir HENRY YULE, President from 1885 to 1887.

It is hardly necessary to do more than briefly to refer to the work of these two eminent scholars. It was before this Society that Sir Henry Rawlinson put forth for the first time his decipherment of the cuneiform, and it was perhaps the

supreme moment of the Society's existence when this communication was made before it.

In the Annual Report of May, 1838, it is announced as a subject of special congratulation that "our countryman, Major Rawlinson (at present in the Army of the King of Persia) has discovered vast tablets existing in various parts of the country, covered with cuneiform inscriptions, some of which contain a thousand lines each. . . . A remarkable feature in the translation of a portion of one of these inscriptions, sent to the Society by Major Rawlinson, is the fact that the genealogy of a race of kings found on a tablet which records, as he informs us, the conquests of Darius Hystaspes, corresponds very closely with the list of the same line of monarchs given in the seventh chapter of the second book of Herodotus. It is not, therefore, too much to hope that at no distant period the mysteries of these inscriptions may be developed, and it seems probable that these interesting monuments may throw additional light on the ancient history of Persia, beyond what has been transmitted to us by Greek authors". His account of the tablets at Behistún, consisting of inscriptions in three languages, Persian, Assyrian, and Median, which furnished the key to the cuneiform, was published in the Journal of the R.A.S. in 1846 before he became a member of the Society ; and between the years 1860 and 1880, during which he was actively associated with the Society as Member, Director, or President, scarcely one meeting took place without some communication from him on the subject of Cuneiform Research, the full revelation of which was made in his readings of the inscriptions of Persia and Mesopotamia.

When he passed away early in the year 1895 the Council, in deplored the death of the most illustrious of its members, decided "not to fill the post of Director, occupied in succession by Colebrooke, Hayman Wilson, and Rawlinson, till someone worthy to rank with these heroes appears".

It remains to say a few words of Colonel Sir Henry Yule, K.C.S.I., C.B., President of the Society from 1885 to 1887.

Col. Yule's claim to distinction rests upon somewhat different grounds to those of his predecessors whom we have named. He was not an Oriental linguist and pundit like Wilson or Colebrooke, nor was he a great administrator and politician as Rawlinson was.

But like Rawlinson, his interest in Asiatic subjects became awakened through his official career, though it took a different direction. In his opening address on May 17, 1886, as President of the Society, he spoke of finding himself in that chair "somewhat unaccountably to himself", but his title to occupy it was well recognized by others. The wide range of his learning, the minuteness and accuracy of detail, and the wealth of note and comment with which he illuminated all that he took in hand to illustrate, have placed at the service of the general reader a mass of knowledge on Oriental subjects which has done much to render the East more familiar to the West. His work lay chiefly in the direction of illustrating, by note and comment, mediaeval works of importance. His famous editions of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, first published in 1871, and reissued, enriched by fresh material, in 1875, is only an example in the highest degree of all his work, much of which dealt with geography and travels, and was published by the Hakluyt Society. Looking at his refined and delicate face, we find it easy to understand the almost universal affection with which he was regarded, an affection inspired by the deep power of sympathy of his character and the wide benevolence of his life.

I would mention more recent names briefly, as you are well aware of the part they played: Sir Alexander Cunningham, whose knowledge of Indian Archaeology has never been equalled; Professor Cowell, who did so much for Oriental studies at the Universities; Mr. Fleet, the founder of Scientific Sanskrit Epigraphy. No living scholar will resent if I pay the tribute of our homage to Professor Sayce and Sir George Grierson.

Closely associated with the fortunes of the Society in our

last abode were Professor Rhys Davids and Mrs. Frazer, our Secretaries, and Dr. Oliver Codrington, as Librarian. They gave us their best services, and I am sure that they share our pleasure that the Society has now found a home worthy of its representative character.

You will not be surprised if I commemorate my predecessor, Lord Northbrook. He was an eminent administrator and he continued to take the deepest interest in Indian affairs after he had left India. He was always ready to give his opinion after careful consideration on any question concerning the welfare of the people of India. In his last speech to members of the Society, he expressed a wish that his successor should be more successful in obtaining a Government grant than he had been. I cannot say that we have reason to be satisfied with the financial support we have received. Retrenchment is imperative, but it is not in this direction that it is legitimate. When we take into account how great is our interest in Oriental affairs, expenditure with a view to increase our knowledge of the East is certainly warranted. We do not ask for large sums, but for such recognition as our efforts to uphold the standard of Oriental research justifies. I look forward to a more generous attitude of statesmen and representative assemblies when the financial situation improves. Meanwhile, we shall have to make the most of our assets and to rely on those who are connected with the East.

The most noteworthy events in connexion with Oriental studies in England that have occurred during the past five years have been the opening of the School of Oriental Studies by His Majesty King George in February, 1917, the amalgamation in 1918 of the Society of Biblical Archaeology with our Society, and the joint meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Société Asiatique, and the American Oriental Society in 1819.

Under its energetic Director, Sir Denison Ross, the School of Oriental Studies has already achieved remarkable success.

Situated in the heart of the City of London, it has attracted not only military and civilian officers of the Crown and missionary students, but also many young business men connected with great mercantile establishments associated with the East.

Beginning with 125 students, the number has increased to 350, and is beginning to outrun the available accommodation, so that extensions are already in contemplation. After many years of fruitless agitation, at last, in 1916, London was placed in possession of a School of Oriental Studies, which removed the anomalous situation in which we had been with regard to the training of men who in various capacities would represent us in the East. Whereas in other Continental capitals, much less interested in Eastern affairs than we are, Oriental subjects were considered to belong to the programme of academic studies, their pursuit here was left to haphazard foundations of chairs and to the scholarly ambition of their occupants. It is a reproach that we had among returned members of the Civil Service all the elements for the personnel of such a school, and did not give them an opening for their talents.

We have offered a hearty welcome to our fellow-workers of the Society of Biblical Archæology, with its record of forty-eight years of important and fruitful labours in a field of Oriental study in which our Society has always interested itself. Our Journal will now benefit by contributions from its members, and perhaps their special studies will be aided by the contemplation of the wider outlook covered by the researches of the Royal Asiatic Society. Concentration of effort is essential in all directions on account of our scanty resources. For purposes of efficiency co-ordination is desirable. The Royal Asiatic Society will always be ready to receive offers of co-operation from learned bodies of fellow-workers in the same field.

The happy joint meeting with our French and American confrères will be fresh in the memories of those present.

Science benefited by the many valuable reports that we heard read, and—perhaps an even more important result—old friendships were revived and their warmth renewed, and new acquaintances were made and new friendships formed that may have a lasting influence on the progress of Oriental research. Our thanks are due to Dr. Thomas, who organized the meeting, the success of which is mainly due to him.

The proposed Institute for International Research in India, which was approved by the joint meeting, will give a great impulse to research in a domain which is inexhaustible. We are looking forward to its inauguration, and shall consider it as an ally.

The prospect before us is exhilarating. We have no lack of texts, and a wide expanse of research in various directions to cover. We appeal to scholars on various continents to explore hidden treasures. The republic of letters does not appeal to popular passions, neither is it plutocratic, but it has its own reward. It contributes to remove prejudices. In the past, administrators have found time to investigate problems of philology, ethnology, and archæology. We may look forward to send out to India young men well equipped to continue these traditions. A better understanding between East and West should be the aim of all those who are privileged to take part in the operations in this field. The Royal Asiatic Society is fully aware of the magnitude of its responsibility as the representative of Oriental studies. It has been fortunate in having a body of members who were always ready to place at its disposal the fruits of their studies and to maintain the high standard of the Journal. I trust that in this house members will often meet to discuss informally topics which may interest them. I hope also to see an increase of membership, for we have not exhausted the number of those who take an interest in our work. I may also point out how amicable the relations have been between the Council and the members of the Society. The same harmony will, I trust, exist in this building. I know I can

rely on your indulgence in regard to the shortcomings of which I am only too sensible. But I yield to none of my colleagues in my desire to see this Society fulfilling its high destiny as one of the branches of learning on which our Empire rests.

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#### GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

*April 13, 1920.*—The Right Hon. The Lord Reay, President, in the chair.

A lecture was delivered on “Notes on the History and Doctrines of the Wahhabis of Central Arabia” by Mr. H. St. J. B. Philby, C.I.E., I.C.S. The following gentlemen spoke on the paper: Professor Margoliouth, Professor E. G. Browne, and Mr. N. M. Penzer. The President having thanked the Lecturer for his address, the meeting adjourned.

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#### ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 11, 1920, Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.B., C.I.E., in the chair. The following were elected members of the Society:—

Dr. Jarl Charpentin.	Mr. Douglas D. Porter.
Mr. S. A. Cook.	Mr. S. S. Raghavan, B.A., B.L.
Dr. Noel Davis.	Prof. K. G. N. Sastrial.
Mr. K. K. Handiqui.	Mr. Cecil A. S. Sewell.
Mohammed Ishaque.	Babu Manoranjan Sinha.
Mr. M. H. Krishna Iyengar.	Mr. Maung Po Thin.
Mr. J. Mann, M.A.	Mr. Arthur Waley.
Mr. Sukhdeo Narain, B.A., LL.B.	Mr. L. M. Wynch, C.I.E., C.B.E.

The Secretary then read the Report of the Council for 1919–20 as follows:—

Eighty-seven ordinary members have been elected to the Society during the year—

Dr. I. Abrahams.	Mr. V. Amilhau.
Mr. S. L. Ahmad, Ansari.	Mr. E. C. Ball.
Sahibzada M. H. Alam.	Dr. D. P. Banerji.

- Dr. R. N. Banerji. Capt. C. King, I.C.A.  
 Mr. G. Bell. Mr. K. Krishnamachariar, B.A.  
 Prof. Y. Bharadwaja. Pandit D. K. Laddu.  
 Mr. N. Biswas, B.A. Mr. B. B. Lal, B.A., LL.B.  
 Mr. C. A. Bowra. Mr. S. A. Majid, B.A.  
 Mr. R. C. Culling Carr. Mr. S. H. Majid.  
 Prof. R. P. Chanda. Mr. D. Mazumder, M.A.  
 Mr. K. K. Chattopadhyaya. Mr. K. C. Mehra, L.S.E.  
 Pandit G. L. Chaturvedi. Rev. Prof. S. A. B. Mercer,  
 Mr. R. L. Chopra, M.A. Ph.D., D.D.  
 Mrs. Cousland. Dr. G. Morgenstierne.  
 Prof. S. J. Crawford, B.A., Mr. K. D. Mudalier.  
     B.Litt. Mr. K. N. S. Mudalier.  
 Babu T. C. Das. Babu M. M. Mukerji.  
 Prof. B. Datta, Shastri. Babu P. Nath, Rais.  
 Mrs. M. P. De Lisle. Rev. S. Nicholson.  
 Mr. K. H. K. Deb. Lieut.-Col. H. W. Knox-Niven.  
 Maharajkumar Sri S. S. Sing  
     Deo. Rev. F. W. O'Connell, M.A.,  
             B.D., D.Litt.  
 Mrs. R. L. Devonshire. Babu K. C. Pal.  
 Mr. M. M. Dhar, M.A. Mr. N. M. Penzer.  
 Mr. K. P. Dutt, M.A., B.L. Mr. H. Phibbs, A.R.I.B.A.  
 Mr. S. M. Edwardes. Mr. N. P. Pillay.  
 Mr. H. G. C. Edwards. Mr. B. Debi Prasad.  
 Sardar A. Q. Khan Effendi. Prof. Ishwari, Prasad, M.A.  
 Mr. C. C. Garbett, C.I.E. Mr. R. Prasada.  
 Mr. H. Ghosal. Mr. S. Raffaeli.  
 Mr. S. S. Gopalakrishnan. Mr. S. A. H. Rizwi, B.A.  
 Prof. M. L. Gry. Mr. H. Roy.  
 Babu S. Gupta. Mr. Mangala D. Sastri.  
 Prof. Q. Fazl-i-Haqq, M.A. Mr. V. V. Ramana-Sastrin.  
 Mr. A. N. M. A. Hasan, M.A. Mrs. K. Satthianadhan, M.A.  
 Mr. A. M. Hocart. Rev. A. Shah, K.-i-H.  
 Mr. A. Hyder Hosain. Sahibzada S. A. Shah.  
 Mr. W. Ivanow. Mr. C. D. P. Sharma.  
 Prof. T. R. S. Iyengar. Pandit B. D. Sharman, B.A.  
 Rev. A. Jeffery, M.A. Mr. D. A. A. Sharar, B.A.  
 Rev. Leo Jung. H.H. the Maharajah of Sonpur.  
 Prof. R. S. V. Kanshala, D.Litt. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.

Mr. E. W. Stringer.	Mrs. A. R. Waite.
Mr. G. Mohi-ud-din Sufi, B.A.	Dr. A. E. Wynter, M.D.
Lt.-Com. V. L. Trumper.	Prof. A. S. Yahuda.
Capt. V. E. Turner.	Pandit C. N. R. Zutshi.

We have lost by death five honorary members, Professor J. E. G. Jonker, of Leiden, Professor J. Ritter von Karabaček, of Vienna, Professors Dr. V. Radloff and Carl Salemann, of Petrograd, and Professor Hermann Oldenberg, of Göttingen.

The lamented death of Professor Leonard W. King, a former member of Council, has deprived the world of scholarship of one of its most brilliant workers in the departments of Assyriology; while, in addition, our valued member of Council and Vice-President, Dr. V. A. Smith, died in February of this year. The Society will long feel the loss of his regular attendance at Council meetings and committees, his ready help as adviser and referee in all matters connected with Indian History and Art, and his deep interest in the welfare of the Society. He had been a member of Council from 1915, and was elected Vice-President in 1919. An obituary notice appears in the present Journal from the pen of Mr. F. E. Pargiter (see pp. 391-5).

The following fifteen members of the Society have also died during the year:—

Baroness Amherst of Hackney.	Mr. J. Offord.
Dr. W. M. Bryce.	Rt. Hon. Lord Peckover of Wisbech, LL.D.
Mr. A. M. Ferguson.	Miss A. A. Smith.
Mrs. J. Young Gibson, LL.D.	Mr. J. D. Tremlett.
Sir John Jardine.	Lt.-Col. Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., C.B.
Mr. J. B. Leechman.	Prof. A. R. Rajaraja Varma.
Mr. J. E. Lockyer.	Rev. H. A. Walter.
Pandit Todar Mall.	
Mr. J. W. Neill.	

The following fourteen members have resigned and twenty-seven have been removed through non-payment of their subscriptions:—

*Resignations, 1919-20*

Mr. A. V. V. Aiyar.	Mr. H. C. Kumar.
Rev. G. S. Belasco.	Mr. Anant R. Madan.
Mr. S. G. Cheng.	Mr. C. B. Miller.
Mr. G. M. De Quesnel.	Mr. Claude Montefiore.
Mr. R. W. Frazer.	Mr. H. P. Krishna Rao.
Babu Sachindrabhusan Ghosh.	Lieut. E. S. Sowerby.
Mr. F. V. Holm.	Dr. Ahmad Khan.

*Removed, 1919-20*

Mr. Muhammad A. Q. Akhtar.	Mr. A. G. McClay.
Mr. Azim.	Mr. Gunendra C. Mallik.
Mr. Bawa H. D. Bedi.	Mr. Kolatheri S. Menon.
Mr. K. C. Bhandari.	Mr. Sarat S. Mitra.
Mr. A. Singh Bhatia.	Mr. Jogesh C. Patranavis.
Mr. Hari Chand.	Rai Bahadur Prasad.
Dr. Muhammad Deen.	Mr. Narsingh Prasad.
Pandit Mannan Dvivedi.	Mr. R. Srinivasan.
Babu D. Dutt.	Mr. Kapur Srinivasarao.
Sahib Bahadur M. A. Ghani.	Dr. Otto Strauss.
Mr. Raghbir S. Jaspal.	Mr. K. V. Subbaiya.
Mr. Kanshi Ram Kapur.	Mr. Maung M. Ü.
Mr. Gokalchand Kohli.	Prof. Indra V. Vachaspati.
Babu Bimala C. Law.	

The total number of members now stands at 814, with 143 subscribing libraries in addition.

On resigning his post as Hon. Treasurer in February, Mr. J. Kennedy was re-elected a Vice-President of the Society.<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. Grant Brown has succeeded him as Hon. Treasurer.

*Hon. Secretaryship*

To the great regret of the Council, Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., has found it necessary to resign his post as Hon. Secretary to the Society. It will be difficult to find again anyone equally distinguished to occupy this arduous post, or to bring to it the gifts and energy which Sir G. Grierson

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. Kennedy died on June 19, 1920.

has shown in carrying out its duties throughout the three years during which he has held office.

### *The Society's Premises*

The chief event of the year has been the removal of the Society from 22 Albemarle Street, its centre and home for more than fifty years, to larger and more commodious premises in 74 Grosvenor Street. The ordinary work of the Society has necessarily been interrupted during the move, and the Library closed. The new quarters were opened on March 30 by a reception, at which the President, Lord Reay, gave a sketch of the history and prospects of the Society, and His Excellency the Chinese Minister, Mr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, delivered an address on "The Influences of Western Education on China" (see pp. 397-411).

Owing to delays by workmen, the Libraries are not yet completely re-arranged, but they are partially open for readers and for the loan of books and will soon be in order. The work of re-cataloguing is in progress, and the Assistant Librarian will be in attendance during office hours to find the books required by members. There is a "silence room" for students wishing to copy or collate books and manuscripts. It is hoped that the advantages offered by the new premises will not only make 74 Grosvenor Street a more frequent place of resort by our present members, but will lead to a large increase of membership.

It has been a disappointment that few special benefactions have been forthcoming to assist the Society at this time of stress, and that it has had to dip deep into its reserve funds to meet the costs of this move. Gifts of money or furniture would be especially helpful at this time to make the house comfortable for members.

A gift of four handsome Persian rugs from Mr. R. S. Green-shields, I.C.S. (ret.), has been much appreciated.

Other gifts received during the year have been: Books on Japan from Sir Ernest Satow, gramophone records of Indian

dialects presented by the Government of India and a framed portrait of Rev. Professor Sayce presented by Mr. F. Legge.<sup>1</sup>

### *Lectures*

The following lectures were delivered during the session :—

*June 17, 1919.* “A Journey into Arabia by the Hedjaz Railway.” By Miss Frances E. Newton, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

*April 13, 1920.* “Notes on the History and Doctrines of the Wahhabis of Central Arabia.” By H. St. John Bridger Philby, C.I.E.

At the meeting held on November 11, 1919, the Public School Gold Medal was presented to the successful candidate, Mr. S. S. Bajpai, of Dulwich College and Balliol College, Oxford, for his essay on “The Emperor Shah Jahan”, and a gift of books was handed to Mr. Thurburn, of St. Paul’s School, as a second prize.

At the request of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society the Gold Medal awarded by that Society to Mr. Henry Cousens for his work on *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains* was handed to the recipient.

Under the Forlong bequest a course of lectures was delivered at the School of Oriental Studies by Mr. Lawrence Binyon on “The Art of Asia”, illustrated by a beautiful series of lantern-slides.

### *Joint Session of Oriental Societies*

During the year the plan of holding an annual Joint Session of the Oriental Societies of England, France, America; and Italy was brought into operation. From September 3–6, 1919, members of the Royal Asiatic Society, Société Asiatique, American Oriental Society, and Scuola Orientale, Reale Università di Roma, met in Joint Session in the rooms of our

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above a welcome gift of £100 from a member of the Society who desires to be anonymous, for the special purpose of raising the salary of the future Secretary by £50 for two years, has to be gratefully acknowledged. A gift of £60 has also been received from H.R.H. Prince Vajirayāna, Honorary Member of the R.A.S., in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of his birthday.

Society, and a series of papers was read and discussions were instituted which laid the foundation of closer and fruitful co-operation between Oriental scholars in these four countries. The meetings were held simultaneously in three sections, representing India, the Near East, and the Far East. In the afternoons visits were paid to the Oriental Rooms in the British Museum and other places of interest. The conference, of which a full account will be found in the January Journal, 1920, pp. 123-62, was, largely owing to the exertions of its Hon. Secretary, Dr. F. W. Thomas, an unqualified success. It closed with a banquet, at which all who attended the meetings were present.

An invitation has been extended to our Society from the Société Asiatique of Paris through its President, M. Senart, to pay a return visit to that city during the course of the present summer for the purpose of taking part in the second Joint Session of the kindred Societies.

#### *Monographs*

No new monographs have appeared in our special series during the year, but progress is being made with the books mentioned in the last Report.

#### *Journal*

The great expense of our move to new premises has diminished the available resources of the Society, and this, combined with the heavy cost of printing, paper, and illustrations still maintained, has obliged the Council, much against its wish, to continue its policy of cutting down the Journal to considerably below its normal size. The Council feels, however, that if this policy has long to be continued it will act seriously to the detriment of the position and work of the Society. The Journal is its chief organ, and the means by which it holds its high position in the world of scholarship. Reduction in size means that long and often valuable contributions have to be refused, or broken up into parts, while even short papers accumulate and have to be held back for a considerable .

time from publication. Our reviews have to be curtailed, and the Miscellaneous Section, which formed a useful channel of intercommunication among the readers scattered all over the world, is almost extinguished.

It is to be remembered also that our members abroad and in India and the East, who form a large part of our membership, subscribe to the Society solely for the sake of receiving the Journal. It is therefore of the first importance that the Journal should be restored to its original size and importance as quickly as possible, and that the illustrations should be continued. This will be the first object of the Council when the Society's finances are once more set on a firm foundation.

#### *Public Schools Gold Medal Competition*

The Gold Medal for the present year has been won by Oliver M. W. Warner, of Denstone College, for an essay on "The Rise and Fall of the Maratha Power". One of the adjudicators remarked on this essay that it was one of the best ever presented for competition. The Medal will be presented to-day. The second prize of books has been awarded to E. I. Russell, of Clifton College, whose essay also reached a good level of excellence.

It has been decided by the Council, on the recommendation of several of the Head Masters of the competing schools, that the date for sending in the essays should be changed from February 15 to October 16 of each year. This will allow of the subject of the prize essay being set as a holiday task instead of falling in the midst of the school term, and it is hoped that the change of date will result in an increased number of essays being sent in for competition. The next competition will, therefore, be held on October 16, 1921, and the subject chosen is "The part taken by India in the late War". Special efforts are being made to facilitate the loan of books to schools for the use of intending competitors.

*Centenary*

The year 1923 will be the Centenary of the existence of the Royal Asiatic Society, and a small Committee is being appointed to arrange for the celebration of this event, and for the publication of a Centenary Volume on the lines of that published by the Bengal Asiatic Society on a similar occasion in its own annals.

We have this year to acknowledge with special indebtedness the great and constant services rendered to our Society during the negotiations for the move of house, and in many legal matters, of our Honorary Solicitor, Mr. Alexander Wilson, who, in the midst of pressing private and official work, has given much time and thought to the affairs of this Society. We have also to thank our Honorary Auditors, Mrs. R. W. Frazer and Mr. L. C. Hopkins, and our official Auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co., for their kind services.

The adoption of the Report was moved by Lieut.-Col. Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., from the chair, and seconded by Mr. E. H. C. WALSH. Dr. THOMAS having supported the motion, the Report was put to the meeting and adopted.

The HON. TREASURER presented the balance-sheet, which was adopted on the motion of Dr. A. B. MORSE, seconded by Mr. L. C. HOPKINS, and carried.

SIR C. LYALL, in moving the appointment of Sir Richard Temple as Director in place of Sir H. M. Durand, said that they all knew the eminent services he had done to Oriental study in many ways, his greatest achievement therein having been to keep going the *Indian Antiquary* over so long a period of years. He had known Sir Richard for a great number of years, and could bear witness that wherever he had been in India his active mind had devoted itself without ceasing to the investigation of the character, history, and characteristics of the people amongst whom he lived and served.

**ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND  
RECEIPTS**

		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS...	...	1,007 13 0	
Class A—62 at £3 3s.	...	195 6 0	
Advance Subscriptions—2 at £3 3s.	...	6 6 0	
3 Non-Resident and completion (£1 10s. and £1 13s.)	...	9 9 0	
Class B—381 at £1 10s.	...	640 10 0	
1 completion at £1 1s.	...	1 1 0	
1 " at 15s.	...	15 0	
1 part payment	...	12 0	
26 advance subscriptions at £1 10s.	...	43 10 0	
1 part payment	...	1 7 0	
35 in arrears at £1 10s.	...	52 10 0	
1 completion at 5s.	...	5 0	
Class C—2 at £1 1s.	...	2 2 0	
1 Library subscription at £1 10s.	...	1 10 0	
2 Non-Resident Compounders	...	47 5 0	
1 four years subscription	...	5 5 0	
RENTS RECEIVED	...	223 17 4	
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE...	...	210 0 0	
JOURNAL ACCOUNT	...	434 18 8	
Subscriptions	...	275 0 0	
Additional copies sold	...	126 2 3	
S.B.A. Proceedings	...	12 6 10	
Sale of Index	...	2 9 0	
", S.B.A.	...	2 12 6	
Advertisement	...	2 10 0	
Sale of Pamphlets	...	13 18 1	
DIVIDENDS	...	148 1 5	
New South Wales 4 per cent Stock	...	32 2 0	
Midland Railway 2½ per cent Debenture Stock	...	3 14 4	
South Australian Government 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock, 1939	...	21 15 6	
New Zealand 4 per cent Stock	...	19 19 0	
War Loan 5 per cent	...	12 5 0	
Local Loans Stock	...	13 12 8	
Canada 3½ per cent Stock	...	8 8 0	
Consols	...	4 2 8	
5 per cent National War Bonds	...	2 15 9	
Income Tax returned	...	29 6 6	
HANDED OVER FROM SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY	...	850 2 7	
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT	...	25 12 9	
Lloyds Bank, Limited	...	24 5 7	
Post Office Savings Bank	...	1 7 2	
SUNDAY RECEIPTS	...	10 13 1	
Balance in hand at January 1, 1919	...	572 8 2	
		<hr/> <u>£3,483 7 0</u>	

**FUNDS.**

- £802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1933.
- £212 8s. Midland Railway 2½ per cent Debenture Stock.
- £888 16s. 9d. South Australian Government 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock, 1939.
- £454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.
- £297 7s. New Zealand Government 4 per cent Consolidated Stock, 1927.
- £201 9s. 3d. New Zealand 4 per cent Stock, 1943-63.
- £350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
- £125 National War Bonds (4th Series), 1929.

Transferred from Society of Biblical Archaeology—

- £300 Dominion of Canada 3½ per cent Registered Stock, 1930-50.
- £236 7s. 9d. 2½ per cent Consolidated Stock.

# PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1919

## PAYMENTS

					£ s. d.	£ s. d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT	...	...	...	...	592 14 5	
Rent	...	...	...	...	476 5 0	
Insurance	...	...	...	...	17 9 8	
Water Rate	...	...	...	...	16 0 0	
Repairs	...	...	...	...	3 17 8	
Gas and Electric Light	...	...	...	...	26 9 8	
Coals	...	...	...	...	8 18 0	
Telephone	...	...	...	...	7 0 3	
Other expenditure	...	...	...	...	36 14 2	
					<u>592 14 5</u>	
SALARIES AND WAGES	...	...	...	...		497 18 0
PRINTING AND STATIONERY	...	...	...	...		111 2 1
LIBRARY AND BOOKS	...	...	...	...		360 10 2
Society of Biblical Archaeology	...	...	...	...	351 11 0	
Sundry purchases	...	...	...	...	8 19 2	
					<u>360 10 2</u>	
JOURNAL ACCOUNT	...	...	...	...		356 14 3
Printing	...	...	...	...	308 5 5	
Postage	...	...	...	...	48 8 10	
					<u>356 14 3</u>	
AUDITOR'S FEE	...	...	...	...		5 5 0
BANK CHARGES	...	...	...	...		1 0 0
POSTAGE—Telegrams, etc.	...	...	...	...		34 12 9
SUNDRY PAYMENTS	...	...	...	...		-39 3 7
REDECORATING AND ELECTRIC LIGHTING (on account)						500 0 0
NATIONAL WAR BONDS PURCHASED	...	...	...	...		125 0 0
BALANCE in hand at December 31, 1919	...	...	...	...		859 6 9
Lloyds Bank, Limited, Deposit account	...	...	...	...	376 0 0	
Current account	...	...	...	...	391 17 11	
					<u>767 17 11</u>	
Post Office Savings Bank	...	...	...	...	72 2 6	
Petty Cash	...	...	...	...	1 19 3	
Postage	...	...	...	...	17 7 1	
					<u>859 6 9</u>	
						<u>£3,483 7 0</u>

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.  
Mrs. FRAZER, for the Society.  
N. E. WATERHOUSE,  
Professional Auditor.

R. GRANT BROWN, Hon. Treasurer.

April, 1920.

## SPECIAL FUNDS

## **PAYMENTS**

Prize Publication Fund

Montauk Fund

MEDAL FUND		Balance carried to Summary	
Jan. 1.	Dec. 31.	Postage	...
Balance ...	169 7 6		
Sales ...	20 15 0		
Dr. Gaster's donation to publication of Al Asatir ...	12 0 0		
Interest ...	5 9 0		
		38 4 0	
			<u>£207 11 6</u>
			<u>£207 11 6</u>
MEDAL FUND		Balance carried to Summary	
Jan. 1.	Dec. 31.	Postage	...
Balance ...	40 14 11		
			<u>51 12 11</u>

MEDAL FUND

	Jan. 1.		Dec. 31.	Balance carried to Summary ...	
Balance ...	***	***	9 15 0	40 14 11	51 12 11
Dividends	***	***	1 3 0		
Interest ...	***	***		10 18 0	
					<u>£51 12 11</u>

Public School Medal Fund						
Jan. 1.	Balance	25	2	6	Dec. 31.	Cost of Medal
	... Dividends ...	19	7	4	...	Book prizes ...
Interest ...	... ...	6	6		Printing ...	...
		19	13	10	Balance carried to Summary	...
		<u>£44 16 4</u>				<u>£44 16 4</u>

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

Oriental Translation Fund	690 11 4	Cash at Bankers—On Deposit Account	936 12 6
Prize Publication Fund	252 13 1	On Current Account	287 19 2
Monograph Fund	206 10 6		
MEDAL FUND	51 12 11		
Public School MEDAL FUND	23 3 10		
	<u>£1,224 11 8</u>		<u>£1,224 11 8</u>

Funds.

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable B Stock  
(Prize Publication Fund).  
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable A Stock  
(Medal Fund).  
£645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable  
B Stock (Public School Medal Fund).

R. GRANT BROWN, Hon. Treasurer.

We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock investments and Bank balances.  
May, 1920.

L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.

Mas. FRAZER, for the Society.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

# FORLONG BEQUEST

## ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1919

	RECEIPTS	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1919.						
Dividends	... ...					
Jan. 1.	Bengal Nagpur Railway	28 5 6		266 2 7		
	South Australian Government	28 8 10		Cash at Bankers, December 31, 1919—	...	
	East India Railway Company	31 9 4		On Current Account	...	
	New South Wales	28 3 2		On Deposit Account	...	
	India 3½ per cent	28 0 0			...	
	War Loan 5 per cent, 1929-47	12 13 10			...	
	Income tax returned	109 1 11			...	
				<u>£266 2 7</u>		
	Interest on Deposit Account	...			5 16 9	
	Balance in hand at January 1, 1919	...			222 6 6	
1919	Balance in Deposit Account, January 1,	...				
	...	...	...		<u>52 17 0</u>	
				<u>£547 2 10</u>		
	Funds.					
	£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.					
	£1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940-60.					
	£45 East Indian Railway Company Annuity, Class "B".					
	£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1912-62.					
	£1,143 6s. 3d. India 3½ per cent Stock.					
	£253 18s. 4d. War Loan 5 per cent, 1929-47.					

R. GRANT BROWN, Hon. Treasurer.  
N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the  
 L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.  
 Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said  
 MRS. FRAZER, for the Society.  
 Abstract to be true and correct.  
 May, 1920.

SIR HENRY HOWORTH, in seconding, said that he had long known two Richard Temples, the first of them with special intimacy, and it was a notable fact that we in England could produce the class of man represented by two generations of this family, who had not only been great public servants in India but whose work in many directions had been no less noticeable after retirement than their official work in India. They were both marked by extraordinary versatility and indefatigable energy. In addition, Sir Richard had the valuable gift in a chairman of perpetual urbanity and kindliness.

The motion was carried with acclamation, together with the following nominations of the Council :—

*As Vice-President* : Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (ret.), Corresponding Member of the French Academy, in the stead of Mr. M. Longworth Dames (*retiring under Rule 30*).

*As Hon. Secretary* : F. W. Thomas, Ph.D., in the place of Sir George A. Grierson (*resigned*).

*As Ordinary Members of Council* : Dr. M. Gaster and Professor A. A. Macdonell having retired under Rule 32, the following were elected : M. Longworth Dames, Esq.; W. Foster, Esq., C.I.E. (co-opted November 11, 1919), confirmed; Professor Stephen Langdon, Ph.D.; H. St. J. B. Philby, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.; R. Campbell Thompson, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. (co-opted September 9, 1919), confirmed; and the President, Vice-Presidents, Hon. Officers, and other ordinary Members of Council now serving as such.

THE CHAIRMAN, in thanking the meeting, said that it was with some misgiving that he first heard of the proposal that he should be Director. Though it was nearly twenty years since he retired from India, he still had heavy official duties, including the Chairmanship of the Council of the Territorial Army and also membership of the Finance Committee of the Red Cross. Having accepted the position he would use his best endeavours to promote the interests of this old and great

Society, especially in the direction of increasing its financial resources.

THE CHAIRMAN then presented the Public Schools Gold Medal to Mr. Oliver M. W. Warner (Denstone College) and the book prize to Mr. E. L. Russell (Clifton College). He said that for years he had lectured at Cambridge and Oxford and at the British Association on the enormous importance of learning the ways, habits, and history of the natives of the country to which a man went. This was quite as important for the merchant and the missionary as for the administrator. It was a great pleasure to him to know that the Society was doing its part to promote such studies by this annual competition. No one going out to the East could get on without acquiring such knowledge. The Gold Medal had been won three times by Denstone, and he heartily congratulated the school upon this achievement.

THE HEAD MASTER OF DENSTONE expressed his thanks to the Society, and the proceedings closed.

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It is with great pleasure that we congratulate our late Hon. Secretary, Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., on the honour that has been conferred upon him in making him a corresponding member of the French Academy, and our present Hon. Secretary, Dr. F. W. Thomas, on his election as honorary member of the American Oriental Society.

Miss Hull has resigned the post of Secretary to the Society in order to return to her literary work, and has been succeeded by Miss Ella Sykes.

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## ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

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#### **Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.**

Back numbers of the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology are still in great demand, especially Vols. 30-38. Any numbers that members can spare will be most gratefully accepted.

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4. Any person desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member must be nominated by one Member and seconded by another, of whom one must act on a personal knowledge that the candidate is likely to be a suitable and useful Member; and the nominating Member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name, address, and occupation or status, and shall state to which of the aforesaid classes the candidate desires to be admitted.

17. The annual subscriptions of Ordinary Members shall be as follows:—

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23. The first payment of subscription is due on election, but if a Member be elected in November or December of any year, the first annual subscription paid by him shall cover the year beginning on the 1st January next after his election.

24. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January of each year.

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Every member of the Society whose subscription is paid is entitled to receive the quarterly Journal post free.

Those desirous of joining the Society are requested to fill in this form and to forward it to the address of "The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W."

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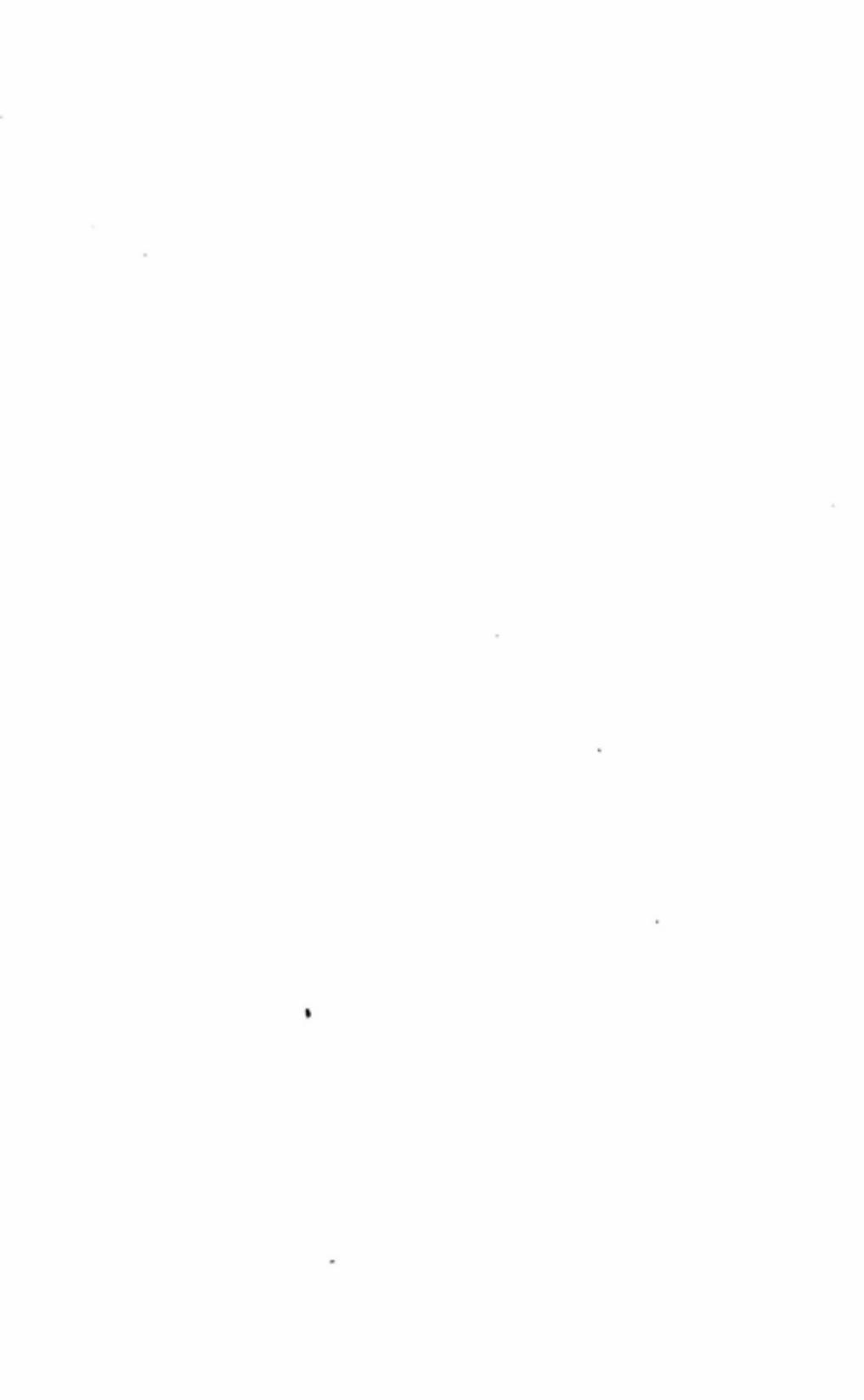
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*being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do hereby recommend \_\_\_\_\_ to the Society as a Candidate.*

*Proposer*.....

*Seconder*.....



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**Hiuan-tsang and the Far East**

BY LOUIS FINOT

IN a paper published in the January issue of this Journal, under the title "To the East of Samataṭa", Professor Padmanath Bhattacharya Vidyavino has proposed a new interpretation of a well-known passage in Hiuan-tsang,<sup>1</sup> concerning the countries situated in the east of Samataṭa (Eastern Bengal). These six kingdoms were not visited by the pilgrim, but known to him by hearsay. Here are their names, together with the identifications generally admitted :—<sup>2</sup>

1. Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo = Śrīkṣetra (Prome);
2. Ka-mo-lang-ka (Tenasserim ?);
3. To-lo-po-ti = Dvāravatī (Lower Siam);
4. I-shang-na-pu-lo = Īśānapura (Cambodia);
5. Mo-ha-chan-p'o = Mahā-Campā (Annam);
6. Yen-mo-na-chou = Yavadvīpa (Java) [?].

<sup>1</sup> Stanislas Julien, *Vie de Hiouen-tsang*, p. 182; *Mémoires*, ii, p. 82; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, ii, p. 187. I beg to retain here the French spelling, " Hiuan-tsang "; according to the usual English system of transcription, it should be " Hsüan-tsang ". As to the form " Yuan Chwang ", it is undoubtedly inaccurate, as Professor Pelliot has demonstrated in his review of Watters' book, *Bulletin de l' École Française d' Extrême Orient*, v, 424. (I shall cite this periodical henceforth as BEFEO.)

<sup>2</sup> I follow Watters' transcription, as given by Mr. P. B. V.

With the exception of 2 and 6 these identifications were considered till now as definitely established. Mr. P. B. V. does not hesitate to brush them aside and to localize Hiuan-tsang's toponyms as follows :—

1. Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo = Sylhet, skt. Śrihaṭṭa (Assam) ;
2. Ka-mo-lang-ka = Comilla, formerly Karmānta (Bengal) ;
3. To-lo-po-ti = Tipperah, skt. Tripurapati (Bengal) ;
4. I-shang-na-pu-lo = Viṣṇupura (Manipur) ;
5. Mo-ha-chan-p'o = Bhamo, formerly Campānagara (Burma) ;
6. Yen-mo-na-chou = Jambūdvīpa = Burma.

It may be seen at once that Mr. P. B. V. has taken no notice whatever of the laws of phonetic correspondence which rule the transcription of Indian words into Chinese, and that he allows himself to be guided in his parallels by the vaguest analogies of sound. Such a process takes us back to sixty years ago, before Stanislas Julien had published his *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois* (Paris, 1861). Still less does he take into account the improvements which Julien's method has received at the hands of such scholars as Professors Sylvain Lévi and Paul Pelliot. It is quite unnecessary to insist on the fact — evident to any informed reader — that the above equivalents do not conform in any way to the present conditions of philology and are phonetically untenable.

From an historical point of view the innovation does not look more successful. Generally speaking, a theory which pretends to overthrow an admitted one is based either on the discovery of new evidence or on a new interpretation of the older one. But, as to Mr. P. B. V.'s theory, we suspect that it has no other foundation than an insufficient knowledge of existing documents. It would be a long and unnecessary task to discuss its arguments in detail ; we should be obliged to refer to several elementary principles of method and to some notorious facts with which the distinguished Professor does

not seem thoroughly conversant. A few observations will show to what extent the ground of this bold fabric is unsafe.

Let us first take the most conclusive instance, *Mo-ha-chan-p'o*. According to the general opinion, this means *Mahā-Campā*, that is, the State of Champa, which at the end of the fifteenth century gave place to the kingdom of Annam, but survived as a vassal state until the end of the eighteenth. Why does Mr. P. B. V. pretend to locate it elsewhere? Because Sir Arthur Phayre wrote that Champa was Cambodia and because another writer said that Champa was Siam, from which Mr. P. B. V. promptly concluded that the name of Champa was something like a fleck of cotton floating in the air, and that anybody was at liberty to catch it and fix it wherever it pleased him; why not, for instance, in Burma, where, near Bhamo, lay the ruins of a town called "Sampenago", which name may represent "Campānagara"? Now we may safely assert that the name of Champa was never applied either to Cambodia or to Siam. When Sir A. Phayre wrote, the knowledge of Champa amounted to next to nothing. We are better equipped now; the Champa territory has been fully explored and surveyed; a great number of inscriptions (about 150), dating from the third to the fifteenth century, have been discovered, deciphered, and published;<sup>1</sup> Chinese texts relating to Champa have been collected and translated;<sup>2</sup> the history of this kingdom has been written;<sup>3</sup> its monuments have been catalogued and described.<sup>4</sup> And now steps in Mr. P. B. V., who, in blissful ignorance of this thirty-eight years' labour, asserts that Champa is a mere word corresponding to nothing definite! If any doubt were entertained concerning the country intended by Hiuan-tsang, it would

<sup>1</sup> A. Bergaigne and A. Barth, *Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge* (Paris, 1885); L. Finot, *Notes d'épigraphie indochinoise* (BEFEO, 1902-15); E. Huber, *Études indochinoises* (*ibid.*, 1905-11).

<sup>2</sup> P. Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde au VIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (BEFEO, iv, 185 seq.).

<sup>3</sup> G. Maspéro, *Le Royaume de Chainpa*, T'oung Pao, 1910-13.

<sup>4</sup> H. Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments dans de l'Annam*, Paris, 1909-18, 2 vols.

be dispelled by the parallel list of I-tsing,<sup>1</sup> where Mo-ha-chan-p'o is replaced by its equivalent Lin-i; now the name Lin-i was never used by the Chinese for another State than the Champa on the Annamese coast, and by no ingenuity could it be located elsewhere.

As to I-shang-na-pu-lo being Cambodia, Mr. P. B. V. raises the following objection: "An antiquarian (Professor Chavannes) identifies I-shang-na-pu-lo with Cambodia, on the ground that a little before Yuan Chwang's time a king named Ishāna ruled over Cambodia; but the learned professor does not state whether the said king founded any capital bearing his own name, as formerly a kingdom might also be named after its capital, but seldom by the personal name of its ruler."

If Mr. P. B. V. had gone through the Cambodian inscriptions, he would have known that the giving to a new capital the name of its founder, far from being an unusual occurrence, was the ordinary custom in that country. Isānapura is not the only example of it; we know of Bhavapura, the capital of Bhavarman; Śresṭhapura, the capital of Śresthavarman; Yaśodharapura (now Angkor Thom), the capital of Yaçovarman. The identification of I-shang-na-pu-lo with Isānapura does not offer the slightest difficulty; but we cannot say the same of its supposed connexion with a certain town of Viṣṇupura, the name of which should have become first Vishenpur and then Ishenpur, because "the initial letter, being a semi-vowel, might easily assume an inaudible form"!

*To-lo-po-ti* has not yet been located so definitely, and nothing proves that Dvāravatī occupied formerly the exact site of Ayodhyā; it may have been situated either in the neighbourhood of Ayodhyā, as Gerini thought, or at Lopburi, as Pelliot suggested.<sup>2</sup> But this is immaterial to the interpretation of Hiuan-tsang, and the fact that Ayodhyā was founded in 1350 is, notwithstanding Mr. P. B. V.'s opinion,

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes, *Religieux éminents*, p. 58 n.; Takakusu, *Record*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Gerini, in *As. Quart. Rev.*, 1902; Pelliot in BEFEO, iv, p. 223.

of no importance in the matter. What alone interests us is the question whether Dvāravatī corresponded roughly to Lower Siam, and this fact is attested by the *Old History of T'ang*, according to which the "Water-Tchenla", i.e. Lower Cambodia, is bordered on the west by *To-lo-po-ti*.<sup>1</sup>

Let us set aside *Ka-mo-lang-ka*; the waters are deeper here than Mr. P. B. V. imagines. One has only to consult on this vexed question the scholarly studies of MM. Pelliot and Ferrand.<sup>2</sup>

Against the identification of *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo* with Śrikṣetra, Mr. P. B. V. has accumulated arguments without giving more probability to the localization of this toponym at Sylhet, an old hypothesis long ago put forward by Vivien de Saint-Martin, and already rejected by Sir A. Phayre.<sup>3</sup> Let us briefly review these arguments.

(a) Hiuan-tsang states that the kingdom of *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo* was situated "on the shore of a great sea". This may not well suit Prome, but much less does it apply to Sylhet, which is twice as distant from the sea as Prome. Mr. P. B. V. escapes the difficulty by observing that there are in the district of Sylhet vast marshes, which might have been, in the seventh century, "something like a sea." The reader may weigh for himself the value of the argument. But let us observe in our turn that Hiuan-tsang does not speak of a town, but of a kingdom. The town of Prome is about seventy miles distant from the sea; but we do not know the area of the kingdom of Śrikṣetra or that its frontiers did not approach or even reach to the sea.

(b) Hiuan-tsang places *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo* to the north-east of Samataṭa, whereas Prome is to the south-east of Dacca, the assumed site of Samataṭa. True; but this is not the only error of the kind that one might detect in the Chinese

<sup>1</sup> Pelliot, *loc. laud.*

<sup>2</sup> Pelliot, *ibid.*, p. 223; Ferrand, *Journ. As.*, Juillet-Août 1918, pp. 134 seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires of Hiouen-tsang*, ii, p. 391; Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 32.

Pilgrims, and one ought not to forget that what we have here is no record of a real itinerary, but a piece of vague information picked up by hearsay. Under these conditions a mistake of orientation is easily conceivable.

(c) Here at last is an argument, which Mr. P. B. V. considers as absolutely decisive against the partisans of Śrikṣetra : "They had also missed another, a very important, fact : A.D. 95 was the date of the demise of the last king of Prome, and Tharekhettara and the kingdom fell immediately after. Was it possible that Yuan Chwang, coming about five centuries and a half after the extinction of the kingdom of Tharekhettara, would be informed of its existence ? "

Unfortunately, the date A.D. 95 is neither "a very important fact" nor a fact at all ; it is pure legend. Apart from a few mentions in the Chinese Annals, there is no authentic date concerning the Mon-Burmese history before the eleventh century, and the records of previous times, as found in the native chronicles, are practically of no value whatever. Perhaps, however, there may be a single guidepost in this desert, and this exception bears precisely on the history of Prome. I mean the inscriptions on *Pyu* funeral urns deciphered by Mr. Blagden (*Epigraphia Indica*, xii, 1913, p. 127). If one admits, with the learned editor, that these inscriptions are dated in the Indo-Chinese era of A.D. 638, they were engraved from A.D. 673 to 718. It would ensue from this that, at the time of Hiuan-tsang's travels, there existed at Prome a kingdom ruled by a Hindū or Hinduized dynasty, and nothing precludes the possibility of its having been called by the name of Śrikṣetra.

In conclusion, I am bound to say that the paper of Mr. P. B. V. leaves the question unchanged, and that the identifications previously accepted are just as firmly established as ever.

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## On the Representation of Tones in Oriental Languages

BY SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

IN offering the following notes I would especially ask for consideration on the part of students of Sinitic languages. I in no way pretend to be familiar with these forms of speech, and I must explain that, while I shall be grateful for criticisms on their part, my remarks are not directly addressed to them, but rather to those students of philology who have not made a special study of Chinese, but who, for purposes of comparison, are compelled to acknowledge a bowing acquaintance with all, or nearly all, the tonic languages of Asia.

First of all let me state quite clearly that in this paper I do not pretend to lay down a final statement as to the natures of the various tones in the languages of which examples are offered. The accounts given by me are in many cases mere compilations from the descriptions found in standard grammars. I am fully conscious that I may have misunderstood the statements found there, and, moreover, that differences of opinion exist in regard to some languages. Of the latter, Chinese, Burmese, and Tibetan are examples. The correctness of my accounts of the tones is, indeed, hardly relevant to the object of my paper, which is merely to devise a system of *representing* all possible tones, and not to describe accurately the tones of any particular form of speech. The examples are given only to show that such a system is possible, and if the tones are incorrectly shown by me, it is of little importance for my main object. If any particular symbol chance to be wrong another and more correct symbol can always be substituted for it. The system suggested by me will at once supply the correct symbol.

Hitherto, in working at the Linguistic Survey of India, I have had very little to do with tones, and their indication has offered no difficulties. None of the languages with which

I have had to deal has had more than two or, at most, three, tones. Or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that, in regard to less-known languages, the existence of tones has been ignored by my reporters, or has been imperfectly noticed by them.

Now that the General Survey is completed, and that I am busy with the Introductory Volume, the question of comparison with languages of the Far East, such as Siamese, Annamese, and Chinese—not to speak of Burmese and Shàn—has arisen. In most of these languages a system of tones is in vigorous existence, and I am faced with the necessity of indicating them all on one uniform system. So far as I can ascertain, no such system, suitable for my requirements, exists at present. Even for Chinese, different writers employ different systems. Those who follow Wade employ numbers. Others employ diacritical marks, and others, again, employ a modification of the signs employed by the Chinese. For Siamese, European writers employ diacritical marks; for Shàn a system of numbers is employed; for Annamese our French fellow-workers have an independent system inherited from Portuguese and Spanish Missionaries; and for Burmese it is most customary to use the signs found in the native character. As an example take the word for "horse", common to many of these languages. In Pekinese it is written *ma*<sup>3</sup>, in Cantonese *ma*, in Siamese *má*, in Shàn *ma*<sup>5</sup>, in Burmese *mrang*<sup>2</sup>, and in Kachin by *ma*. In all these, except Kachin, the tone is indicated, but each language employs a different method.

A further difficulty arises from the necessity of tracing a tone from one language or dialect to another. Each writer gives his description of the tones of his language in different terms, and sometimes these descriptions are so indefinite that it is not easy to know what is meant. For instance, if we take, say, the low level tone of Cantonese, it is not at all easy to trace, from the accounts in the Grammars, if this tone occurs in Shàn, and, if so, what it is there called.

I think that the best way of settling the difficulty is first of all to devise a framework which will permit of the representation of all possible tones, and then to fit into it the existing tones of each language. In preparing such a framework one or two points must be borne in mind.<sup>1</sup>

First, the tone indications must be simple and readily intelligible. Words with tones, as quoted by me, will be isolated words, scattered through words of many more non-tonic languages, and their quotation is intended for the information of people who are not necessarily acquainted with the languages to which they belong. Hence a system of indicating tones by numbers, necessitating a reference to a key whenever a word is met, will not do. We want something that will appeal at once to the eye.

Secondly, the general framework proposed cannot go into minute differences. It may indicate that a tone is high, or that it is low; but it would introduce great complications if an attempt were made to indicate, say, *how* high the high pitch is compared with a tone in a low pitch, or vice versa. So also it may indicate a rise or fall, but it cannot indicate the extent of the rise or fall. Nor can it indicate absolute pitch, as between languages. For instance, the same mark may be employed to indicate the high level tone in Cantonese and in Siamese. But this will not mean that the pitch of these two tones is identical. It will only mean that, *in the case of each language*, this level tone is pitched high in comparison with other level tones in the same language.'

Thirdly, as regards the position of signs. For my purposes it will not do to put them over or under any letter or a word. The words are already overloaded with other diacritical marks indicating length, stress, and what not. They must, therefore, come either before or after the word to which they belong, and, from practical experience, after several

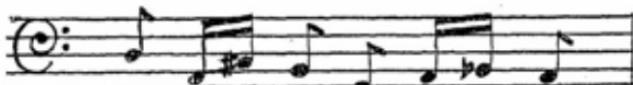
<sup>1</sup> I find from experience that the system employed by Lepsius and that devised by P. Schmidt for use in *Anthropus* do not meet my requirements.

experiments, I find that it is easiest to put them before it. Such a mark catches the eye of the reader, and warns him how to pronounce the following word.

It is first necessary to state what I mean by the word "tone". After consultation with expert friends I believe that the following definition meets the requirements of the case :—

*"A tone is a relatively fixed musical pitch or change of pitch, inherent in a word, and necessary for its significance."*

The pitch is "relatively" fixed, because it is fixed, with reference to other pitches, relatively to the range of the speaker's voice. But, for the same speaker, the intervals between the pitches of different words are approximately the same as the intervals between the pitches of the same words as uttered by another speaker. To quote an example from Mr. Daniel Jones's *Cantonese Phonetic Reader*, he gives the following example of the different musical pitches as uttered in Cantonese by a male voice :—



and adds, "for ladies' voices this tune might be transposed thus":<sup>1</sup>



It will be seen that, though the pitches of these two tunes are different, the relative intervals are the same in each. In other words, everyone sings the same tune, though not necessarily in the same key.

The above definition holds good as a general rule, but one exception may be noted, although of no importance for our

<sup>1</sup> As suggested by Mr. Jones, I have pitched the female register two notes lower than as given in his book.

present purpose. The definition says that the tone is inherent in a word and is necessary for its significance. Take, for example, the Siamese word for "come". It is *mā*, and to have this significance it must be uttered with a mid level tone. If it is uttered with any other tone it means something else. Thus, with a low level tone, it means "soak", with a high level tone followed by a fall it means "a horse", with a falling tone it means "beautiful", and with a rising tone it means "a dog".

While a particular tone is thus usually associated with a word to give a particular signification, it is to be observed that in some, and perhaps in all, tonic languages, in certain collocations a word occasionally changes its pitch or has no definite pitch. In such cases the de-tonation occurs with the less emphatic words of the sentence. For instance, the Siamese word *cūn*, then, has a low level pitch; but in the phrase *lä bidü cūn bün k'än hai*, and the father then divided the property, *cūn* has no emphasis, and is in this collocation uttered with a falling tone. If the "then" were emphasized, we should then have the regular *cūn*. Similarly, for Chinese, Monsieur Guernier, in his *Notes sur la Prononciation de la Langue Mandarine de Pekin* (p. 11), says:—

Comme dans toutes les langues, la division phonétique de la phrase chinoise peut s'établir en groupes de souffle et en groupes de force. Ces groupes sont composés de syllabes faibles et de syllabes fortes dont l'alternance détermine un principe rythmique d'un caractère particulier en chinois parlé du Nord. La syllabe forte ou accentuée d'un groupe consiste, en pékinois, dans la reproduction, avec une sorte d'insistance, du ton individuel de cette syllabe, alors que les tons des syllabes faibles ou moyennes sont si peu modulés, que, pratiquement, la note chantée propre à chacune d'elles ne se fait pas entendre; il ne subsiste que des sons émis normalement.

It will be observed that a tone is defined as "a musical pitch or change of pitch". There is nothing in this definition

referring to the length of the musical note or progression uttered. A toned syllable may be long or short; and just as in music a note may be *tenuto* or *staccato*, so a toned syllable may be held on, smoothly connected with the following syllable, or may be cut off abruptly at its termination. When a toned word has a long vowel, it is sometimes said that the tone is prolonged. But tone is pitch, and it is the note on which the pitch is held, not the pitch itself, that is prolonged. A pitch may be high or low, but it cannot be long or short. Hence it is wrong to talk of a prolonged tone. When a word is cut off abruptly it is said by Chinese scholars to possess the "entering tone"; but, according to the above definition, this abrupt ending is not a tone at all, any more than a staccato check in music is a part of the musical pitch with which it appears. In fact a word may have any real tone—rising, falling, level, or what not—and at the same time have, or have not, this abrupt ending. For instance, Professor Parker, whose authority on the subject is universally admitted, informs me that in Southern Mandarin the "entering tone" has usually the same cadence as the lower level tone, and that in Cantonese the so-called "upper entering tone" has the same cadence as that of the upper level tone, while the "middle entering tone" has that of the upper departing tone, and the "lower entering tone" has that of the lower departing tone. On the other hand, in Hakka, the "upper entering tone" has the cadence of the lower level tone, while the "lower entering tone" has that of the upper departing tone. Translating this into the terms hitherto used by me, and rendered necessary by my definition of the word "tone", we find that:—

- (1) In Southern Mandarin, when a syllable is checked, it usually has the low level tone.
- (2) In Cantonese, when a syllable is checked, it may have the high level tone, the high falling tone, or the low falling tone.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jones informs me that in colloquial Cantonese checked syllables also have the high rising tone. Thus "*kɔ\_jat*", the sun, is pronounced "*kɔ'jat*" in colloquial.

(3) In Hakka, when a syllable is checked, it may have either the low level tone or the high falling tone.

It will be convenient to clear off this question of the abrupt check before proceeding to the consideration of the tones proper. Not being a tone, what is it? It corresponds, as I have said, to the staccato of music, and, just as either a long musical note or a short musical note may be staccato, so there is no question of length in connexion with this check. A vowel or syllable may be long or it may be short, and in either case its final utterance may be abruptly checked. For practical purposes we may say that when a syllable ends in a vowel or nasal immediately preceded by a vowel, the abruptness is caused by a glottal check. If the word ends in a consonant (usually *k*, *ch*, *p*, or *t*), that consonant is pronounced without the off-glide or release. It is necessary to distinguish these two cases, and I propose to indicate the glottal check by ° after (not before, as in the case of signs indicating tones) the checked syllable, as in the Southern Mandarin *yì*°, one. When a final consonant is sounded without the off-glide, I follow the example of Mr. Drake in his Kürkū Grammar, and write the consonant small, and above the line, as in Cantonese *yat* 'pāk', one hundred. The sign used by phoneticians for the glottal check is ?. I do not employ it, because a sign closely resembling this is used by some Chinese scholars for other tonal purposes, and because in French Indo-China it is employed for the "question", i.e. rising, tone. Its use here for the glottal check would therefore give rise to confusion.

Having thus disposed of the so-called "entering tone", we may now discuss the question of the true tones. A musical pitch or change of pitch may be either constant or variable. If it is constant, it may continue level on the same note, or it may rise, or it may fall. When it is thus constant I call it a "simple tone". Or a change of pitch may be variable. It may first be level, and then rise or fall, or it may rise and then fall, or vice versa. Such a variable change of pitch I call a "compound tone".

The simple tones are of three kinds, level, rising, and falling. I represent the level tone by a straight horizontal line before the syllable; thus, *-ka*; a rising tone I indicate by a line sloping upwards, as in *›ka*, and a falling tone by a line sloping downwards, as in *˘ka*. The indication of a compound tone can be based on the above. Thus a rising-falling tone would be indicated by *˘*, a falling-rising tone by *›*, a level-falling tone by *˘*, and a level-rising tone by *˘*. I claim no originality for this device. I do not know who first suggested it, but I owe the general principle to Mr. Daniel Jones, and I observe that it is also followed by Mr. Grant Brown in his works on Burmese languages.

A syllable may further be pitched high, or in the middle register of the voice, or low. Tones occur in all these three registers, and I propose to indicate the register (or, as Chinese scholars call it, the series) by its position on the line. Tones in the high register will be indicated by marks above the line, in the middle register by marks on the line, and in the low register by marks below the line. We may thus illustrate the nine simple tones as follows:—

	Level.	Rising.	Falling.
High Register .	<i>˘ka</i>	<i>›ka</i>	<i>˘ka</i>
Middle Register .	<i>-ka</i>	<i>›ka</i>	<i>˘ka</i>
Low Register .	<i>_ka</i>	<i>˘ka</i>	<i>˘ka</i>

The register of the compound tones can be illustrated in the same way. Thus, *˘˘ka*, *˘›ka*, *›˘ka*, and so on for these and others.

There is one objection to the above scheme—that the mid level tone is liable to be mistaken for a hyphen. I propose to avoid this difficulty by, in this case, omitting the tone-mark. Thus, *ka*, not *-ka*. In this way the hyphen can be used for its proper purpose. In Siamese and other languages it is also customary to omit the sign for this tone, so that in this I am only following established practice. The middle series is in the ordinary natural register of the voice, and it

is a simple matter to explain that when a syllable is pronounced in a level tone in the natural register of the voice it is given no tone-mark.

The whole nine simple tones do not, so far as I am aware, all occur in any one language. A great many languages have only two registers, a higher and a lower. In such cases I would omit the tone-signs for the middle register altogether. This will be in accord with the general proviso already mentioned, that my system does not pretend to indicate how great is the interval between any two registers. The low series may quite possibly be on the middle register, and, if it were required to be particularly accurate, it might be shown as such. But, for my purposes, I wish only to show that one series is higher than the other, and I accordingly put one series above and the other below the line. For instance, Southern Mandarin has only two level registers, and I indicate them on this principle. Thus (Douglas's spelling): *wo kin t'ien tung shén, mi tao che li pu° chi hwei lu*, I start to-day. Having lost myself I came here and don't know my way back.

I now proceed to give examples of the application of this system of indicating tones in various languages. The first example is in Southern Mandarin Chinese. It is the first few verses of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and has been transcribed for me into the International Phonetic Script by Dr. H. B. Morse. This Chinese dialect has (excluding the "entering tone") four tones, viz. the high level, the low level,<sup>1</sup> the rising, and the departing tone. For the rising and departing (i.e. falling) tones there is no distinction of higher and lower. I therefore represent the four tones as follows:

<sup>1</sup> This is the conventional name and description. But Professor Bradley's researches with the Rousselot apparatus (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xlvi (1915), pp. 40 ff.) show that in Pekinese this tone is really low rising. For our present purposes I follow convention.

<sup>1</sup>ka, <sup>2</sup>ka, <sup>3</sup>ka, <sup>4</sup>ka.

ju: \_jyε° \_hwo° ju: ε:i \_dzi.  
*Again say suppose have (= there are) two son.*

\_tʃi: \_dʒi: \_dzi: y fu: \_jyε°, 'tʃin  
*He (or this) younger son talk father say, 'request*

fu: i: so \_da:y \_dei° \_dʒi:  
*father take whatsoever must obtain (possessive or*

\_je°, y wo, fu: sui  
*relative) patrimony, to I, father according(ly)*

i: \_tʃan \_fan \_dzi:  
*take property divide he (or merely euphonic).*

The next specimen is the same passage read in Cantonese. It also has been transcribed into phonetic spelling by Dr. Morse. Omitting the so-called "entering tone", regarding which see above, p. 458, this form of Chinese has six principal tones, viz. high and low level, high and low rising, and high and low falling, represented severally as follows: <sup>1</sup>ka, <sup>2</sup>ka, <sup>3</sup>ka, <sup>4</sup>ka, and <sup>5</sup>ka.

Jau \_jyt \_wak jau ñi: 'tz . \_k'ei 'kwai  
*Again say suppose have two son. This younger*

'tzi y fu: \_jyt, 'ts'in fu: ji: 'ʃo:  
*son talk father say 'request father take whatsoever*

\_tɔy \_tʌk \_dzi: \_ji:p ,y  
*must obtain (possessive or relative) patrimony to*

,ñɔ:'. fu: sui ji: 't'sa:n \_fan  
*I'. Father according(ly) take property divide*

\_dzi:  
*he (or merely euphonic).*

From the time of Pallegoix the tones of Siamese have been variously described, and authors have differed. I have had the advantage of discussing the question with Mr. Daniel Jones in the company of a Siamese gentleman, and our results closely correspond with those given by Professor Bradley

in vol. xxxi (1911), pp. 282 ff. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society. I can therefore, omitting minor details, give them with considerable confidence. Siamese has six tones, as follows:—

(1) A mid level. This is Pallegoix's *Tonus rectus*. As explained above, I give it no sign. Thus, *mā*, come.

(2) A low level. This is Pallegoix's *Tonus circumflexus*. I represent it thus, *\_mā*, soak.

(3) A high level, preceded by a slight rapid rise, and ending with a rapid fall through a considerable interval. This is Pallegoix's *Tonus gravis*. Wershoven wrongly calls it "der eingehender Ton", for it has nothing to do with the so-called "entering tone" of Chinese. In indicating it I omit reference to the slight initial rise, and represent it thus: *~mā*, a horse.

(4) A high level. It occurs only in certain syllables ending (1) in a short vowel with a glottal check, or (2) in a checked consonant. The grammarians look upon it as a variant of No. 3, and give it no special name. I indicate it by *~*, as in *~mak*, often.

(5) A mid falling. This is Pallegoix's *Tonus demissus*. I represent it thus, *~mā*, beautiful.

(6) A mid rising. This is Pallegoix's *Tonus altus*. I indicate it thus, *mā*, a dog.

As an example I give a few verses from the parable of the Prodigal Son. The system of spelling requires a few explanations. The letter *à* represents the sound of the *a* in the German "Mann", and *ä* (long or short) is a variety of unrounded *o*, not far from the *a* of "America". The sound represented by *ü* (long or short) is a variety of unrounded *u*, the *uu* of the International Phonetic Association. The other letters call for no remarks.

k'ón	<i>n</i> úñ	mí	<i>b</i> ut	c'ái	<i>s</i> áñ	k'ón.	lä
Person	one	have	son	male	two	person.	And
<i>b</i> ut	<i>~n</i> ái	<i>~n</i> án	<i>w</i> ā	<i>k</i> ä	<i>bi</i> -dā	<i>w</i> ā,	' <i>bi</i> -dā
son	little	that	say	to	father	that	'father

\cau-kā,      kā      suon      sāp      tī      tok-yū  
*Sir, please-give share (of) goods which falls*  
 kā \kā-p'o-cau      t'āt'.      lä      bi-dā      cūn  
*to I (i.e. me) (imperative)'. And father then*  
 bān      k'ān      hai      kā      but      t'ān      sān      nān.  
*divide property give to son all two that.*  
 \*      \*      \*      \*      \*      \*      \*  
 \kā      că      lūk      k'un      pai      hā      bi-dā  
*I, will stand-up arise go see father (of)*  
 \kā,      lä      că      wā      kā      tān      wā, etc.  
*I, and will say to he that, etc.*

The tones of Shàn have been discussed by me with Mr. Daniel Jones and a native of the Southern Shàn States, and the following tones have been fixed :—

- (1) A mid rising, as in *mā*, a dog. This is Dr. Cushing's first tone.
- (2) A low level, as in *mā*, the shoulder. This is Dr. Cushing's second tone.
- (3) A mid falling, as in *mā*, to be mad. This is Dr. Cushing's third tone. In connected speech it is mid level, as in *mā*.
- (4) A high level, as in *mā*, come. This is Dr. Cushing's fourth tone.
- (5) A high falling, as in *ma*, a horse. This is Dr. Cushing's fifth tone.

As an example, I give a few sentences from Dr. Cushing's *Elementary Handbook of the Shan Language*. The letters *a* and *u* are pronounced nearly as in Siamese.

\kōn      'nai      lāi      'nūn      ā.  
*Person this get money did. i.e. This man has obtained money.*  
\man      's'ū      'ma      'nan      ā.  
*He buy horse that does. i.e. He buys that pony.*  
\man      \k'ai      \k'ō      \hū.  
*He sell goods ? i.e. Does he sell goods ?*

<sup>~</sup>maū <sup>~</sup>han <sup>~</sup>kōn <sup>~</sup>nan <sup>~</sup>hū.

*Thou see person that ? i.e. Dost thou see that man ?*

<sup>~</sup>kau-<sup>~</sup>kā <sup>~</sup>han <sup>~</sup>man <sup>~</sup>ā.

*I see him do. I see him.*

Annamese has six tones, as follows:—

(1) A high rising, as in <sup>~</sup>ma, the cheek, written *má* in Quoc<sup>~</sup>ngu.

(2) A low falling, as in <sup>~</sup>ma, but, written *mà* in Quoc<sup>~</sup>ngu.

(3) A low level, as in <sup>~</sup>ma, a rice-seed plot, written *má* in Quoc<sup>~</sup>ngu.

(4) A mid rising, as in <sup>~</sup>ma, a grave, written *mǎ* in Quoc<sup>~</sup>ngu.

(5) A rising-falling, as in <sup>~</sup>ma, a horse, written *mā* in Quoc<sup>~</sup>ngu. This tone is variously described by different writers. Aubaret describes it as falling-rising. Others again differ. I follow the description given by a learned Annamese, P. J. B. Trüöng Vinh Ky, kindly communicated to me by Monsieur Cabaton. The different descriptions of this tone may be due to differences of dialect.

(6) A mid level, for which as in Quoc<sup>~</sup>ngu I give no mark, as in *ma*, a phantom.

As examples, I give a few sentences from pp. 17 and 40 of Aubaret's Grammar. The spelling is that usually employed for Quoc<sup>~</sup>ngu, except that *ü* and *ö* respectively are used instead of "bearded" *u* and *o*, and that the "barred" *d* is represented by *d̄*.

<sup>~</sup>nhüng-<sup>~</sup>ngüöi <sup>~</sup>phai <sup>~</sup>chét, men must die.

<sup>~</sup>ngüöi <sup>~</sup>ndy <sup>~</sup>lu cha <sup>~</sup>töi, this man is my father.

<sup>~</sup>gán ddy <sup>~</sup>co <sup>~</sup>möt <sup>~</sup>ngüöi <sup>~</sup>ho <sup>~</sup>la Vüöng, near here is a man (whose) first-name is Vüöng.

<sup>~</sup>khóng <sup>~</sup>co <sup>~</sup>ngüöi <sup>~</sup>hiêu <sup>~</sup>dam <sup>~</sup>bo cha <sup>~</sup>me, there is not a pious man (who) will dare (to) abandon (his) father mother (i.e. parents).

As an example of the Man languages of Indo-China, we may take Miao-tsü. It has four tones, as follows :—

- (1) A high level, as in *~dai*, a manger.
- (2) A high rising, as in *'dai*, large.
- (3) A high level-falling tone, like the third Siamese tone, as given above. An example is *~dai*, yellow.
- (4) A low rising, as in *dai*, to tell falsehoods.

The glottal check may be heard sometimes in this language, together with the high level tone, as in *~dai°*, to wallow.

I regret that I have been unable to procure any text, or even a single connected sentence in this language. The above examples are taken from Monsieur M. F. Savina's very complete Dictionary (BEFEO., vol. xvi).

I am indebted to Mr. L. F. Taylor, of the Burma Education Service, for very full information regarding the tones of Sgå and Pwo Karen.

Taking first the tones of Sgå Karen, it is to be observed that this dialect has received a certain amount of literary cultivation, and is the official dialect of the schools. What is here described is the language so taught. There are several variant dialects amongst the uneducated.

This form of Sgå Karen has five tones, each of which is indicated in writing the Karen alphabet, according to the system of spelling introduced by the missionaries. These are as follows :—

(1) A mid level, as in *ka*. As in the native script, it is not marked.

(2) Another mid level, slightly higher than No. 1. For want of a better sign I mark it *~ka*. In the native script it is marked *ı*. It is sometimes accompanied by a glottal check, as in *~ka°*, and in the native script is then marked *§*.

(3) A high level, usually accompanied by a glottal check, as in *~ka°*. In the native script it is marked *ɔ*.

(4) A mid falling, as in *ıka*. In the native script it is marked *ʃ*.

(5) A high falling, as in 'ka. In the native script it is marked ᳚.

As an example I give a short sentence from Mr. Gilmore's Grammar. As the mid level first tone is not indicated, I use the hyphen for its proper purpose.

ta-blā-blā ~Sā-Wā ~θā°-bŷā 'nē 'θū 't'ā 'hī  
Sometimes Saw-Wa old (that) build up house  
k'lē-k'lē ~lā.

quickly does.

i.e. Sometimes old Saw-Wa builds a house quickly.

The tones of Pwo Karen are also marked in writing in the native character. In his *Manual* Mr. Duffin mentions no less than ten, but four of these are simply nasalizations of four of the others. Mr. Taylor tells me that there are two chief dialects of this language, that of Tenasserim, and that of Bassein. These differ considerably in tones. Taking Bassein Pwo for our present purposes, Mr. Taylor gives me the following information. The tones vary considerably, the same written sign sometimes indicating what may be called the standard of the tone, and at other times used with a syllable which exhibits considerable variation from the norm. For instance, the first tone is usually a mid level, but the syllable *yā*, although marked as having this tone is pronounced with a high level tone, as if it were ~*yā*. Omitting these irregularities, the normal tones in Bassein tones are as follows:—

(1) A mid level, as in *ka*. As in the native script, it is not marked.

(2) A mid rising, as in *ka*. In the native script it is marked ၷ.

(3) A mid level, slightly higher than No. 1. For want of a better sign I mark it ~*ka*. In the native script it is marked ၸ.

(4) A low level, as in *ka*. In the native script it is marked ၹ.

(5) A high level, as in *'ka*. In the native script it is marked *ʃ*. This tone is sometimes accompanied by a glottal check, as in *'ka°*, and is then marked *t* in the native script.

As an example of Pwo Karen, with Bassein tones, I give a few sentences from Mr. Duffin's *Manual*. As the mid level first tone is not indicated, I use the hyphen for its proper purpose.

ya -θē- \_yā lō a-ka- mā-s'ō- -nā -ē°.

*I know that he-will-do-it not i.e. I do not know that he will do it.*

na ka- -θē -ru mwai- -bā- -lai.

*Your horse shy why ? i.e. Why does your horse shy ?*

mwai-lō a- wē a- -mē°- -θā- -blā-ka- k'ā a- -kyān -lā.  
be he eye-blind-one -cause (is).

*i.e. Because he is blind of one eye.*

As regards Burmese, according to Mr. Grant Brown, in his *Half the Battle in Burmese*, there are three tones for words ending in vowels (except the unaccented short *a*) or nasals. Words ending in other letters have no special tones, though final consonants are sounded without the off-glide. The three tones are :—

(1) A mid level, as in *-ka*. Words with this tone are left without indication in the native script.

(2) A high falling, always accompanied by a glottal check as in *'ka°*. In the native script it is indicated by the sign *◦*. Some people describe this as a rising tone, and the facts are doubtful. Whether there is a rise or a fall is obscured by the check. I follow Mr. Grant Brown in describing it as falling. Mr. Taylor thinks it is rising, falling, or level, according to the context or the speaker. Its essential element is its height.

(3) A low falling tone, as in *ka*. In conversation it is often mid falling, or even a little higher, the height being

affected by sentence-stress. Theoretically, however, it is low falling.

The following sentences from Mr. Grant Brown's book will serve as an example. Words without tone have no tone-mark, and the hyphen-marks consequently indicate the mid level tone.

*'min'do° 'ne° dain pyādā-lo -θin-dyin-dè. -sa\_dè-hma  
You (pl.) daily speak-as learn-want. writing-in  
yeðā-lo mā-θin-dyin\_θe\_bu. -sa\_ye'dè°ā tain mā\_pyā'hnin°  
writes-as not-want-learn-yet. writing-writes-as not-speak(impr.)*

*-nā. na-lèðā\_la. na-lè-la-dè. 'ne° dain pyādā-lo  
will-you? understand? (I) understand. Daily speak-as  
kaun\_gaun tat(pi'hma° -sa\_yeðā-lo \_θin-mè.  
good-good know-how-complete-after writing-write-as learn-will.*

That is to say:—

I want to learn the language you use every day, not the written language. Don't use the written language, now, will you? Do you understand?

I understand.

When I have thoroughly mastered the language of conversation I will learn the written language.

I think it will be found that the many Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in North Burma and in Assam all have tones, but no information on the subject is available for most of them, and, as for the others, with one exception, what we are told is either misleading or incomplete. The one exception is the language of the Kadus of Upper Burma. In the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies<sup>1</sup> Mr. Grant Brown has lately given us full particulars of the tones of this form of speech. It has three tones—a mid level, as in *-ka*, a low falling, as *\_ka*, and a high falling, always accompanied by a glottal check, as in *'ka°*. The high falling tone is heard only when a word is pronounced deliberately. In unstressed syllables

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, pt. iii (1920), pp. 1 ff.

in ordinary conversation it is neglected. These three tones are used only with syllables ending in a vowel or nasal. A final *t* or *k* is pronounced without the off-glide. It will be observed that the tones are the same as those of Burmese.

The following example of Kadu, written in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, I owe to the kindness of Mr. Grant Brown. It consists of the first three verses of the parable of the Prodigal Son. Where no tone-marks are shown the syllable has no significant tone.

tə-mi-s'a hə -wa be -s'a kə-lej ,hu -ŋa -ma.  
*Man person one at son two person be (past).*  
 -s'a -s'ja hək ə-wa -ba -nay ,ban na, 'ə-wa -ŋa  
*Son small ... father to go having, 'Father I*  
 ,jin -lu -t'a -gu-ne ə-mwe -i jup ja,'  
*for get have-to as-much-as inheritance give (imperative),'*  
 -sej -ma. ə-wa hək ,haŋ -de -man -i -ma.  
*ask (past). Father ... goods (object) divide give (past).*

As an example of one of the best available accounts of the tones of others of these languages. I here quote from Mr. Henson's Kachin Grammar what he says about the tones of that form of speech. He says :—

(a) The tones of the Kachin language, although not of so great importance as in Chinese or Shàn, must, however, be carefully mastered and practised, as accuracy in speaking depends to a great extent on the power to enunciate them correctly.

(b) The tones often give to a vowel naturally long, a shorter sound than it otherwise would take, and vice versa.

(c) Five tones are easily distinguished in Kachin, and may, for lack of better tonal marks, be indicated by the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

(1) The first tone is the natural pitch of the voice, with a slight rising inflection at the end. It may be called the *natural tone*.

(2) The second is a bass tone; it may be called the *grave* tone.

(3) The third is a slightly higher tone than the second, being pronounced with an even prolonged sound; it may be called the *rising* tone.

(4) The fourth tone is very short and abrupt; it may be called the *abrupt* tone.

(5) The fifth tone is somewhat higher than the third, and is uttered with more emphasis; it may be called the *emphatic* tone.

He then gives, as examples, the tones of three different words. Not another tone is marked in his grammar. If I make the following remarks upon his statements it is not with the intention of fault-finding. It is rather with the object of showing how tones, as I define them, are, even by those most familiar with a language, confused with prosodial length, and with checked sounds.

Let us take his statement (*b*). He says that a tone may give a shorter sound to a vowel naturally long, and vice versa. It is difficult to understand what exactly is meant here. I do not see how any vowel in a Tibeto-Burman language can be short and at the same time "naturally" long. In these languages a syllable has once for all either a long or a short vowel. The length of this vowel cannot be altered by any tone. The tone is as much inherent in the syllable as the length or shortness of the vowel. If the tone is different the word is another word, and means something else. Similarly, if the quantity of the vowel is altered, it again becomes another word, and again means something else. No tone can possibly alter the quantity of any vowel. A tone is a musical pitch, not a musical note, and can have no effect on quantity. No musical pitch can lengthen or shorten any sound. The most that we can say is that such and such a tone is usually accompanied by such and such a vowel, but the fact of company in no way identifies the one with the other. It is, however, dangerous to say even so much. Let us take as an example

two such cases as *-wa* and *-wā*. Here we have two different words with the same mid level tone. The fact that in one the vowel is short and in the other the vowel is long does not affect the tone at all. A definition like Mr. Hanson's statement would make out that there are two different tones. The definition of the first would be that the tone was the "natural pitch of the voice". The definition of the second would be that the tone was the natural pitch of the voice, but was "pronounced with a prolonged sound". Such a division is unnecessary and confusing.

Taking Mr. Hanson's five tones in order, we find :—

(1) If the account of the first tone is correct, it may be represented by *-wa*, a hut. Perhaps, however, what is intended is merely the ordinary mid level tone.

(2) It is not stated whether this tone is level, rising, or falling. Assuming that it is level, we may represent it by *\_wa*, to return.

(3) Here the tone is said to be "rising", and at the same time is said to be "even". If "even" means "level"—the usual signification of the word in this connexion—the two words "rising" and "even" are incompatible. Perhaps "even" here means "with a sustained voice". It is further said to be "prolonged". As explained above, this is simply a statement of prosodial length, and has nothing to do with tone as I have defined it. The prolongation of the sound must be indicated by some sign other than and additional to that employed for indicating the tone. If the tone really is mid-rising, we might indicate it and also the prolongation by, say, *-wā*, a father.

(4) It is said that the tone is short and abrupt. It is probably meant that the word ends with a glottal check or an unexploded consonant, but nothing is said about the real tone that accompanies this. It may be level, rising, or falling, low, middle, or high. I am, therefore, unable graphically to represent this tone, as I do not know what it is. If I guess, and say that the glottal check is accompanied by a high

falling tone, as in Burmese and Kadu, I can write it '*wa*°, to weave.

(5) It is impossible to define this tone. It is apparently on the high register. But is it level, rising, or falling? Assuming, as in No. 3, that it is rising, it may perhaps be indicated by '*wa*, to bite. It is further said that it is uttered with emphasis. But this has nothing to do with tone. It is a question of stress-accent, which should be indicated by some special appropriate mark, e.g. by the acute accent of '*wá*. It is, however, not clear what exactly is meant by "emphasis".

For other languages of this class we have far less information. What can be more tantalizing when we are told in the only grammar that we possess of Miri that the language "abounds in intonations", and that "it must be understood that a slight modulation of the voice is required" in uttering each syllable. No information is given as to what these "intonations" are.

Even for Tibetan, our information is incomplete. The fullest description is Amundsen's. He mentions six tones, viz.:

Tone 1. High pitched, often nasal, and short as if butted against something.

Tone 2. High like tone 1, but long.

Tone 3. Medium pitched and short, like tone 1.

Tone 4. Medium pitch and long.

Tone 5. Curved tone; deep but gradually raised to medium pitch, like saying "two" in a surprised questioning tone.

Tone 6. Descending long tone.

It is unnecessary to go into this list in detail. It will be sufficient to point out that, under the head of "tone" are included not only glottal checks and prosodial length, but even nasalization. Moreover, even the true tones cannot all be identified. For instance, it is not stated where the descending (long) tone begins. Is it high, medium, or low?

We may tentatively indicate Amundsen's six tones as follows:—

- |   |         |
|---|---------|
| (1) $\text{~}ka^{\circ}$ , often $\text{~}kā^{\circ}$ | (4) -ka |
| (2) $\text{~}ka$                                      | (5) ,ka |
| (3) -ka <sup>o</sup>                                  | (6) \kā |

If the above is correct there are really only four tones, a high level, a mid level, a low rising, and a mid falling, but some of these, especially the last, are doubtful.

To sum up :—

There are several different factors which attend the utterance of a syllable. For our present purposes we may mention four :—

(1) Musical pitch or change of pitch. When this is significant it is a "tone".

(2) Quantity, i.e. the shortness or length of the sound. This is a question of time, and not of pitch. It has therefore nothing to do with "tone". A syllable with the same tone may be short, long, or prolonged. This fact, if significant, should be indicated by some device distinct from the tone-mark.

(3) Smoothness or abruptness. A syllable may be either *tenuto*, i.e. held throughout the whole time of its utterance, so as to be connected with the next syllable, or it may be *staccato*, i.e. held throughout its whole time but abruptly checked at the end, so as not to be connected with the next syllable. This, again, has nothing to do with pitch, and neither the *tenuto* utterance nor the *staccato* utterance can be called a tone. The fact, if significant, should therefore be indicated by some appropriate mark, distinct from the tone-mark.

(4) Stress. This, again, has nothing to do with pitch, any more than a *sforzando* affects the pitch of a note in music. It must, therefore, if significant, be indicated by a special, independent mark.

Many writers mix up these four conditions and group them all together as "tones", thus giving rise to the greatest confusion, and rendering it impossible for the best-intentioned reader to understand what is meant. On behalf of the

many students who are not familiar with Indo-Chinese languages, but who have to deal with words occurring in them, I would urge all writers on the subject to avoid confusing these four independent factors. and, when describing a tone, to say clearly what it is, i.e. on what register—high, middle, or low—it is uttered, and whether it is level, rising, or falling, or, possibly, a combination of two of these so as to form a compound tone.

I put forward the above scheme with all diffidence. If a better is devised I shall be the first to welcome it. I will only add that the devices suggested by me are easily understood, and that they are within the powers of any decent printing office without the necessity of casting many new types.

## APPENDIX

### TONES IN INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

In the foregoing pages I have dealt only with Indo-Chinese tones ; but tones also occur in Indo-European forms of speech. Norwegian offers a familiar example. For our present purposes, it is important to notice that Vedic "Accents" are merely tones. The fact is obscured by the difference of name, but is a fact nevertheless. Professor Macdonell's account (*Vedic Grammar*, p. 448) is as follows :—

In the Rigveda the *Udātta*, the rising accent, has secondarily acquired a middle pitch, lower than the initial pitch of the *Svarita*. The *Svarita* is a falling accent representing the descent from the *Udātta* pitch to tonelessness. In the Rigveda it rises slightly above the *Udātta* pitch before descending : here, therefore, it has something of the nature of a circumflex . . . The *Anudātta* is the low tone of the syllables preceding an *Udātta*.

Translating this into the language used in the preceding pages, we find that in the Rigveda :—

The *Udātta* is a mid rising tone, as in */ka*.

The *Svarita* is a mid rising-falling tone, as in *^ka*.

The *Anudātta* is a low level tone, as in *\_ka*.

The principles followed for Indo-Chinese languages can also be employed for indicating these Vedic tones, although the matter is slightly complicated by the fact that Indo-Aryan languages are polysyllabic, while the others are, in the main, monosyllabic. I may add that the Sanskrit Visarga is merely a glottal check, and is the same as the so-called "entering tone" of the Chinese.

As an example, I give the first two verses of the Rigveda, with the tones marked on these principles :—

\_a·gni·mī̄ē \_pu·rō·hitāñ  
 \_ya·jña·sya \_dē·va \_mr̄·tvi·jañ  
 /hō·tārañ ra \_tna·dhā·tamāñ. 1.  
  
 \_a·gni° \_pū·rvē \_bhir  \_t̄·si \_bhir  
 /i·liō \_nū·tanai \_ru·ta  
 /sa \_dē·vā \_ē·ha \_vakṣati<sup>1</sup> 2.

Of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, Panjabī and Lahndā have tones. These tones do not appear in every word, being significant only in a certain number, much as we have observed in the case of Burmese. In both languages the tones are the same, being three in number. Dr. Grahame Bailey describes them as follows<sup>2</sup> :—

All the three tones are compound in character. They are :—

1. Low level-rising (—). This begins on a low register and rises a little, not necessarily more than a tone or a semi-tone.
2. High level-falling (˜). This begins on the high register and falls a little.
3. Rising-falling (^). This begins on the low register, rises to the high register, and then falls. In a way, it combines 1 and 2.

When a tone-word is closely followed by another word, the second part of the tone falls on the second word. That is to

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Professor Macdonell for being so kind as to check and correct the above representation of the Vedic accents.

<sup>2</sup> I have taken the liberty of slightly altering Dr. Bailey's wording so as to bring it into accord with the language used in the preceding pages.

say, that normally the tone requires two syllables to complete it. If there is a pause after the tone syllable, the whole tone will be finished on that one syllable, which will have two notes; but if the tone-syllable is followed by another syllable in the same word, or if, being the final syllable or only syllable of a word, it is followed by another word with no pause between, the second part of the tone will go to the non-tone word. Thus, in reality, it is syllables, and not words, which have the tone. A non-tone word will never have any particular tone except in so far as it accidentally receives one from a tone-word as just described. If two or more syllables with the high falling tone follow closely after one another, the tone will be omitted from some. Hence, in rapid talk, many high falling tones are not sounded. Again, they may be sounded in different ways. Thus *neih laihndi* in the first Panjābī sentence may have (1) no tone on *neih* and the whole tone on *laihndi* (high level part on *laihn-* and falling part on *-dī*), or (2) tone on *neih*, in which case the falling part will come on to *laihn-* of the next word, unless, in a very rare case, when *neih* is emphasized and has a pause after it, in which case *laihndi* will get a tone also. Unless a pause follows, the tone is never completed in one syllable.

This division of a tone amongst two syllables is, in its essence, also the case with Vedic "accents". For instance, the *Udātta* (mid rising) is immediately preceded by the *Anudātta* (low level), and the two together would be represented by  $\sim$ , which is the same as Dr. Bailey's first tone, and, like it, is distributed over two adjacent syllables. So also the *Udātta* plus *Svarita* ( $\cdot + \wedge$ ) corresponds to his third tone.

In Panjābī and Lahndā, although this is not recognized by the speakers, the tones are indicated by the spelling of the words, and for this reason in the two following examples—one in standard Panjābī and the other in the Kāgānī dialect of Lahndā—I give the texts in strict transliteration and also in the International Phonetic Script, with the tone-marks added to the latter. For both I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Grahame Bailey.

## PANJĀBĪ

TRANSLITERATION.—Maī ikk kahāṇī sunī sī, akhe

PHONETIC SCRIPT.—Mā īk ḷkaṇī sunī si, · ḻakhe

*By-me one story heard was, that*

ős jaṇe dī bhukkh neīh laihndī jihdā sakkhījā  
 os jaṇe di ḷpuk:h ~neī ~lændi jīda sak:hṇā  
*that man of hunger not descends whose empty*  
 e ḑhiḍḍh te jihdī nazr e bhukkhī; bhāwē  
 e ~ṭīḍ: te jīdi nazr e ḷpuk:hi; ḷpayē  
*is stomach and whose regard is hungry; although*  
 asī ohnū bāhāwiye hēṭhā te tarkārī te cauļ te  
 asī on·ū ḷbayie ḷheṭhā te tērkari te čooļ te  
*we him seat below and meat and rice and*  
 khanḍ nāl rajāiye, tā wi sabbho kujjh  
 khanḍ nāl rējaie, tā yi ~sab:o kuј  
*sugar with satisfy, then even every something*  
 khāke ākhegā paī menū dhāhṇā  
 khake akhega paī menū ~taṇā  
*having-eaten he-will-say that me popcorn*  
 cabā.  
 čeba.

*cause-to-masticate (i.e. feed).*

## KĀGĀNĪ

hikke	jaṇe de dō puttar	āhse.	Ōhnā	bicco
~hik:ē	jaṇe de do put:ər	~ase.	~On·ā	bi:ō
<i>One</i>	<i>man of two sons</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Them</i>	<i>from-in</i>
nikre	puttar thōreā	dihāreā	picche	apṇā
nikre	put:ər thoreā	di~hareā	prč:he	~apṇā
<i>small</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>few</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>after his-own</i>
māl	sārā kharāb	kar	chureā.	Oh
mal	sara xerab	kar	čhurea.	~O
<i>property</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>doing</i>	<i>was-left.</i>
				<i>He now</i>

bhukkhā hundai ; hikke jaṇe usko bhēde  
 ~puk:ha ~hundæ ; ~hik:e jaṇe usko ~pede  
 hungry being-is ; one man-by him sheep  
 ūndhe carānne wāse chōhreā.  
 ~unde čeran:e yase ~chorea.  
 pigs feeding for was-left.  
 Qūtbe dī jhañhū dā te ~dīhe dā jhagrā hōeā ;  
 Qutbe di ~jaṇu da te ~die da ~jagrā ~hoea ;  
 North of gale of and sun of quarrel became ;  
 jehrā paṭṭū utto ulhārsī, öh dāhdā  
 ~jera paṭṭu ut:o ularsi o ~dada  
 who cloak over-from will-take-off he strong  
 hōsī.  
 ~hosī.  
 will-be.

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## A Semi-official Defence of Islam

BY A. MINGANA

IN cataloguing the Oriental MSS. of the John Rylands Library, I came across an unknown and semi-official defence of Islam. The MS. containing it is in some places in a bad state of preservation, but apart from about ten words which have completely faded away, the text has been read<sup>1</sup> and translated, and it is hoped that the book, accompanied by a critical apparatus, will shortly be published by the Governors of the Library at the Manchester University Press.

In perusing the work, I was struck by the insignificance of the changes that the twentieth century theology has brought into the domain of religious controversies. The work is probably an answer to the apologies of Christianity by the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy (about A.D. 783) and al-Kindi (about 830), but I doubt whether it might not have been also an answer to *Mizān ul-Hakk* of Pfander, if the learned Doctor of Divinity had written his book at the time of the caliphs Mahdi and Ma'mūn or Mutawakkil.

It is natural in a discussion between a Christian and a Muhammadan, that the latter should dilate on the claims of his "master" to be the prophet of God, in proving that his Kur'ān is the word of God. The first point comprises many minor subdivisions, in which we should expect to find prophecies from the Old and New Testaments referring to Muhammad, miracles wrought by him in imitation of Christ and Moses, and various other considerations likely to base his historicity on unassailable foundations. When all these points have been established, the debater had to indicate the timeliness of the religious innovations, if any, in which his

<sup>1</sup> I shall gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor D. S. Margoliouth, of Oxford, for help in the decipherment of some half obliterated words. The MS. is written in Baghdad in 616/1219

Prophet might have indulged in the proclamation of his message.

Our Defence harps on the above theme, and according to the caliph who caused it to be written, in a happy and scientific manner. After giving some good suggestions to be followed in discussions, the author proceeds : " I have found that people who have contradicted Islam have done so for four reasons : (1) because of doubts about the history of the Prophet—may God bless and save him ; (2) because of their pride and insolence ; (3) because of their traditions and customs ; (4) because of their folly and stupidity."

After telling us that in the second part of his book he will establish the historicity of the Prophet beyond a shadow of doubt, he ends his first chapter as follows : " We shall next compare our stories with theirs, the men who transmitted them to us with those who handed them down to them ; if the proofs that we have for believing in our Prophet are the same as those they possess for believing in theirs, they will have no excuse before God and before their own conscience for disbelieving in our Prophet though believing in theirs, because if two opponents bring forth the same evidence to establish certain claim they have both the same right to it, and what is due to one must necessarily be due to the other."

The frame of the controversy has been contrived so as to comprehend the following ten points set forth in the third chapter : "(a) The call of the Prophet was to One, Eternal, Omniscient, and Just God, whom no one can overcome and hurt ; (b) he was pious, upright, sincere, and his laws and prescriptions are praiseworthy ; (c) he wrought clear miracles which only the prophets and the chosen ones of God can work ; (d) he prophesied about events hidden from him, which took place during his lifetime ; (e) he prophesied about many events concerning this world and its kingdoms, which were realized after his death ; (f) he brought forth a book which by necessity and by undeniable arguments is a sign of prophetic office ; (g) his victory over the nations

is also by necessity and by undeniable arguments a manifest sign of prophetic office ; (h) his disciples who transmitted his history are most honest and righteous men, to whose like nobody can attribute lie and falsehood ; (i) he is the last of the prophets, and if he had not been sent the prophecies of the prophets about him and about Ishmael would have been vain ; (j) the prophets prophesied about him long before his appearance, and described his mission, his country, his time, and the submission of nations to him and of kings to his nation." Each one of these points forms the subject of a special and long chapter.

The final chapters treat of the status of the Arabs before the appearance of Muhammad and contain an " answer to those who have pretended that no one but the Christ has mentioned the Resurrection, and to those who have reprobated the fact that the Prophet should have contradicted Moses and Christ in changing the ways of acting of the Torah and the Gospel, and to those who have said that the *Refugees* and the *Helpers* embraced the Muslim faith without having seen any miracle, and finally to those have blamed Islam in one of its ways of acting or in one of its prescriptions ".

The author of the Defence is the famous physician 'Ali, son of Rabban at-Tabari, who died about A.D. 865,<sup>1</sup> but he frequently acknowledges his indebtedness to the caliph Mutawakkil (842-62), who, to quote his own words, " guided me and made me profit by words heard from him."

At the end of the introduction the notorious caliph is spoken of in the following terms : " He is in earnest and eager that such books should be spread and perpetuated in order to strengthen the motives of credibility of the faith and to convince of his merits therein those who ignore it and do not recognize how God has singled out Islam and its followers in his time, renewed for them His benefits, and made himself

<sup>1</sup> In the Introduction I have collected all the available data concerning his life and his works.

known to them in multiplying, increasing, and honouring them by the gentleness of his administration."

The conclusion of the work is as follows : " I first thank God for His guidance to me, then His Servant and Caliph Ja'far al-Mutawakkil 'ala-Allah, Commander of the Faithful—may God prolong his life—who invited and attracted me to him along with other people of the tolerated cults, by persuasion and dissuasion, and by the respect and consideration that he has for all. It is for this reason that I devoted the first chapter of this book to describe what my nation has felt from his munificence, the tokens of his mercy, the gentleness of his administration, the prosperity of his reign, and the great number of his conquests."

In the third chapter we are told that the Defence was written at the urgent request of the Caliph and his advisers : " It is he—may God prolong his life—who called me to this work, guided me in it and laid before me on account of it a great reward and a good memory." The work was therefore written within the limits of 842-62. From numerous other data, which it would be too long to analyse here, we may safely infer that the probable date of the composition of the Defence is 850-5.

Dualists, Magians, Buddhists, Jews, are here and there mentioned and sharply attacked, but as in the golden age of the 'Abbasid Caliphate the Christian community was more numerous and powerful than all the other bodies of the "tolerated sects", the *nasara* are the principal adversaries.

In the chapter which deals with the prophecies relating to Ishmael, the "wild-ass of men", the author applies to his opponent the uncivil epithets of "rude Garmecite, stupid, ignorant, dolt, blockhead", but from a man in the court of Mutawakkil we should have expected even harsher expressions; indeed, it is only fair to say that the author, apart from this chapter, has scrupulously followed the counsels which he gives in his introduction : "He who writes a book on this high, illuminating, and enlightening subject, which involves a

general utility to adherents to all religions, has to make it understandable and easy ; has to discuss with his adversary, convince him, compete with him, and not to behave proudly against him ; he is to be fair and not to abuse . . . if he does that, he will ride on him, hit him with his arrow and lead him with his bridle."

The Defence is important, throwing as it does great rays of light upon the early development of Muhammadanism as contrasted with the more liberal Muhammadans of our days. We will only draw attention to two items taken at random.

The doctrine of the holy war is set forth in a most uncompromising manner, and is even considered essential to the existence and the welfare of the world. With a view to its vindication, quotations are adduced from the Old and New Testaments, and the example of Abraham, Joshua, and other warlike Patriarchs is thrown into relief. Here is how the writer concludes one of his paragraphs : "As to the Prophet —may God bless and save him—he ordered with persuasion and dissuasion to worship One, Eternal, and Omnipotent God in order that religion might be one and the Supreme Being One ; he who responds to that has the prerogatives and the obligations of the Muslims, and he who does not respond but gives tribute on his hand in a humble condition (Kor. ix, 29), he spares his blood with this tribute and is tolerated upon his submission ; but he who refuses that, war shall be behind him. This constitutes a fine subject of meditation for the unbelievers ; indeed, it lowers down their *amour propre* and their pride, and calls the people of honour and self-esteem from amongst them to change their state of lowness and toleration by means of tribute, for the glory of dignity and freedom."

The existence of sensual pleasures in heaven is maintained with all its crudity. In the thirtieth chapter we read the following words : "If somebody reprobates the saying of the Prophet that in the world to come there is food and drink, the answer would be that the Christ told also such a thing

to his disciples when he drank with them and said to them 'I will not drink of this fruit of the vine, until I drink it another time with you in the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. xxvi, 29). In this he declared that in heaven there is wine and drink, and where drink is found, food and pleasures are not blamed.'

Further, the Old Testament is constantly quoted with regard to *kiblah*, divorce, circumcision, fight against unbelievers, and retaliation.

The author has displayed much ingenuity in finding the name *Muhammad* in the Bible. Being a Christian by birth,<sup>1</sup> he read Syriac perfectly, and there is also reason to believe that he knew some Greek and Hebrew, because he resorts sometimes to textual criticism in Scripture. For all practical purposes, however, the Peshitta Version, the Vulgate of the Eastern Churches, is the text used by Tabari. He frequently appeals to an Arabic translation of the Bible by a certain Marcus, whom he calls "the Interpreter", but whom I am still unable to identify with any other writer known to me either in Syriac or in Arabic literature.

The pith of his Biblical argumentation lies in the fact that he has gathered all the texts which deal with warlike expeditions, conquests, slaughter, wilderness, desert, and referred them to the Prophet.

What is more curious and ingenious in his method is the translation of the Aramaic adjective *Meshabbha* by *Muhammad*. Linguistically speaking this translation is often correct, but sometimes ludicrous; so Ps. xlviii, 1-2, is rendered thus: "Great is our Lord, and he is greatly *Mahmūd*; and in the city of our God and in his mountain there is a Holy One and a *Muhammad*." In Is. xli, 16, we have also "And thou shalt rejoice and become *Muhammad* in the Holy One of Israel", and in Is. lv, 7, "Because of the Lord, thy God, the Holy One of Israel, who hath made thee *Aḥmad*."

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally we may remark that the prevalent opinion (Brock. i, 231) that he was of Jewish origin is erroneous.

More important to scholars are the chapters which deal with the historicity of the Prophet. The writer has registered on this subject many oral traditions in circulation at the court of the 'Abbasids. He was evidently satisfied with the outcome of his researches, for he says in the third chapter : " I wish the reader of this book to realize its merits and the excellency of its value, and to know that those born in the religion of Islam and firmly attached to it who have profusely dealt with this subject did not reach what I have attained. He who has a doubt in his breast let him compare my book, the prophecies, the convincing and peremptory proofs which it contains, with all that other writers have written since the appearance of Islam down to our own time. This is due to the help and the assistance of God, and to the blessings of the Commander of the Faithful—may God strengthen him."

So far as the Prophet's personality is concerned, I think that the author is right in his judgment, because his work constitutes a precious repertory of traditional sayings, some of which are unregistered by Alīmad b. Ḥanbal, Bukhārī, Muslim, and Tirmidhi, and missing in the histories of Ibn Islāk, Wākidi, Ibn Sa'd, and Tabari.

According to the author, the Christians do not believe in the mission of Muḥammad for three main reasons : *First*, because they do not see that a prophet has prophesied about him prior to his coming ; *second*, because they do not find in the Kur'ān the mention of a miracle or a prophecy ascribed to the man who brought it forth ; *third*, because the Christ has told them that no prophet will rise after Him. These, the writer adds, " are their strongest objections, and I will refute them by the help of God."

The system followed in the vindication of the history of the Prophet is according to the author very felicitous ; from the last chapter we extract some typical passages in which he is interpellating the Christians as follows : " Moreover, among those who handed down to you those stories of yours there was none who claimed that he had taken them from

an eye-witness among his fathers or grandfathers who had seen the Christ or Moses—peace be with them—as the Arabs claim on the authority of their fathers and their grandfathers who have seen the Prophet—peace be with him. . . . Your stories have been handed down to you by a man of Irâk, who took them from a man of Jazîrah, who in his turn took them from a man of Syria ; or by a Syrian, who took them from a Hebrew ; or by a Persian, who took them from a Greek, through obscure and irregular channels.”

These are some aspects of this ancient and unique Defence which from a Muslim standpoint has doubtless an unparalleled value, its very title being *كتاب الدين و الدولة Book of Religion and Empire.*

# The Sumerian Law Code compared with the Code of Hammurabi

(Read at the Entente Conference of Orientalists, Paris, July, 1920.)

BY PROFESSOR S. LANGDON, M.A.

THE great Semitic digest of laws made by Hammurabi and inscribed at his orders on the magnificent diorite stele of Susa was probably promulgated soon after the 34th year of the reign of that famous king,<sup>1</sup> or about 2088. His reign extended to 2081. The period of its composition and promulgation is therefore limited to the brief space of eight years at the end of his reign. This date is at any rate certain for the great stele deciphered by Père Scheil (1902). Fragments of the same code written on clay tablets of the period of Hammurabi were found at Susa,<sup>2</sup> at Ellasar or Warka,<sup>3</sup> and at Nippur. From Nippur two large tablets have been recovered, one of which has the colophon, "Fourth tablet of 'When the far-famed Anu'."<sup>4</sup> Since the Code as written on the Paris Stele begins "When the far-famed Anu", it is evident that the editions written on tablets are based upon the monumental copy and that they are later than it. For it is highly improbable that the original tablet edition began with a long historical prologue. The Nippur tablet has a

<sup>1</sup> This statement is based upon references in the prologue of the code which can be connected with facts of his reign mentioned in date formulæ. The date formula of the 35th year which mentions Mari and Malgū is the highest date which can be verified by the prologue, col. iv, 12 and 30. In this date Hammurabi claims to have destroyed the walls of Mari and Malgū cities on the middle Euphrates. For the formula see Poebel, BE. vi, 65, where it is erroneously assigned to the 37th year; for this formula as the date of the 35th year see Boissier, RA. xi, 162, and Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 33, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Scheil, *Delegation en Perse*, x, pl. 9 = Ungnad, *Keilschrifttexte der Gesetze Hammurabis*, 36-7.

<sup>3</sup> Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Langdon, *Historical and Religious Texts*, No. 22. I wrote on p. 49 of my volume in the conviction that the Constantinople tablet represents an edition anterior to that of the Paris Stele, but I am now convinced that this copy is later than the monument.

colophon which says that it is the *al-gub-ba* of the king Hammurabi.<sup>1</sup>

A very large tablet containing several laws which were destroyed on the Paris Stele, and containing about twelve columns of the royal promulgation, was found at Nippur.<sup>2</sup> The colophon being lost, it is impossible to determine its date with reference to the stele. There is one feature about the Philadelphia tablet which is of exceptional interest. For §§ 113 and 120 it has a Sumerian title *di-dib-ba nig é-zí-ga*, "Judgment rendered concerning what is taken from a house." § 113 concerns the theft of grain from a silo or granary, and § 120 the violation of trust on the part of a banker or store-house keeper who steals grain in his keeping.<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, obvious that the Semitic code was modelled upon Sumerian judicial procedure and Sumerian methods of codification. The laws of both peoples are based upon a long history of case decisions, and hence the Sumerian word for law means a "judgment made known". The Semitic word for law, *dinu*, really means a legal decision, and the royal legislation of Hammurabi was known to Assyrian scribes as the *dināni* [*ša*] Hammurabi, "The judgments of Hammurabi."

Long before tablets of Sumerian law codes were discovered a great many Sumerian legal decisions or rulings on disputes

<sup>1</sup> The colophon is obscure and badly preserved. It is not necessary to assume, from what we can now read on the tablet, that it was actually written in the reign of Hammurabi.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Dr. Arno Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, No. 93. Translated by Scheil, RA. 13, 49–53, and Poebel, OLZ. 1915, 162–9, 194–200, 225–30, 257–65.

<sup>3</sup> Poebel, OLZ. 1915, 263–4, saw the importance of this Sumerian super-scripture, and suggests that there may have been a group of laws called *di-dib-ba nig é-zí-ga*. By restoring V R. 24a, 27f, Poebel showed that *di-dib-ba* = *dīnu šuğuzu*, "judgment taught," i.e. decision which the judges caused the litigants to know, and *simittu*, law. A Berlin vocabulary (unpublished) has *di-dib-ba* = *didibbi*, *dīnu dānu*, *dīnu parsu*, *dīnu šuğuzu*. The ordinary Sumerian word for "judgment rendered" is *di-til-la* = *dīnu gamru*, V R. 24, 29. For the sign *KU-ba* in this Sumerian super-scripture as a variant of *LU* (*dib*) note, beside the citations in OLZ. 1915, 264, and RA. xv, 37, the title of a priest *zabar-KU-ba*, Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 194, x, 8, for *zabar-dib-ba*, CT. 24, 3, 18, etc.

by Sumerian law courts were known.<sup>1</sup> We now possess about sixty quite well-preserved documents of this kind, all from Lagash of the period of the Ur dynasty (2474–2357). In the legal phraseology of this city the term for a judgment handed down by the courts was *di-til-la*.<sup>2</sup> A syllabary of the late period renders this phrase by *dīnu ga-am-ru*, “judgment completed.” The phrase of the earlier period of Sumerian judicial procedure does not appear in Semitic.<sup>3</sup>

All the published Sumerian lawsuits from Nippur are of a late period, and here we find the Sumerian term *di-dib*, to cause a decision to be received, which passed into Semitic as the ordinary term. A tablet of proceedings before a law court dated in the 33rd year of Hammurabi, that is, immediately preceding the promulgation of the Semitic code, has the phrase *di-dib-dúg*, or a strengthened form of the compound *dib*. *di-bi puhrum Nibrū-(ki)-ka dīb-bi-be-ne-in-dúg*, “The council of Nippur shall cause their judgment to be received.”<sup>4</sup> The Semitic laws of the period, therefore, reveal everywhere the terminology of the Sumerian judicial procedure of the period of Isin and the first half of the first Babylonian dynasty.

All our evidence pointed to the existence of Sumerian law codes as the prototype of the Code of Hammurabi, and when Professor A. T. Clay discovered a large tablet of a compilation

<sup>1</sup> The first attempt to interpret Sumerian lawsuits was the article by F. Pélagaud in *Babyloniaca*, iii, 81–132, based upon tablets previously published by Thureau-Dangin and some new ones copied by Viroleaud in Constantinople, which are published at the end of Pélagaud's article. All these tablets came from Lagash. Later H. de Genouillac published a number of similar texts in *Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello* in the Musée Imperial Ottoman, vol. ii, pt. i. On the basis of these and the tablets previously published Genouillac made a study of Sumerian legal decisions in R.A. viii, 1–32. In the second part of vol. ii Genouillac published a large number of these texts, also from Lagash and now in Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *DI* (*di*) = *dīnu* is no longer in dispute. My former reading *sā-til-la* was erroneous. Syl. B. 185, *di-i* = *dīnu*, is now confirmed by the Chicago Syllabary, 88.

<sup>3</sup> But compare *ti-ma-šu-nu-ti ig-mu-ru*, Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, 261, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Poebel, BE. vi, No. 10; see ibid., p. 47; Schorr, ibid., No. 292.

of Sumerian laws and published<sup>1</sup> it in 1915 the theory of a Sumerian prototype was confirmed. Only the reverse of this important tablet from Erech (?) containing nine laws is preserved. In the colophon the laws are called *ti-la* of Nidaba and Hani, or the decisions of Nidaba and Hani.<sup>2</sup> *Tila* is apparently an abbreviation of *di-ti-la*, a phrase characteristic of the Lagash school and of the earlier (Ur) period. When I was engaged upon the catalogue of the Nippur Collection in Philadelphia I came upon a few tablets of this kind, and I found time to publish only one of them, Ni. 4573, a fragment from the top of a single-column tablet.<sup>3</sup> I am unable to make any connected sense from this fragment, and, in fact, it is not at all certain whether it should not be regarded as a code of precepts for learners in the schools.<sup>4</sup> Two double-column tablets of the collection are extremely important, and together they carry seventeen laws. Ni. 8284 and its duplicate, in fragmentary condition, 13632 + 13647, has been published by Dr. Lutz in vol. i, pt. ii, of *Publications of the Babylonian Section*, University Museum, Philadelphia, No. 101 (duplicate 100). Since this tablet ends in the midst of a law the Sumerian code was clearly continued on a succeeding document. It is extraordinary that the tablet has no colophon to tell us its position in the series. The method of redacting long liturgies in series of small tablets was already employed in this period and in the schools at Nippur.<sup>5</sup> Ni. 8326, published by Lutz as No. 102, is sadly damaged on the reverse. It, like No. 101, probably contained no colophon. In the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xvii, 35–43, the able French scholar, Professor

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, No. 28. The author gave an interpretation of this tablet on pp. 18–27.

<sup>2</sup> For the grain goddess as patroness of writing and her consort Hani, also a patron of writing at Umma, see, in addition to Clay's discussion, p. 19, the writer's *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> *Sumerian Grammatical Texts*, No. 30, republished by Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, No. 98.

<sup>4</sup> Note that the tablets of laws in the Nippur Collection are all double-column tablets.

<sup>5</sup> See the writer's *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. xl ix

Scheil, wrote an edition of Nos. 100-2 in Lutz's volume. The successful decipherer of the Code of Hammurabi places himself again on record as the first interpreter of these two tablets. I have seldom realized the advantage which a second interpreter has received at the hands of one who led the way.

I have arranged all the published Sumerian laws in the arbitrary order given below. Naturally the Nippurian redaction may not have been the same as the code of Ellasar or Erech. The three tablets of the law here edited certainly do not follow each other consecutively, and their positions in the Sumerian code remain wholly uncertain. But enough consecutive material is available to show that we have here a real code arranged on scientific principles; the laws on various subjects are grouped together. But it will be seen that with rare exceptions the Sumerian laws are not literal originals of the Semitic code. The two codes resemble each other much in content and phraseology, and Sumerian law was obviously the forerunner of Semitic legislation. In my analysis of the twenty-six laws now recovered I follow the order provisionally assigned to them in my paper.

- (1) §§ 1-3, concerning care and protection of gardens. This subject is dealt with much more fully in §§ 59-65 of the Hammurabi Code.
- (2) § 4, concerning responsibilities of neighbours. No corresponding Semitic law, unless it be § 67.
- (3) §§ 5-8, concerning slavery. Slavery in Sumer dates from prehistoric times and probably originated in the custom of reducing captives to the condition of servitude. The primitive ideograph for slave consists of the sign *NITA H* (male) and *KUR* (foreign land), "male of a foreign land," and in Sumerian this was apparently pronounced *er, ur*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *e-rum* = *ardu* in BM. 38744. The pronunciation *e-ri* is certain and in early texts the ideograph is followed by *ra*, i.e. *er-ra*. See Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, 4, iii, 1; Nikolski, No. 19, Obv. v, 6.

The laws pertaining to slaves are not grouped together in the Code of Hammurabi, but are given in various parts of the code in those sections (on marriage, debt, personal injury, etc.) which involve the subject of slavery. The same principle probably obtained to a less extent in the Sumerian code, but in §§ 18-19 below the rights of a slave woman are not secured at all, which seems to indicate an advance in the standing of slaves under Semitic law.

The subject of runaway slaves is discussed in §§ 15-20 of the code. Here the laws are more comprehensive and cover nearly all possible circumstances. A freeman who aids a palace slave or a poor man's slave to escape from a city is slain. If he gives refuge to a slave of the palace or a poor man's slave and does not produce him at the governor's proclamation he is slain. If he captures a runaway slave and restores him he receives two shekels. If the owner's name cannot be found he shall convey the slave to the palace and the authorities shall find the owner. If he capture a slave and confine him in his house and the slave is stolen from his house, that freeman is slain. If the slave escape from his captor he shall swear to the fact and go free.

In comparison with these laws the Sumerian ruling is primitive and far less severe. From it we gather that the Sumerians ordinarily held a slave to be worth 25 shekels.<sup>1</sup>

§ 6 corresponds to § 282 of the Code of Hammurabi, where a slave who falsely denies his owner has his ear severed.

§§ 7 and 8 provide in a merciful manner for a slave afflicted with incurable disease. He receives royal alms, and in case he takes refuge with a freeman he shall be protected and conveyed to a house provided for such cases, or to some place where he may wish to go.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing similar to this law in the Code of Hammurabi. § 278 provides for the return of a

<sup>1</sup> Prices of slaves vary greatly in Semitic contracts. Note the high price, 50 shekels, for a slave girl, in Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, No. 84, and 12 shekels for a male slave, No. 85.

<sup>2</sup> So I interpret the law, but it is obscure and uncertain.

purchased slave if the *bennu* disease befall him within a month of his sale. *Bennu* is obviously the same disease as *miktum* in the Sumerian code; the two words indicate the same disease as we otherwise know from Viroilleaud, *Astrologie*, Sin xix, 10.<sup>1</sup> A royal gift to petty officers (*rēdū*) is mentioned in § 34 of the Code, but there is no reference in Semitic law or contracts to royal alms for the helpless poor.

(4) § 9, concerning false accusations. Corresponds to §§ 1-3 of the Code. See the note at the end of my translation.

See also § 127 of the Code on false accusation of a woman's chastity, for which a freeman is reduced to slavery.

(5) §§ 10-11. § 10 probably began a group of laws on property and taxation. § 10 corresponds to § 30 of the Code.

(6) §§ 12-17, concerning marriage and the family. The Code has a long section on marriage and the family, §§ 128-195. In both codes this is by far the most lengthy section. The Sumerian section certainly began on some lost tablet, and probably continued for several paragraphs after the break at the end of § 17.

§ 12 = § 167; § 13 = § 171. In each case the resemblance in legislation is great. § 14 probably does not appear in the Code; it appears to make legitimate the children of a concubine which she bears to her master after his wife's death.

§ 15 corresponds to no law of the Code. The profession of a hierodule, *karlil*, was confined to free-born women.<sup>2</sup> Sumerian law permitted a man whose wife was childless to beget heirs from a temple hierodule. Now *karlil* is rendered into Semitic by *harimtu* and *kizritu*,<sup>3</sup> and *kizritu* is probably identical with *zikritu* by metathesis. For *zikritu* the ordinary

<sup>1</sup> See also CT. 19, 22, 9-11, *miktum* as synonym of *bennu*. Sudhoff has come to the conclusion that this means epilepsy, Schorr, *ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Note that a woman adopts a girl and makes a hierodule of her. Poebel, BE. vi, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Shurpu, v, 144.

Sumerian word is a pseudo-ideogram [*sal zi-ik-ru*] = *zikritu*, Rm. 2, 26, rev. 11. In the Code of Hammurabi the temple harlots, *sal zi-ik-ru-um*, are mentioned with the priestesses and are probably identical with the *kar-lil* of the Sumerian code. She inherits her father's property on the same terms as a son, and when she dies her inheritance goes to her brothers (§ 180). Hence she could not marry. § 187 provides for the adoption of children of a *zikritu* or hierodule, and leaves the impression that such children are state property who cannot be claimed by their mother. Such a son when adopted is severely punished for denying his adoptive parents (§ 192).<sup>1</sup>

§ 16 deals with a case of adultery, the violation by enticement of a freeman's wife. The penalty imposed upon the co-respondent is not stated. The wife is not divorced, but the violation permits the husband to take another wife. The Semitic code, § 129, concerns the same kind of adultery, that is, the unfaithfulness of the wife is implied and the penalty is death for both. Here, again, Semitic law is much more severe, and involves a more serious estimate of the crime.

§ 17 probably corresponds to one of the paragraphs 159, 160, 161 of the Code.

- (7) §§ 18–19, concerning injury to pregnant women.  
Corresponds to §§ 209–14. See the note on § 19.
- (8) § 20, concerning damage to a rented boat. This subject is dealt with in §§ 236–8 of the Code.
- (9) §§ 21–2, concerning adoption. § 22 seems to be a repetition of the end of § 21, and the whole section refers to penalties of breaking faith in adoption on the part of both child and parents. In my note on § 21 the reader will find that this law is well illustrated in Sumerian and Semitic documents, and it should

<sup>1</sup> The sacred women of the land Emutbal are brought to Babylon by the orders of Hammurabi, see King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, No. 34 = Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, No. 2. Here the two orders of priestesses, *ištarāti* and *kizreti*, are mentioned. Both King and Ungnad erroneously rendered *ištarāti* by "goddesses". The word is the plural of *ištaritu*, harlot. See *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 80.

be in the Code, possibly in the part not yet recovered. §§ 185–93 of the Code protect the rights of adoptive parents and adopted children.

- (10) §§ 23–4 belong under section 6 above, and correspond to no laws in the Code.
- (11) §§ 25–6, on the obligations of ox-herds. § 25 probably corresponds literally to § 262 of the Code, of which only two lines are preserved.

The Code distinguishes between *nākīdu*, ox-herd, and *re'u*, shepherd. If a lion slays oxen or sheep in the fold of a shepherd the loss is borne by the owner (§ 266). The business of the *nākīdu* or Sumerian *gud-nigin* seems to have been more in the nature of a guardian who was responsible for the safety of his charges. § 26 corresponds precisely to § 263 of the Code.

#### LUTZ No. 101

##### § 1

1. <i>tukundili</i>	1. If
2. <i>galu galu.*ur</i> <sup>1</sup>	2. a man to a man
3. <i>giš-šar giš-gub-bu-dé</i> <sup>2</sup>	3. for planting a garden with trees
4. <i>kislaj<sup>3</sup> in-na-an-sig</i>	4. gave vacant land
5. <i>kislaj<sup>3</sup>-bi</i>	5. (and) this vacant land
6. <i>giš-šar giš-gub-bu-dé</i>	6. in planting with trees
7. <i>nu ni-in-til<sup>4</sup></i>	7. he finished not

<sup>1</sup> For the sign U with value *ur* see *Sumerian Grammar*, 254, *ur* 15, and for the construction, Poebel, BE. vi, No. 11, 21, *ud kur-šá galu galu-ur*, "In future days man against man (shall not complain)." *ur* is for the ordinary *ra*. For postfixed *ur* = *ra*, see *Sum. Gr.*, § 81 end and *ur* = *ana*, *ina*, Poebel, PBS. v, 105, iii, 6 Radau, *Ninib* No. 1, i, 28, *Gimil-Sin-mu-ur*, "To my (king) Gimil-Sin."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Code of Hammurabi, § 60, *ana kirfim zugāpim* and my restoration of II Raw. 15, 22, in RA. 14, 18, *giš-šar giš-šub-ba-ta* = *kirā ana zakāpi*. The difficult passage in the Tammuz hymn SBP. 330, 10, is now intelligible, *ba-ši-in-ñ [giš-šar] giš-mi-ni-in-gub*, "Mount thou up and plant the gardens." For *giš-gub* in the poetical sense "to instal a ruler", see *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*, 256, 23.

<sup>3</sup> *kislāg* = *terītu*, vacant, i.e. land without buildings, see Schorr, VAB. v, 418, 24, and Poebel, BE. vi, 12, note 2; Thureau-Dangin, RA. 11, 96.

<sup>4</sup> See the commentary of *ana itti-šu*, RA. 14, 18, 26, and Code § 61.

8. *galu giš-šir in-gub-ba*<sup>1</sup>      8. to the gardener who did the planting<sup>2</sup>
9. *šag ga-la-ba-na-ka*      9. in his share of it<sup>3</sup>
10. *kislaš ba-ra-ab-šub-a*      10. the (part of the) vacant land which was neglected
11. *in-na-ab-sum-mu*      11. shall be assigned.
12. *tukundibi*      § 2
13. *giš-šar galu-ka*      12. If (a man)
14. *in-éł*      13. the garden of a man
15. *nam-ma(?)-dúr ba-ku*      14. takes over
16. 10 *gín*<sup>4</sup> *kù-babbar ni-lal-e*      15. and pollinates it not but neglects it
16. he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

This paragraph corresponds apparently to the Code § 65, where the provision against such neglect is more logical. A negligent gardener according to the Code must pay the owner of the garden in produce in the same proportion as that of an adjoining garden which had been properly cared for.

§ 3

17. *tukundibi galu*      17. If a man
18. *giš-šar galu-ka*      18. in the garden of a man
19. *giš in-sīg*      19. has cut wood
20. *maš ma-na kù-babbar*      20.  $\frac{1}{2}$  mana of silver
21. *ni-lal-e*      21. he shall pay.

The law is almost identical with the Code § 59, but the latter is again more exact and logical, since it restricts the penalty to those cases in which the owner of the garden was unaware of the trespass and theft of the woodcutter.

<sup>1</sup> Var. omits the subjunctive inflection. Cf. Code § 62, 40, *ša innadū*.

<sup>2</sup> Note *gub* = *zašāpu* in the same sense as *giš-gub*. Cf. CT. 19, 47, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Note the neuter suffix *ba* and the personal suffix *na*, and for this principle see *Sum. Gr.*, § 100.

<sup>4</sup> The reading *gín* = *siklu* is confirmed by Meek, AJSL. 36, 158, 25, *TU* (*gi-e*) = *siklu*.

## § 4

22. *tukundibi galu*  
23. *é-e uš-sa-ni*

22. If a man's house  
23. is beside

## COL. II

1. *kislaj galu al-šub*
2. *lugal é-a-ge*
3. *galu kislaj-ra*
4. *kislaj-zu al-šub*
5. *é-mu galu gib<sup>1</sup> dé*
6. *é-zu kila-ga-ab*
7. *in-na-an-dúig*
8. *enim-enim keš-du-bi*
9. *un-da-an-gi-en*
10. *lugal kislaj-a-ge*
11. *lugal é-a-ra*
12. *nig ú-gu-de-a-ni*
13. *in-na-ab-su-su<sup>4</sup>*

1. vacant land of a man which is neglected
2. and the owner of the house
3. to the owner of the vacant land
4. " Thy vacant is neglected ;
5. in order to seclude<sup>2</sup> my house
6. strengthen thou thy house,"
7. said,
8. and the words concerning the agreement
9. be established,<sup>3</sup>
10. the owner of the vacant land
11. to the owner of the house
12. for whatsoever he lost
13. shall indemnify.

The meaning of this law seems to be clear enough, but the statement is made in a confusing manner. A man has built a house, one side of which is supported by the wall which separates his plot of ground from his neighbour's field. He enjoins his neighbour to strengthen his wall, and if he neglects to do so the neighbour is penalized to pay any loss

<sup>1</sup> For *GI + GI = gib*, v. Ebeling, KTA. 8, 3, *ab-gib-bi = ušapraku* and CT. 17, 31, 3, *sag-ba-an-gib-ba = ipriš*. Scheil reads *ni-šir-ne*, "ma maison on va agrandir."

<sup>2</sup> Literally "turn away man".

<sup>3</sup> Or *enim-gi (?)*, "to revoke a promise"; see Gudea, Statue B, I 14; Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 52, xi, 13; Langdon, *Poème du Paradis*, 226, 37. The rendering adopted here agrees with that of Scheil, and for *enim ka-kešda*, to make an agreement, see *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> For *su = rábu*, repay, cf. *su = apálu ša ḫubullu*, AO. 3930, rev. 17. See also Ungnad's restoration of the Code §73, *mimma [ša ḫalku] i-ri-[a-ab]*.

incurred to the owner of the house. Confusion to the interpreter is caused by the reference in line 6, "strengthen thy house," but there is otherwise no reference to a house on the adjoining property. The word "house" is employed loosely for wall. The corresponding law in the Code is probably § 67, only a few words of which have been preserved. For contracts concerning dividing walls, see Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, Nos. 198-201.

### § 5

14. <i>tukundibi</i>	14. If
15. <i>geme arad</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>galu-*ur</i>	15. a female slave or a male slave from a freeman
16. <i>šag-uru-ka ba-zaj</i>	16. in a city escape
17. <i>é galu-ka</i>	17. and in the house of a freeman
18. <i>áš iti-á̄m</i>	18. for one month
19. <i>ni-ku-a</i>	19. take up abode
20. <i>ba-an-gi-en</i> <sup>2</sup>	20. and he (or she) be confirmed (as the owner's)
21. <i>sag sag-gim</i>	21. slave for slave.
22. <i>ba-ab-sum-mu</i>	22. he shall give
23. <i>tukundibi</i>	23. If
24. <i>sag nu-tuk'</i>	24. he have no slave

<sup>1</sup> In this period the Sumerian word for slave *eri*, *erra*, is replaced by the Semitic *arad*; see, for example, VS. i, No. 27, 14; Gudea, Cyl. B. 18, 21. Not until the Semitic period of Sargon the Ancient does the sign for female servant *SAL* + *KUR* appear, Thureau-Dangin, RTC. 80, obv. 2, developed out of an older sign REC., p. 6, second form of *NITAH* + *KUR*. In fact, the early inscriptions write male and female slave with *KUR* inserted into variant forms of the same sign. For the masculine sign see Nikolski, No. 19, v, 6, and the feminine sign at line 11, rev. i, 1, *et passim*. When the new sign for *geme*, female slave, was invented the old sign for female slave is then written for male slave and the original form for male slave is abandoned. Consequently on this tablet *arad*, slave, is written with a sign which in pre-Sargonic times indicated a female slave.

<sup>2</sup> For *gin* as a technical term in deciding suits at law, see Thureau-Dangin, RTC. 290, R. 4; Genouillac, *Inventaire*, 172, 6; 830, rev. 7 and 923. See below Col. iii, 11.

## COL. III

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>25 gin ku-babbar</i>               | 1. 25 shekels of silver                |
| 2. <i>ni-lal-e</i>                       | 2. he shall pay.                       |
| <br>§ 6                                  |  |
| 3. <i>tukundibi</i>                      | 3. If                                  |
| 4. <i>arad galu-ge</i>                   | 4. the slave of a freeman              |
| 5. <i>lugal-a-ni-ir</i>                  | 5. against his master                  |
| 6. <i>nam-arad-da ni</i>                 | 6. concerning his servitude            |
| 7. <i>ba-an-da-gur</i> <sup>1</sup>      | 7. has brought complaint,              |
| 8. <i>lugal-a-ni-ir</i>                  | 8. and to his owner                    |
| 9. <i>nam-arad-da-ni</i>                 | 9. his servitude                       |
| 10. <i>a-rú 2-áim</i>                    | 10. twice                              |
| 11. <i>un-gi-en</i>                      | 11. be confirmed,                      |
| 12. <i>kíši</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>bi</i> | 12. upon his forehead                  |
| 13. <i>al-búr-e</i>                      | 13. shall one incise a mark.           |
| <br>§ 7                                  |  |
| 14. <i>tukundibi</i>                     | 14. If                                 |
| 15. <i>mi-ik-tum</i>                     | 15. there be a malady                  |
| 16. <i>nig-ba lugal-kam</i>              | 16. there shall be a gift of the king. |
| 17. <i>nu-ub-da-an-kár-i</i>             | 17. Not shall he be left destitute.    |
| <br>§ 8                                  |  |
| 17. <i>tukundibi</i>                     | 17. If                                 |
| 18. <i>mi-ik-tum</i>                     | 18. there be a malady                  |
| 19. <i>ni-te-a-ni-ta</i>                 | 19. and of his own free will           |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thureau-Dangin, RTC. 290, 9, *muru ba-gur-ra-la*, "after she had turned," i.e. brought complaint. Scheil discovered the connexion between this law and § 282 of the Code.

<sup>2</sup> The sign is the early Babylonian form of SAI. 7487 (*ki-ši*) = *muttatu*, forehead. For the Sumerian value see Rm. 2, 588, obv. 30, in AJSL. 36, 158, and CT. 18, 32b, 10 (*ki-ši*) = variant, RA. 10, 82, v. 32, which has by confusion SAG. Note Syl. B.<sup>1</sup> iv, 35, where *kiši* is followed by SAG. In line 13 *bur* clearly means "brand", "cut", for which the Semitic texts have *muttata-šu ugallabu*, Code § 127, and for the branding of a slave who denies his master, see Daiches, LSS. i<sup>2</sup>, No. 26, 9; *bur* = *galabu* is not documented, but *bur* does mean to cut, tear, *šalātu*, Arabic *salata*, and this is probably the sense here.

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 20. <i>galu-*ur un-ši-du</i>           | 20. he come to a freeman           |
| 21. <i>galu-bi</i>                     | 21. that freeman                   |
| 22. <i>nu-un-tag-tag</i>               | 22. shall not reject him           |
| 23. <i>ki<sup>1</sup> šag-ga-na-šú</i> | 23. but to the place of his desire |
| 24. <i>ja-ba-rā</i>                    | 24. he shall cause him to go.      |

## COL. IV

## § 9

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>tukundibi</i>               | 1. If  |
| 2. <i>galu galu-*ur</i>           | 2. a man against a man                         |
| 3. <i>á nu-gar-ra-ta</i>          | 3. for a deed (?) which was not<br>done,       |
| 4. <i>enim nu-zu-ni</i>           | 4. for a matter which he knew not              |
| 5. <i>in-da-lal<sup>2</sup></i>   | 5. has brought accusation,                     |
| 6. <i>galu-bi</i>                 | 6. and that man                                |
| 7. <i>nu-un-gi-en<sup>3</sup></i> | 7. has failed to prove it,                     |
| 8. <i>enim in-da-lá-a</i>         | 8. as to the matter which he<br>accused him of |
| 9. <i>nam-tag-ga-ba je-il-e</i>   | 9. let him bear the penalty.                   |

The wording of this law is again indefinite and written to cover all degrees of accusations with their corresponding penalties. It corresponds to at least three paragraphs of the Code. § 1. If a man accuse a man of a deed which involves murder and fails to prove it he shall be slain. §§ 2 and 3. If a man bear witness in a lawsuit and fail to prove his statement he shall pay the penalty involved in the case. That is, if his false evidence involve the life of a man he himself shall be killed. If the case involve grain or money he must pay grain or money, as much as the defendant would have

<sup>1</sup> Copy by Lutz has *DI*, perhaps *sd šag-ga-na*(?). One expects *ki-šaggana* to mean a house of quarantine, pest-house, but no word for such an idea is suggested by *šaggan*. The phrase occurs in my *Historical and Religious Texts*, No. 54, 4. Scheil adopts the reading *DI*, and renders "au tribunal de son choix".

<sup>2</sup> *lal*, bind, accuse, is rendered by *ubburu* in the Code, see § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *gi-en* corresponds to *uktfn* in the Code.

paid had he been convicted. The Sumerian law above stands on a lower stage of lawgiving put upon the same level of justice.

§ 10

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 10. <i>tukundibi</i>                 | 10. If  |
| 11. <i>lugal e-a</i>                 | 11. the owner of a house                        |
| 12. <i>ù nin é-a-ge</i>              | 12. or the mistress of a house                  |
| 13. <i>gú-un<sup>1</sup> é-a</i>     | 13. the burden of taxation on a<br>house        |
| 14. <i>in-šub-bu-tum<sup>2</sup></i> | 14. has abandoned and has taken<br>himself off, |
| 15. <i>galu kur-e in-ila</i>         | 15. and another man has borne it,               |
| 16. <i>mu-3-kam-ma-ka</i>            | 16. and for three years                         |
| 17. <i>nu-ub-ta-è-e</i>              | 17. he has not ejected him,                     |
| 18. <i>galu gú-un é-a</i>            | 18. the man who has borne                       |
| 19. <i>in-il-la</i>                  | 19. the burden of taxation of the<br>house      |
| 20. <i>é-bi ba-an-tum</i>            | 20. shall take that house.                      |
| 21. <i>lugal é-a-ge</i>              | 21. The owner of the house                      |
| 22. <i>enem nu-um-gù-gà-a</i>        | 22. shall not protest.                          |

This law corresponds closely with § 30 of the Code, but the *ilku* in the Semitic law is borne by soldiers only, and clearly refers to crown lands held by men who served in the army, otherwise the provisions of the older Sumerian law are precisely similar to those of Hammurabi. The Semitic law is : "If a sergeant or a common soldier has abandoned his field, his garden, or his house before the burden of taxation and has taken himself off, and another after this has seized his field,

<sup>1</sup> This passage yields at last the Sumerian word for *ilku*, state tax, tribute, and shows that *ilku* is a synonym of *biltu*. Cf. Haupt, ASKT. 215, 24, *gùn-gar-zi-da* = tax collector, i.e. the one who fixes the tribute.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase, although ungrammatical, is clearly equivalent to *iddi-ma uddabbi*, "he abandoned (the field, etc.) and fled." Code § 30. *tum*, therefore, means *dapáru*, to remove, drive away, and we have here an example in Sumerian of two verbal roots of different meanings placed together and conjugated with a single verbal prefix.

his garden, or his house, and has paid the taxes thereon for three years, if then he has returned and desires his field, his garden, or his house, not shall it be given to him. He who seized it and paid taxes thereon shall exercise the duty of crown property."

§ 11

- |                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 23. <i>tukundibi</i> | 23. If                      |
| 24. <i>lugal é-a</i> | 24. the owner of a house .. |

Here the tablet ends and the law was continued on a following tablet. Naturally, this law corresponded to § 31 of the Code. This provides for the restoration of the property in the event of the owner returning after one year.

LUTZ No. 102

§ 12

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>tukundibi</i>                     | 1. If  |
| 2. [dam] <i>egir-ra</i>                 | 2. a second wife                               |
| 3. <i>ba-an-tuk-a</i>                   | 3. he has married                              |
| 4. <i>dumu in-ši-in-tu-ud</i>           | 4. and she has borne him a son                 |
| 5. <i>sag-PA KAB DU</i> <sup>1</sup>    | 5. the dowry                                   |
| 6. <i>e ad-da ni-ta</i>                 | 6. which from her father's house               |
| 7. <i>mu-un-túm-má</i>                  | 7. she brought                                 |
| 8. <i>dumu-na-ka</i>                    | 8. shall be her son's.                         |
| 9. <i>dumu dam nitalam</i> <sup>2</sup> | 9. The son of the wife who was<br>first chosen |
| 10. <i>ù dumu dam agir-ra</i>           | 10. and the son of the second wife             |
| 11. <i>nig-ga ad-da-ne-ne</i>           | 11. the property of their father <sup>4</sup>  |
| 12. <i>ur-a-sig-ga-bi</i> <sup>3</sup>  | 12. equally                                    |
| 13. <i>ni-ba-e-ne</i>                   | 13. shall divide.                              |

<sup>1</sup> This passage supplies the Sumerian word for *širiktu*.

<sup>2</sup> *nitalam*, *nitalam* = *hairu*, *hairtu*, always refers to the first husband or wife in a marriage.

<sup>3</sup> *mithariš*, Code § 167 end, *mithariš izuzzu*.

<sup>4</sup> Note that this passage confirms the reading *namkur bit abim* in § 167 of the Code.

This law has much similarity to § 167 of the Code. "If a freeman married a wife and she bore him sons and that woman went to (her) fate, and after her he married another woman who bore him children, after the father has gone to his fate the sons shall not divide according to the capital. They shall take the dowry of their mothers and divide equally the property of the house of the father." Here, again, the Semitic law is more explicit and juristically exact.

## § 13

- |                                 |                                    |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 14. <i>tukundibi galu-*ur</i>   | 14. If to a man                    |
| 15. <i>dam im-tuk</i>           | 15. the wife whom he married       |
| 16. <i>dumu in-ši-in-tu-ud</i>  | 16. bore him a son                 |
| 17. <i>dumu-bi in-til</i>       | 17. and that son lived,            |
| 18. <i>ù geme lugal-a-ni-ir</i> | 18. and a handmaid to her master   |
| 19. <i>dumu in-ši-in-tu-ud</i>  | 19. also bore a son,               |
| 20. <i>ad-da-a geme</i>         | 20. and the father to the handmaid |
| 21. <i>u dumu-ne-ne</i>         | 21. and her sons                   |
| 22. <i>ama-ar-gí-bi in-gar</i>  | 22. gave them their freedom,       |
| 23. <i>dumu geme-ge</i>         | 23. the son of the handmaid        |
| 24. <i>dumu lugal-a-na-ra</i>   | 24. with the son of her master     |
| 25. <i>é nu-un-da-ba-e</i>      | 25. shall not divide the house.    |

This law has considerable resemblance to § 171 of the Code. "And if a father in his lifetime to the sons whom a handmaid bore to him did not say 'My sons', after the father went to his fate, from the property of the house of the father the sons of the handmaid with the sons of the wife shall not take a portion. Freedom to the handmaid and her children shall be given." The Semitic law then goes on to make provision for the widowed wife and the conveyance of her property to her children after her death.

## § 14

- |                               |                                     |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 26. <i>tukundibi</i>          | 26. If                              |
| 27. [dam] <i>nitalam-a-ni</i> | 27. his wife, the one first chosen, |
| 28. [ <i>in</i> ]- <i>dīg</i> | 28. has died,                       |

29.	<i>egir dam-a-na-ta</i>	29. and after the death of his wife
30.	[ <i>geme ?]ni nam- ? -ku</i>	30. his handmaid (?) . . .
31.	<i>ba-an-tuk-tuk</i>	31. he took
32.	. . .	32. ? ?
33.	<i>dumu [ ]</i>	33. A son . . .
34.	<i>dumu [ ]</i>	34. A son . . .
35.	<i>lugal-a-ni-[ir]</i>	35. to her master
36.	<i>in-ši-in-tu-ud</i>	36. she bore
37.	<i>dumu dumu-šú gin-n[a]</i>	37. son like son
38.	<i>é-a-ni ib-dùg-g[i]</i>	38. his house shall enjoy (?) <sup>1</sup>
		§ 15
39.	<i>tukundibi</i>	39. If
40.	<i>galu-*ur</i>	40. to a freeman
41.	<i>dam-a-ni</i>	41. his wife
42.	<i>dumu nu-un-ši-in-tu-ud</i>	42. bore a son not,
43.	<i>kar-lil-da</i> <sup>2</sup>	43. and a hierodule
44.	<i>tilla-a</i> <sup>3</sup>	44. in the highway
45.	<i>dumu in-ši-in-tu-ud</i>	45. bore him a son,
46.	<i>kar-lil-ba</i>	46. to that hierodule
47.	<i>še-ba iá-ba</i>	47. sustenance in grain, oil
48.	<i>sig-ba</i>	48. and wool
49.	<i>in-na-ab-sim-mu</i>	49. he shall give.
50.	<i>dumu kar-lil-dé</i>	50. To the son of the hierodule
51.	<i>in-ši-in-tu-ud-da</i>	51. whom she bore to him
52.	<i>ibil-ni ni-me-en</i> <sup>4</sup>	52. "He is his son" (he shall say).

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is obscure and the verb *dug* has never been found in a similar passage.

<sup>2</sup> *da* is probably the noun augment here, unless a line *in-da-nd-a* has been omitted. See *Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 160, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> For *AN-AS-AN* (*tilla*) = *zūlū*, *šulū*, street, *rību*, *ribātum*, carrefour, see *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkōi*, i, No. 40, 14–17. As a commentary on this passage compare the omen, *Babylonica*, iii, 217, 47.

<sup>4</sup> Here, again, a line has been omitted. Supply *ni-da-an-dug* = *iqtabi*, cf. Code § 170, line 45. We expect *abil-mu*, "thou art my son." This law proves that the hierodule was a free-born woman, and consequently owing to her caste and her sacred profession her children by rape are legitimate.

53. *ud dam-a-ni*                         53. As long as his wife  
 54. *a-na ti-la-áš*                         54. live;  
 55. *kar-lil*                                 55. the hierodule  
 56. *dam nitalam-ra*                         56. with the wife who was first  
    chosen  
 57. *é-a nu-un-da-an-ku*                     57. in the house shall not take up  
    her abode.

## § 16

59. *tukundibi*                                 59. If  
 60. *galu galu-\*ur*                             60. a man  
 61. *dam nitalam-a-ni*                         61. the wife, who was first chosen,  
    of a man  
 62. *igi-ni ba-ab-gi*                             62. turned his eye upon  
 63. *ùr-ba (?) ba-an-lal-lal*<sup>1</sup>                 63. and he was taken in her bosom  
 64. [*é*]-*ta nu-ub-ta-ed*                         64. not shall she be sent forth  
    from the house.

## REVERSE

1. *dam-a-ni*  
 2. *dam-sukud*<sup>2</sup>-*na* (?)  
 3. *ba an-tuk-a*  
 4. *dam-egir-ra*  
 5. *dam nitalam*  
 6. *ni-il-il*<sup>3</sup>

1. His wife,  
 2. the wife of his . . .  
 3. whom he has married,  
 4. (that is) the second wife,  
 5. the wife who was first chosen  
 6. shall support

## § 17

7. *tukundibi*  
 8. *mussa tür*  
 9. *é ùr-ra-na-ka*  
 10. *ni-in* [*tum-ma* ?]  
 11. *nig-sal(?)-us(?)-[sa in-sig ?]*  
 12. *egir-[ba-ta ?]*
7. If  
 8. a son-in-law to  
 9. the house of his father-in-law (?)  
 10. brought (?) (a tribute)  
 11. and the marriage gift gave (?)  
 12. and then (?)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 130 of the Code.<sup>2</sup> Scheil reads this sign *LIL*.<sup>3</sup> Semitic *ittanašši-ši*, Code § 148, 81; § 178, col. xv, 8.

13. <i>im</i> . . .	13. . . .
14. <i>ba</i> . . .	14. . . .
15. <i>ba</i> . . .	15. . . .
16. . . .	16. . . .
17. [in] <sup>1</sup> — <i>na-ab</i> . . . <i>dé</i>	17. . . .
18. . . . <i>bi</i> ? <i>al</i> (?) <i>ni</i>	18. . . .
19. . . . <i>tuk-tuk</i>	19. . . .
20. 21. . . .	20. 21

## CLAY No. 28

## § 18

1. <i>tukundibi</i>	1. If (a man)
2. <i>dumu-sal galu zag-an-uš</i> <sup>2</sup>	2. jostled the daughter of a freeman
3. <i>nig šag-ga-ni</i>	3. and that which was in her interior
4. <i>a-im-šub-šub</i>	4. he caused to fall
5. 10 <i>gın ku-babbar ni-lal-e</i>	5. he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

## § 19

6. <i>tukundibi</i>	6. If (a man)
7. <i>dumu-[sal] galu ba-an-sīg</i>	7. smote the daughter of a freeman
8. <i>nig šag-ga-ni</i>	8. and that which was in her interior
9. <i>a-im-šub-šub</i> <sup>3</sup>	9. he caused to fall
10. $\frac{1}{3}$ <i>ma-na ku-babbar ni-lal-e</i>	10. one-third mana of silver he shall pay.

<sup>1</sup> So Scheil.<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of *zag-uš* see OLZ. 1914, 417, which is probably to be distinguished from *zag-šuš*. Thureau-Dangin, *Mission Française de Chaldée*, i, 15, note 1, translates *zag-šuš* by "to mark". The term *zag-šuš* is always employed with animals; see citations in my article in OLZ. and Thureau-Dangin's note, also VS. xiv, 145, rev. 2.<sup>3</sup> *a-šub*, a strengthened form of *šub* = *nadā*. For the augment *ù* cf. *ù-nad*, to lie down, *Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 160, 7.

The last section is identical with § 209 of the Code of Hammurabi, with the exception of the amount of the fine. Here it is 20 shekels, where the Semitic code has 10 shekels. The circumstances described in § 18 are not considered in the Code of Hammurabi, which, however, in §§ 210-14 covers other considerations which are neglected by the Sumerian laws. § 210 provides for the circumstance that the pregnant woman, daughter of a freeman, dies from the maltreatment. In such case the offender's daughter is executed. § 211 rules that the offender must pay 5 shekels for similar maltreatment of the pregnant daughter of a poor man, and in case she dies § 212 provides for the payment of a half mana of silver. § 213 rules that two shekels is the fine for causing a pregnant slave woman to lose her child and § 214 fixes a third mana of silver for her death. These comparisons between the two codes are stated by Clay, *ibid.*, 23 f. The Semitic code is much more explicit and comprehensive; § 210 involves a cruel injustice, and it would be interesting to know whether the Sumerians also had this law.

## § 20

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 11. <i>tukundibi</i>                    | 11. If a man                              |
| 12. <i>kaskal dūg-ga-ni</i>             | 12. who was sent upon a com-<br>mission   |
| 13. <i>nar<sup>1</sup> ri-bal</i>       | 13. <i>in crossing a river</i>            |
| 14. <i>má ú-gu-ba-an-de<sup>2</sup></i> | 14. allowed a ship to be lost             |
| 15. <i>en-na má e-dé<sup>3</sup></i>    | 15. until he has raised the ship          |
| 16. <i>á-bi ba-ba<sup>4</sup>-ta</i>    | 16. her rent and the decrease in<br>value |

<sup>1</sup> *N.A.R* appears to be Semitic here, *ina ebir nāri (?) ri-bal = bal-ri*, cf. Ranke, BE. vi, 61, 1 + 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Code of Hammurabi, § 236, 34, *uštallik*.

<sup>3</sup> *e-de* = *wāṣu*, usually written *ed*, *è*. Cf. the Code § 238, 59, *uš-te-li-a-aš-ši*. The Sumerian should be rendered *ušši-ašši*.

<sup>4</sup> Text *ma*, photograph and Clay's copy. *ba-ba > bi-bi = nušurru*, RA. 13, 189, 31 = Brünnow, 116; *-ta* is the conjunction "and" here, see *Sumerian Grammar*, § 232.

17. *nam lugal-la-a-ni-šú* 17. to its owner<sup>2</sup>  
 18. *ni-aka-e*<sup>1</sup> 18. he shall pay.

I conceive this law to presuppose the following situation. A man was commanded (*díg*) to go upon a mission. [Compare the law of Hammurabi in Poebel's new text, translated by Scheil, R.A. 13, 52, col. iii, 10-14, a merchant to a clerk *kaspam ana (tadmiktim . . .) iddinma ana ḥarranim iṭruzzu*, "gave money for making profit and sent him on a journey."] This agent, in crossing a river, caused a ferryman's boat to be lost. The journeyman must pay rent for this boat until it is refloated and also any depreciation in its value. According to § 238 of the Code; a boat which had been sunk lost half of its value. If *nam-šú* in line 17 be taken in its literal sense the law should mean that the agent must pay the rent and damages "instead of his master". Against this translation is the word *lugal*, "master." It is not customary for a freeman to speak of a merchant as his master, and *lugal* is regularly employed for "owner" in these laws.

§ 21



<sup>1</sup> On this passage cf. Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, No. 146, 10-12.

<sup>2</sup> *nam-ṣū* usually has the meaning "for, because of" or "in place of". See SBP. 170, 14; 282, 20. Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 216a, 27; 220e, ii, 5; SBP. 60, 5-14. Note, for the original sense "in place of", Ebeling, *Religiöse Texte*, 14, iii, 38 = iv, R. 13b, 36, *nam guškin-ṣū* = *kima ḥurasi*. For *nam-ṣū* = unto, see line 67.

<sup>3</sup> We expect *nu-bar* = *likā*, adopted son, but the text has apparently the sign *TUG*. Another sign, *BULUG*, *DIM*, Thureau-Dangin, REC. 155 = *likā*, CT. 12, 20, rev. 7, but the text obviously does not carry this character. Some sign for *likā* or *tarbitu* should stand here. It is clearly not *EN*. Note also that the sign *BULUG* = *likā* is read (?-)*tug*, possibly *tu-ug* in CT. 12, 20, rev. Consequently we may assume that *tug* = *likā*, orphan. The sign is clearly written in line 27, where the photograph shows a slanted stroke at the right, omitted in Clay's copy.

22. <i>nu ama-mu</i>	22. not my mother "
23. <i>be-an-dúg</i>	23. has said,
24. <i>é a-šag giš-šar</i>	24. of house, field, garden
25. <i>arad arad nig-ga-ra</i> <sup>1</sup>	25. slaves and property
26. <i>ib-ta-è-a</i>	26. shall he be disinherited;
27. <i>u tug(?)-bi</i>	27. and that adopted child (?)
28. <i>šam til-la-a-ni-šú</i>	28. for his full price shall
29. <i>in-na-ab-sum-mu</i>	29. he sell.
30. <i>ad-da-ni u ama-ni</i>	30. And if his father and his mother
31. <i>nu dumu-[mu]-meš</i>	31. " Not our son "
32. <i>ba-an-na-dug</i>	32. said to him,
33. <i>ga</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>é-ta bar-ra-e(d)-a</i>	33. they shall be deprived of utensils (?) and house.

The laws on adoption in the Code §§ 185–93 do not provide for cases of renunciation either by parents or children. We could assume from the vague Sumerian law above that adoption carried with it the right of inheritance, which was clearly not involved by adoption according to Semitic law (§§ 190–1). A Semitic contract published and edited by Ungnad and edited also by Schorr<sup>3</sup> has a special clause in which the adopted son is assured to his right of inheritance. In this contract the following phrase occurs : " If in future days S. to B. and H. shall say, ' Thou art not my father, thou art not my mother,' they shall cut a mark upon him and sell him for money. And if B. and H. to S. their son shall say, ' Thou art not our son,' they shall leave house and utensils." Semitic contracts of adoption involve inheritance only by special clause.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For *nig-ga-ra*, early form of *nig-ga* = *makkuru*, v. BE. 31, 19, 9.

<sup>2</sup> This sign is read *UB* by Clay. We expect here a word for *undū*, utensils. Cf. Schorr, ibid., No. 8, 26, *ina bītš ūništš itelš* (the parents who deny their adopted son) shall be deprived of house and utensils. The most probable reading seems to be *GA*. Naturally *ga* may be an error for *nig-ga*, property, cf. Poebel, ibid., No. 24, 26.

<sup>3</sup> VS. viii, 127 (formerly published by Meissner) = Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, No. 8. It is dated in the 14th year of Hammurabi.

<sup>4</sup> Schorr, No. 9. Ungnad-Kohler, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, 19, 20, 22, 23.

Fortunately a few Sumerian contracts of adoption have been recovered, and these illustrate the Sumerian legal practice on this point. Four contracts of this kind are edited by Poebel, B.E. vi, pp. 27-34. Here two kinds of adoption are clearly intimated by the terms *nam-dumu*, "sonship," and *nam-ibila*, "heirship"; when the latter term is inserted the adopted son or daughter is entitled to inheritance. It is obvious, when the Sumerian law above orders the adopted son to leave house, garden, etc., that the case of a fully adopted son is under consideration. In these contracts the clause for full adoption is *nam-dumu-ni-šū ba-an-da-an-ri<sup>1</sup>* *nam-ibil-a-ni-šū in-gar*, "He took him to sonship and made him into heirship."<sup>2</sup> The difficult sign rendered *tug = likū* in the law above has no similarity to the sign *RI*, which, because of its legal connexion, should be employed for "adopted son".

The Code does not contemplate a similar case for a real son, but only the case of a son who has twice committed a grave offence against his father, § 169. The son is expelled from his inheritance. The law reads *abūm mār-šu ina aplūtim inazal*, "The father shall expel his son from heirship." For this Semitic phrase the Sumerian has *ad-da dumu-ni nam-ibil-ta ib-ta-an-sa*,<sup>3</sup> "The father removed his son from sonship."<sup>4</sup> The phrase of this law in lines 24-9 corresponds almost literally to the penalty imposed upon an adopted son in Sumerian contracts.<sup>5</sup> Sumerian and Semitic contracts also impose penalty of sale into slavery upon an adopted child who denies his parents. The interpretation of this law on the basis of

<sup>1</sup> II Raw. 9b, 60, has a false translation *ana marāti-šu if-ru-šu* (for *ilki-šu*). On the other hand, the phrases for ejecting a son from his heritage is given in this same text, Col. ii, 14 = RA. 14, 14, *nam-dumu-a-ni-ta ib-ta-an-sar = ana* (error for *ina*) *marāti-šu ifrusu*, "he expelled him from sonship." Ibid., 16, *nam-apil-a-ni-ta ib-ta-an-zi = ana* (error for *ina*) *aplūti-šu issuh-šu*, "he ejected him from heirship."

<sup>2</sup> Poebel, No. 24, 5 f. Cf. 28, 4; 23, 22, abbreviated to *nam-ibila-ni-šū ba-an-da-ri-a*.

<sup>3</sup> *sa* is for *saj* a variant of *suj = nasāhu*.

<sup>4</sup> Genouillac, *Inventaire*, 5276, rev. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Poebel, No. 24, 18-20.

its application to cases of disavowal of parents by adopted children is strongly supported by many legal documents.

## § 22

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 34. <i>tukundibi</i>                   | 34. If                               |
| 35. <i>tug(?)<sup>1</sup> ad-da-ni</i> | 35. to an adopted son (?) his father |
| 36. <i>ù ama-ni</i>                    | 36. and his mother                   |
| 37. <i>nu dumu-mu-meš</i>              | 37. "Not our son" (said)             |
| 38. [é?] <i>ù(?) uru</i>               | 38. from house (?) and (?) city      |
| 39. [ib-ta]- <i>e(d)-a</i>             | 39. shall they be compelled to go.   |

§ 23<sup>2</sup>

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 40. <i>tukundibi</i>                                  | 40. If (a man)                                 |
| 41. <i>dumu-sal galu e-sir-ra</i>                     | 41. the daughter of a freeman in<br>the street |
| 42. <i>é-im-gi</i> <sup>3</sup>                       | 42. took for a bride <sup>4</sup>              |
| 43. <i>ad-da-ni</i>                                   | 43. and her father                             |
| 44. <i>ù ama-ni</i>                                   | 44. and her mother                             |
| 45. <i>nu-ba</i> <sup>5</sup> - <i>an-zu-uš</i>       | 45. knew it not,                               |
| 46. <i>ka-ar-ab</i> <sup>6</sup> <i>á</i>             | 46. "I . . . her"                              |
| 47. <i>nam ad-ni</i> <i>ù ama-ni</i> <sup>7</sup> (?) | 47. to her father and mother (?)               |
| 48. <i>ni-dug-e</i>                                   | 48. he shall say.                              |
| 49. <i>ad-da-ni</i>                                   | 49. Her father                                 |

<sup>1</sup> There are traces of a small sign on the tablet before *ad*, as we are bound to expect. This section represents a variant of lines 30-3, and proves that this code is a compilation of laws which are not altogether consistent with each other.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph was edited by the writer in the Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, vol. iii, 82-3.

<sup>3</sup> *d-gi*, "to confine in a house," is connected with the word *d-gi-a=kallatu*, bride, and refers to the custom of confining a newly married couple to the house for a short period after marriage. This custom is referred to in the Code of Hammurabi, § 176 *ištū innemdu*, "after they had dwelled together." See, for a full discussion of this custom, p. 82 of JSOR., vol. iii.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase is pregnant here and clearly refers to an illegitimate honeymoon or bridal confinement. Literally, "he confined her to a house."

<sup>5</sup> Text *zu*.

<sup>6</sup> Or *DU* (?).

<sup>7</sup> Sign *SAB!* It is possible that *ka-ar-ab* is a precative verbal prefix in the 1st person for *ga-ra-ab* (verily I will . . .).

50. <i>ù ama-ni</i>	50. and her mother
51. <i>nam-dam-ni-šú</i>	51. unto wifehood
52. <i>in-na-ab sum-mu</i>	52. shall give her to him.
	§ 24
53. <i>tukundibi</i>	53. If (a man)
54. <i>dumu sal galu e sir-da</i>	54. the daughter of a freeman from the street
55. <i>é-im-gi</i>	55. took for a bride,
56. <i>ad-da-ni</i>	56. and her father
57. <i>ù ama-ni</i>	57. and her mother
58. <i>ba-an-zu-us</i>	58. knew of it
59. <i>galu é-im-gi</i>	59. he who took her for a bride
60. <i>in-dib in-tar</i>	60. shall be seized and judged.
61. <i>e dingir-ra ?</i>	61. In the house of god . . .
62. <i>in- ?</i>	62. he shall . . .
	§ 25
63. <i>tukundibi</i>	63. If
64. <i>gud nigin-na</i> <sup>1</sup>	64. an ox-herd allows
65. <i>ur-maǵ e-kur-e</i>	65. a lion to devour (an ox),
66. <i>gab-ri</i>	66. a substitute of equal value
67. <i>nam lugal-la-ni-šú</i>	67. to the owner
68. <i>ib-ri-ri</i> <sup>2</sup>	68. shall he present.
	§ 26
69. <i>tukundibi</i>	69. If
70. <i>gud nigin-na</i>	70. an ox-herd
71. <i>gud ú-gu ba-an-de</i>	71. allow an ox to be lost
72. <i>gud gud-gim</i>	72. ox for ox
73. [ <i>lugal a-ni-šú</i> ]	73. [to its owner]
74. [ <i>in-na ab-su-su</i> ]	74. [shall he restore] <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "one who confines oxen." The Semitic law § 262 probably had *nákidu*.

<sup>2</sup> Or *en*, emphatic ending? *gab-ri ri-ri* = *mahāru miḥra*, to present a substitute. Cf. *gab-ri* [ ] = *miḥra muḥur*, CT. 19, 42, 23, and for *ri* = *mahāru* see AO. 3030, Obv. 12, and RA. 10, 77, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *iriab*; see the Code of Hammurabi § 219 and above, Sumerian law, § 4, line 13.

## ADDENDUM

*The Sumerian original of Ellasar*

In the text of my paper I have returned to the Biblical form of the name of the city of the sun-god in Sumer, now the ruins of Senkereh. Genesis xiv, 1, mentions Ariôch, king of Ellasar, which has been correctly identified with *Larsa*, the Babylonian pronunciation of the name. But the old Sumerian pronunciation, as hitherto accepted among Assyriologists, was supposed to be *Zarar* or *Arar*. The present views about the name are unsatisfactory, and it is obvious that there was something wrong about our knowledge concerning the history of the word. The Sumerian ideogram for the name of this city is *UD-UNU-(ki)*, "Abode of the sun-god," and Raw. v, 23, 30, indicated that the name was pronounced *Zarar-ma*, but the new copy in CT. xi, 35, showed that *ZA* is uncertain and that *A* may be correct. Some scholars have adopted *Arar-ma* or *Arar* as the true rendering. The ending *ma* which is also added frequently to the name of the city of Ur, i.e. *Uri-ma*, is an old locative ending *aka*, *aga*, *ama* > *ma*, and is commonly omitted.

*ZA-ra-ár* is certainly correct, for the sign *ZA* has the value *il* or *ila* here, and the Sumerian should be pronounced *Ilrar*. The value *il* for *ZA* resorts from a Berlin syllabary, Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 216, 9, where the divine name *ZA-MAL-MAL* is read *Ilbaba*. *Ilrar* by dissimilation, or *r* > *s*, gave *Ilsar* or *Ilasar*.

A great many examples of alveolar *r* passing into sibilant *s*, *š* have been given in § 46 of my *Sumerian Grammar*. The Hebrew rendering is based directly upon the Sumerian, which proves the antiquity of Genesis xiv. The Babylonian *Larsa* is a distortion of *Ilrar*, *Ilasar* by metathesis.



## The Shahbandar in the Eastern Seas

BY W. H. MORELAND

THE personages described by the term Shahbandar, with such variations in orthography as Savendar, Sabinder, Xabendar, and the like, appear so frequently in the literature of the Eastern seas that it is desirable to arrive at a definite idea of the position which they occupied, and the functions which they discharged. The task is not, however, easy, for the ordinary Persian and Portuguese dictionaries are not very enlightening on this particular topic, while the discussion of the term in *Hobson-Jobson* is by no means exhaustive. The definition given in that work (new edition, p. 816) is as follows :—

“*Shabunder*. Pers. Shāh-bandar, lit. ‘King of the Haven’; Harbour-Master. This was the title of an officer at native ports all over the Indian seas, who was the chief authority with whom foreign traders and ship-masters had to transact. He was often also head of the Customs.”

This definition appears to be generally applicable, so far as I have tested it, from about the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, but it is certainly too narrow for the literature of the period 1500–1625, when Europeans were learning the institutions of these seas, but had as yet done little to modify them. In this period we meet Shahbandars who may be described as harbour-masters, but they are in the minority, and a student who tries to interpret the Portuguese historians by this definition soon finds himself in difficulties. Castanheda, for instance, defines a Shahbandar as an official like a *patrão da ribeira* (III, 47), a term which is more or less equivalent to harbour-master; but Barros says (II, ii, 44) that a Shahbandar is “like one of our Consuls”, and whatever a consul may have been like he was essentially

different from a harbour-master.<sup>1</sup> As one goes on reading, one is forced to the conclusion that in these writers the word has a wide range of meaning, and that its significance in any particular passage must be inferred either from the context or from some parallel record. The literature of the period is voluminous, and imperfectly indexed, so that it would be rash for any individual to claim that he had collected all the references to a Shahbandar which it contains; no such claim is made in this paper, which is based on the references noted in reading the standard English and Portuguese authorities. I have found Shahbandars mentioned or indicated before the year 1625 in about twenty-five localities, several being occasionally found in one locality; in six localities indications of meaning are wanting, while in one (Surat) they are obscure; of the remainder, it may be said that in seven or eight localities Shahbandars appear as Ministers of State, in one (where they were numerous) and possibly in a second they appear as Presidents of Republics, in five they appear as Consuls in the contemporary sense of the term to be explained below, and in four they appear as harbour-masters or something of the kind. Thus, if the Portuguese historians were to come to life and were to discuss the affairs of the France of 1919, one or other of them might apply the word Shahbandar to (1) M. Clemenceau, (2) President Poincaré, (3) the British Consul at Bordeaux, or (4) the harbour-master at Marseilles. The range of meaning is sufficiently extensive to justify an examination of the subject in some little detail.

*The Shahbandar as Minister of State.*—All the instances which I have found of this use of the term relate to Sumatra or further east. Achin is a clear case; John Davis says (*Purchas*, I, iii, 123) that the State was governed by five

<sup>1</sup> The references given are to the following editions: Barros & Couto, Lisbon, 1778 ff.; Castanheda, Lisbon, 1833; Correa, Lisbon, 1858 ff.; Purchas, the original edition, the figures being taken from the margin of MacLehose's reprint; *Commentarios of Alboquerque*, Lisbon, 1774. The two series of India Office Records edited by Mr. W. Foster are quoted as *Letters Received and English Factories*.

principal men, the Secretary and four called Sabandars; "with these resteth all authority," and other references in his narrative are consistent with this statement. The case of Pacem (also in Sumatra) is not so clear, but I read the narrative of Barros (III, i, 524, 534, and III, ii, 246 ff.) as relating to a minister, and not to a localized official in charge only of the harbour. At Bantam in Java, Barros speaks (IV, i, 83) of the "Xabandar da Terra", a phrase which would indicate a minister rather than a harbour-master; Lancaster (*Purchas*, I, iii, 161) refers to the "Savendar, or Governour of the Citie"; and the general tenor of Scott's *Discourse*, a few pages further on, is to show the Shahbandar as one of the chief men in the State, subordinate only to the Regent, or "Protector" of the minor King. In Borneo we find a Shahbandar in the city of that name, and Barros says (IV, ii, 111) that the King had a Governor who ruled the kingdom for him, and who was called Shahbandar; Castanheda (VIII, 48) makes the same statement, with the qualification that the Shahbandar ruled most of the kingdom (*pola mayor parte*).

I think it probable that the Shahbandars in Macassar, Ceram, and Amboina come in this class, though the descriptions I have found contain too little detail for a final judgment. In regard to Macassar, we are told (*Purchas*, I, v, 608) that the King was very angry with the Dutch for having carried away "a principal Sabander". I infer that this was one of several ministers, not one of several harbour-masters, which would imply the existence of several harbours. In regard to Ceram and Amboina, the account given by Jourdain (*Journal*, edited by W. Foster, pp. 253, 257 ff.) seems to me to suggest a ministerial position, especially the phrase on p. 258, "the Sabendour with four more of the chief Arancayes" (see for this last word *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 644). The constitutional position in Amboina at this time is not, however, clear to me, and it is possible that the Shahbandars there had no official superior, in which case they would be classed more properly with those of the Banda Islands,

described in the next paragraph. Under Minister-Shahbandars may also be mentioned Mendez Pinto's Shahbandar in the second illustration given in *Hobson-Jobson*. Pinto was, so far as I can judge, careful and accurate in the use of "local colour", and his Shahbandar is a Minister of War and not a harbour-master.

*The Shahbandar as President.*—These are found in the Banda Islands, where they were numerous, and, as suggested above, may have existed also in Amboina. Our authorities were struck by the fact that there were no kings in the Banda Islands. Castanheda writes (VI, 8) that the people were uncivilized and had no king, but each place (*povoação*) had a ruler (*regedor*) called Shahbandar, who ruled only by consent. Saris gives a similar account (*Purchas*, I, iv, 392), and when some of the islands placed themselves under English rule, the documents of surrender (*Purchas*, I, v, 701) were signed by Shahbandars. These Shahbandars are distinguished from those enumerated in the preceding paragraph by having no king over them ; they act as representatives of the people, not as agents of higher authority.

*The Shahbandar as Consul.*—In the sixteenth century Consuls were not appointed by the government of their country as officials, but were chosen by or among the merchants whom they represented, and the contemporary meaning of the word is, I think, accurately given by the definition in the *New English Dictionary*, "the appointed or elected head of the body of merchants of any nation resident in a foreign seaport or town, to settle disputes among them and be their channel of communication with the local government." In this sense the term must have been familiar to merchants and travellers of the period, and I have noticed references in *Purchas* to the French Consul at Alexandria, the "consul for the English nation" at Aleppo, a French Consul at the same place, and a Venetian Consul at Cairo ; while Jourdain records (*Journal*, p. 241) that the English at Bantam elected one of their number as "Consul or Governor".

When, therefore, writers of the period speak of a Shahbandar as Consul, it is clear that they did not mean a harbour-master or other local official, but a foreigner representing the merchants of his nation.

Barros tells (II, ii, 44) of one such Shahbandar in Malacca. He says that among the Guzarates in that city was one who served as Shahbandar, a position similar to that of Consuls among the Portuguese ("*officio como entre nos os Consules da nação*"). There is more to be said about the position in Malacca, but for the present it is sufficient to note this very definite phrase. An equally clear case is that of the Shahbandar at Mocha, who played such a prominent part during Sir Henry Middleton's visit to that port in 1611 (*Purchas*, I, ii, 251 ff.). His name was Shermall, and he is described sometimes as "Shahbandar of Mocha", sometimes as "Shahbandar of the Baneans", and sometimes as "Consul of the Baneans". Apart from this description the whole story shows him acting as Consul and not as a local official. He opposed the local Governor's policy, and took a tedious journey to impress his views on that Governor's superior, the Pasha at Sana; and later, when Middleton had blockaded the port in order to recover damages due from the Governor, it was Shermall who arranged with the captains of the Indian ships to advance the amount of the damages and thus "save their monsoon". Throughout we see him acting independently and courageously in the interests of the Indian merchants, precisely as a Consul should do.

These two cases suffice to establish the statement that at this period Shahbandar may mean Consul. There are various other cases where the same interpretation appears to fit the facts better than any other, but where the facts are not on record in sufficient detail to justify a final verdict. The position at Calicut at the beginning of the sixteenth century is particularly interesting from this point of view. Barbosa wrote (Portuguese text, p. 341) that the foreign Moslems in Calicut had a governor of their own religion, and that the

king did not meddle with them ; in other words, they were extra-territorial, and subject to personal, not local law. Barros is rather vague ; he says (I, i, 424) that there were in Calicut two Moslems, one of whom (Coje Cemecerij) had the governance (*tinha o governo*) of all maritime affairs, the other (Coje Bequij) of affairs on land, and since he also shows us a complete Hindu bureaucracy at work it is fair to assume that the "affairs" in question were those of the Moslems and not those of the State as a whole. Castanheda makes the position clearer when he explains (I, 111) that there was a division of interest between the local Moslems (headed by Coje Bequim), and the men from Cairo and the Red Sea, whose chief (Coje Çamecerim) controlled maritime affairs ; while Correa (I, 189) gives a somewhat similar account, but says that the chief of the foreign Moslems, whom he calls Coje Cacemo, had "much power" in maritime affairs. From these accounts it appears reasonable to conclude that the merchants from the Red Sea lived in Calicut extra-territorially under a chief or headman of their own, who would, in fact, come under the contemporary definition of the word Consul. None of the authorities call this chief a Shahbandar ; I suggest that this was his actual position, but that the Portuguese did not learn the use of the word at Calicut, and that consequently it was not employed by the writers. Barbosa, the earliest writer, does not, I think, use the word at all. Correa and Castanheda first use it in regard to affairs of 1510 or 1511, when I suspect it was learned at Goa or Malacca. Barros applies it to one earlier incident (that of Anjediva, to be discussed below), but he wrote many years later, and, as I shall show, his use in this instance is almost certainly erroneous. The historians relied on contemporary accounts of the earliest transactions at Calicut, and I suggest that they do not use the term Shahbandar because these accounts did not contain the word. There is, however, a possible trace of it. It will be noticed that two names are given for the chief of the foreign or Red Sea merchants. I am diffident of explaining Portuguese

transliterations, but applying Dalgado's canon that they tried to reproduce sound while giving a Portuguese form,<sup>1</sup> I read the names as (1) Shāh-misri, (2) Kāsim, and suggest that while the second was his proper name, the first may possibly be a perversion of his title of Egyptian Shahbandar, the Portuguese having (so to speak) caught the *Shāh* and dropped the *Bandar*.<sup>2</sup> Apart from this conjecture, we have in Calicut a foreigner holding a position similar to that of a Consul-Shahbandar, though the word Shahbandar is not applied to him.

The Shahbandar at Quilon, mentioned in the first illustration in *Hobson-Jobson*, may also be regarded as a Consul. Ibn Batuta says that the chief of all the Moslems in that town was Muhammad Shahbandar; that is to say, the point to note about him was that he was chief of a foreign element in the population, and the phrase might be rendered "Muhammad the Consul". The editor of *Hobson-Jobson* has noted Burton's remark that in modern Persian use Shahbandar means Consul, and the passage in the *Arabian Nights* to which this note relates shows that the institution of Consul-Shahbandar was known in Cairo, where (as the illustration quoted from Lane's *Modern Egyptians* shows) the Shahbandar even in the nineteenth century was still a representative of merchants, not an official. With this last case may be noticed the quotation from Tavernier regarding the Shahbandar at Golconda, who falls outside the period under investigation. Tavernier compares this Shahbandar to the *Prévost des Marchands*, a term which would convey to him as definite an idea as "The Lord Mayor" does to modern Englishmen. The *Prévost des Marchands* was

<sup>1</sup> *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, xxv.

<sup>2</sup> Shah appears in Portuguese as Xa, not Ķa or Ce, but the suggestion is that the Portuguese at Calicut did not get the title exactly: not all Indians can pronounce Shibboleth correctly. In the *Commentarios* (iv, 70) we are told that Alboquerque obtained the surrender of a ship on the ground that it belonged to "Meceris" of Cairo, and I think that Meceris in this passage must mean Egyptians.

originally and essentially a representative chosen by the merchants, but in the course of his long history he became bureaucratized, and by the time Tavernier wrote his election had become a formal matter (*La Grande Encyclopédie*, s.v.). I shall suggest later on that in India some of the Consul-Shahbandars may gradually have become bureaucratized, and Tavernier's comparison is striking from this point of view.

*The Shahbandar as Harbour-master.*—The only clear statement of the Portuguese writers under this head is Castanheda's definition, already quoted, equating the term to *patrio da ribeira*. That post is not infrequently mentioned at this period, but it belonged ordinarily to the Portuguese bureaucracy, and I understand Castanheda to mean that the Shahbandar among "Moors and gentios" was like the Portuguese official familiar to his readers. The only possible Portuguese records of a Shahbandar in this sense are at Goa and Ormus, but we have also English records of such Shahbandars on the east coast of India. The cases of Goa and Ormus must be examined at some little length, for the accounts are obscure, and some of them throw more light on the growth of legends than on the concrete facts to which they relate.

The earliest Portuguese reference to a Shahbandar which I have noticed relates to the time when Vasco da Gama was at Anjediva on his first voyage, waiting for the monsoon for Africa. All three historians tell us that he was visited by a Polish Jew on behalf of the Sabayo of Goa, that the Jew was arrested, and under torture, or threat of torture, turned Christian and served for some time as Gaspar the interpreter. Barros says (I, i, 364) that this Jew served the Sabayo as Shahbandar. From the circumstances he narrates the authority for that statement could only be the Jew himself, and as a witness to fact the Jew is worthless, but Barros' whole account is obscure and, so to speak, lacking in motive, and I think his sources were probably in this instance defective.

Castanheda (III, 47) is more intelligible, but he tells various stories, indicating that conflicting legends had grown up; he does not give the Jew any particular rank or position. Correa tells (I, 125) a perfectly intelligible story, in the light of which the other accounts fall into line, and I think his version will be generally accepted as the most probable. According to him the Jew had risen to be the Sabayo's naval commander (*Capitão mor da armada*), a very different thing from Shahbandar; he had brought the fleet to attack the Portuguese, but came on by himself to spy out the position; some friendly fishermen warned the Portuguese of his treachery; he was therefore seized, and, under threat of torture, led the Portuguese to where his fleet was waiting, assisted in its destruction, and subsequently remained with his captors, becoming a Christian and serving as interpreter. Taking these stories together, I think there can be no doubt that the Jew was a naval officer and not a Shahbandar of any sort.

Ten years later, during the first siege of Goa, another incident occurred, in regard to which Correa and Castanheda tell very different stories. It is clear that a man known as Shahbandar was killed by the governor's guards, but apart from this almost every incident varies. Correa (II, 80) describes the man as a boat-owner (*barqueiro*), who was called *macadão*, and who also called himself Shahbandar,<sup>1</sup> and says that the trouble began between this man and the Portuguese *patrão da ribeira*, named Dinis Fernandes. Castanheda (III, 47) says that the Shahbandar (who is like a *patrão da ribeira*) was summarily executed for aiding the enemy. The incident is described also in the *Commentarios* (II, 169), and this version is probably based on official documents; it agrees closely with Castanheda's account, and shows that Dinis Fernandes, who discovered the Shahbandar's treachery,

<sup>1</sup> The passage is one of those, so familiar in Correa, where several alternative phrases occur in succession, the author having apparently hesitated which phrase to keep.

was *patrão mor da armada* (not *da ribeira*), thus disposing of the difficulty of having a Portuguese *patrão da ribeira* alongside of a Shahbandar. The *Commentarios* also explain (II, 195) the position of this Shahbandar; he is described as resembling an *Almoxarife da ribeira*, or Collector of Customs, but he also had charge of the merchants' horses while in the import-stables, and Alboquerque at first maintained him in this position, requiring him "to provide for the horses and for all the other business of the *ribeira*". Apparently the post lapsed when this man was executed, as I have found no later mention of a Shahbandar at Goa, and none is shown in the lists of establishment given by Botelho and Falcao. According to this account the Shahbandar at Goa was not exactly a harbour-master, but he was a localized official, and thus comes under this class.

The first reference to a Shahbandar at Ormus is Correa's statement (II, 50) that Alboquerque intended to appoint Coje Bequi (the Calicut Moslem already mentioned, who had suffered—and was to suffer more—for his friendship with the Portuguese) to some post at Ormus, in recognition of his services. Correa says he was to be either "Xabandar or Zogyl, which are the principal positions in the city". Accepting the editor's suggestion that Zogyl is a careless attempt to write Gozil (= *guazil, vazir*), it seems probable that Correa was thinking of the Minister-Shahbandar when he wrote this sentence; you would not offer a man employment as "harbour-master, or Prime Minister, or something of that sort". The appointment did not, however, take place, and the sentence throws no light on the nature of the position at Ormus. We meet the real Shahbandar of Ormus a little later, in the revolt of 1521. Barros (III, ii, 126, 151) and Castanheda (V, 298) both say that he was employed to burn the Portuguese shipping, and the former says, incidentally, that he has "charge of maritime affairs". I think this account justifies us in classing the Shahbandar of Ormus as a harbour-master or something of the sort. In this case the position

was maintained by the Portuguese. Botelho (*Tombo*, p. 103) shows under the Customs establishment an allowance to the Shahbandar; he does not show a salary, but there is a blank page in his list, and it is possible either that the Shahbandar would have found a place if this page had been filled, or that he had not then been brought on the Portuguese establishment, though he received an allowance for specified services. By 1584, however, the Shahbandar was definitely a Portuguese official (*Couto*, X, ii, 68), and Falcao (p. 126) describes him as chief warden of the beach and custom house ("goarda mor da Praya e Alfandega"), and enters him as appointed by the King of Portugal, not the King of Ormus. It may be added that neither Botelho nor Falcao shows a Shahbandar at any Portuguese settlement other than Ormus.

Of the English records I think we are justified in classifying the Shahbandars at Pulicat (*Purchas*, I, iii, 320) and Masulipatam (*idem*, 326) as harbour-masters or something of the kind ; at the latter port the Shahbandar had in 1623 "continued in this office (by report) thirty-two years, and now, in the vacance of the Governor, rules as Governor" (*English Factories*, 1622-3, p. 233), so that he was, so to speak, in the regular bureaucratic line. The Shahbandar at Surat also appears to come in this class from the year 1616 onwards. His position prior to that year is somewhat obscure ; he is mentioned frequently in various narratives in *Purchas* and in *Letters Received*, but the notices are fragmentary, and their interpretation would involve detailed examination of the administrative arrangements in force in Gujarat and the Deccan during the reign of Jahangir, a subject too intricate for discussion on the present occasion.

*Geographical Distribution of Shahbandars.*—Apart from those hitherto mentioned, I have noted references to Shahbandars at Aden, Bagdad, Petepoli, Patani, Bangkok, and Jacatra (Java),<sup>1</sup> but have found nothing to indicate their

<sup>1</sup> For Aden, see *Journal of John Jourdain*, p. 59; for Bagdad, *Purchas*, I, iv, 524; for Petepoli, *Purchas*, I, iii, 315; for Patani and Bangkok, *Purchas*, I, iii, 321; and for Jacatra, *Purchas*, I, iii, 197.

exact position at any of these places. I have found no Shahbandar on the east coast of Africa, and the Portuguese accounts of affairs on this coast are so detailed that they would probably have mentioned one had he existed ; nor have I found any in Bengal, Pegu, or Tenasserim, where the accounts are so superficial that no inference can be drawn from their silence. The Shahbandars whose position can be known or guessed thus fall into two distinct groups ; if for the moment we neglect Malacca, all Shahbandars in the Malayan area, that is from Achin eastwards, are either Ministers or Presidents ; while from Masulipatam to Mocha there is no trace of Minister or President, but we have Consuls and Harbour-masters or other localized officials. This grouping is suggestive, and might perhaps be used as a guide to the literature merely on the evidence so far considered ; it derives additional significance from the facts stated in the next paragraph.

*Shahbandar and Bandara.*—One is tempted to assume that identity of name denotes identity of origin, and that Ministers and Presidents, Consuls and Harbour-masters, must all spring from a common root, and since the common name is Persian, the inference naturally follows that the origin must be sought in the period when the trade of these seas was dominated by Moslem merchants. Before, however, we pursue this train of thought it is necessary to inquire whether the identity of name is an Eastern or a Portuguese phenomenon ; later European arrivals depended very largely on Portuguese interpreters, and if the Portuguese fused, or confused, two or more Eastern words in their Xabandar, the fusion, or confusion, might easily be perpetuated. Now, there is some positive evidence to show that some of the Portuguese writers did as a matter of fact interchange the Persian Shahbandar with the Malayan Bandara,<sup>1</sup> defined in *Hobson-Jobson* as one

<sup>1</sup> It seems safest to write this word without accents. Barros has Bendára, Correa gives Bendará and Bendara, Castanheda has Bendara, Couto has Bandarra, and there are other variants.

of the higher Ministers of State. The evidence appears in the accounts of Alboquerque's conquest and settlement of Malacca, where the constitutional arrangements were somewhat exceptional. The town consisted in a great measure of foreign communities, and while the King had a Bandara, or Prime Minister, of his own, each community seems to have lived extra-territorially under its own headman ; as Correa says (II, 253), "cada nação tinha apartamento de seus costumes e justiça," and there were separate headmen for Chinese, Lequeos, Siamese, Peguans, Klings, etc., etc. Similarly, Barros tells us (II, ii, 52) that Javan visitors to the city went to the settlements maintained by two leading Javans, Utumutiraja and Tuam Colascar, and he compares the former's settlement to a consulate (*consulado da nação*), a phrase which recalls his definition of Shahbandar already quoted. The *Commentarios* (III, 96) carry this somewhat further, stating that the whole site of the town was divided up among four headmen, representing China, Java, Cambay, and Bengal. Alboquerque maintained this arrangement in part, appointing headmen for the principal communities, but placing them under the control of the Portuguese resident factor. Now Barros and the *Commentarios* call these headmen Shahbandars, while Correa calls them Bandaras. Barros writes (II, ii, 105) that Alboquerque appointed certain persons, whom he names, as "Shahbandar and Governor" (*Governador*). The *Commentarios* describe the original headmen as Shahbandars, and those appointed by Alboquerque as *Governadores* (III, 187). Correa (II, 253) says that there were Bendaras of the foreign merchants in separate groups, and, a few lines further on, that these ministers (*regedores*) are called bendaras ; while in dealing with Alboquerque's appointments he speaks of *governadores* and *regedores*. As between these writers, then, the words *governador*, *regedor*, *bendara*, and *xabandar* are interchangeable. Further, Correa applies the two latter words to the same person in the narrative of the early negotiations (II, 220-3), in the course of which he speaks

of the great enemy of the Portuguese first as *Xabandar dos estrangeiros*, then as *Xabandar Cambaes*, and lastly as *Bendara dos estrangeiros*.

It is not necessary to conclude that these writers were careless ; the truth seems to be that in this instance both the Persian and the Malayan title belonged properly to the same person. The "Guzerates" or "Cambayans" chose their own representative, and in their eyes he would be their Shahbandar, while the King of Malacca recognized his jurisdiction and regarded him in consequence as a Bandara. The narratives of all four historians (including Castanheda, who uses both words but throws no fresh light on the point under discussion) make it quite plain that the negotiations at Malacca were in effect a duel between Alboquerque and the Guzerates, whose Shahbandar was in Portuguese eyes the villain of the piece ; if, as appears to be probable, they heard him spoken of indifferently as Shahbandar and Bandara, the fusion of the two words would follow naturally, and would be perpetuated by native interpreters anxious only to make their employers understand. To put it quite shortly, in Malacca the words Shahbandar and Bandara in fact meant in this instance the same man, and we need not wonder if they were interchanged.

An examination of the language used by the Portuguese to denote Ministers of State indicates that this fusion was not confined to Malacca, but was spread over the Malayan area. The regular words for Minister are *regedor* and *governador*, often used together, and one or other of them may be equated to one or other of the exotic terms. We have seen above that Barros links Shahbandar to *governador*, and Correa equates *regedor* and Bandara. Castanheda (V, 8) defines Shahbandar as *regedor* in Banda ; he makes the same equation (VIII, 48) in Borneo, where Barros says the Shahbandar was *governador* ; Lemos (*History of the Sieges of Malacca*, p. 44 reverse) says that Bandara is the same as *regedor*, and speaking generally it appears that at this period any one, or any two, of these

four words may be used to designate Ministers of State in the monarchies of the Malayan area, while I have found no instance of either *governador* or *regedor* being applied to a Shahbandar on the Indian side of Sumatra.

The evidence appears to justify the suggestion that the Minister-Shahbandars mentioned at this period were probably really Bandaras, a name entirely appropriate to their recorded activities, and that the Dutch and English obtained the extended use of the term Shahbandar through interpreters trained in the Portuguese school. The position in Banda requires separate explanation, since Malayan was not spoken by the people (though it served as *lingua franca*), and it is improbable that they used the exotic term Bandara among themselves. It may, I think, be taken as certain that they did not intentionally assign a Persian name to the Presidents of their humble republics, and two theories of the use of the term Shahbandar may be suggested. One is that the native title of the Presidents was sufficiently near to Shahbandar to be identified with it by the interpreters. I have found no vocabulary of the original dialect of these islands, and cannot therefore test this theory. The other is that the first Portuguese interpreters, finding men in authority with no intelligible title, gave them the name which had become familiar, and that the name stuck; this is not in itself improbable, but it is merely conjecture.

*Development of the true Shahbandar.*—If we are justified in treating the Ministers and Presidents of the Malayan area as pseudo-Shahbandars, endowed with that title by the Portuguese, it remains to inquire whether any explanation can be offered of the application of the term to such different persons as consuls and harbour-masters in the Indian area with its offshoot in Malacca itself. Within this area it may be permissible to infer identity of origin from identity of name, and to class the Shahbandar as probably a Persian institution carried round the coast by merchants speaking that language. On this theory the question arises, what was the original

nature of the institution ; did harbour-masters develop into consuls or did consuls become harbour-masters ? The latter alternative seems to me to be the more probable. I cannot conjecture how a local official could develop into the representative of a body of foreign merchants, but the conditions known to have prevailed in Indian seaports make it not altogether improbable that a consul, having become domiciled, might slip gradually into the local bureaucracy, perhaps in the first instance as a farmer of the customs revenue. It is, however, also possible that some at least of the Indian Shahbandars of the seventeenth century are creations of Portuguese interpreters, and not developments from the indigenous consular system. The information at my disposal is not yet sufficient for a discussion of these theories, and for the present I state them merely as conjectures.

*Conclusions.*—1. The current definition of Shahbandar as harbour-master does not explain the literature of the period 1500–1625.

2. In that period the word may denote (1) a minister, (2) a president, (3) a consul, (4) a harbour-master or other localized official.

3. Ministers and presidents are found only in Sumatra and further east ; consuls are found at Malacca, but with this exception consuls and harbour-masters are confined to the area between Masulipatam and Mocha.

4. Portuguese writers interchange the Persian Shahbandar with Bandara, the Malayan word for a Minister of State.

5. The following theory will account for the recorded facts. (a) The Shahbandar was originally a consul chosen by a body of Moslem merchants to be their chief in a foreign port. (b) Some of these consuls may have become domiciled, and, from being farmers of the customs or associated with the authorities in other ways, slipped gradually into the local bureaucracy as harbour-masters or collectors of customs.

(c) The Portuguese applied the term Shahbandar to the Ministers of State known more properly as Bandaras, and also to the Presidents of the Republics which they found in some of the Eastern islands. It is possible that some of the Indian Shahbandars also may be the creation of Portuguese interpreters.

6. Apart from this theory students of the literature of the period 1500-1625 may assume, subject in each instance to the context, that in the Indian area Shahbandar means a consul or a harbour-master, or a man occupying some intermediate position, while in the Malayan area it denotes a minister where there was a king and a president where there was not.

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## A Notice on the Library attached to the Shrine of Imam Riza at Meshed

By W. IVANOW<sup>1</sup>

IT is very difficult to say how long the library attached to the shrine of Imam Riza at Meshed has been in existence. It is impossible to believe that it dates back to the beginning of the shrine itself. Those great calamities which befell Persia, such as the invasions of the Moghuls and Tamerlane, were accompanied by destruction everywhere, and this holy place did not escape. One can, however, reasonably believe that the library as it now stands has existed since the time of the first heirs of Timur, who bestowed many favours on the shrine. The blue dome of Gauhar-i-Shād, which from afar attracts the attention of a pilgrim approaching Meshed, was built at the beginning of the ninth century of Hijra by the wife of Shāhrokh Mirzā.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable that the library was started at that time and has existed down to the present time without any further disasters. Indeed, it must have been greatly enriched after the triumph of the Shia religion under the Safawy kings. The invasions of Nadir Shah and the Uzbeks probably did not affect the library greatly. Nadir Shah was a generous donor to the shrine and the golden dome and minarets were rebuilt and embellished by him. Therefore it may be concluded that the period during which the library could develop must be close on five hundred years.

Like all collections of books of the same type it consists of the gifts which pious believers bequeathed to it.<sup>3</sup> Bearing in mind that Khorasan was one of the richest countries in manuscripts (as evidenced by the comparatively large number

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Captain T. McClurkin, R.A.M.C., for kindly helping me with my English, without which this pamphlet hardly could appear in print.

<sup>2</sup> This mosque was completed in A.H. 821 (A.D. 1418).

<sup>3</sup> So called *waqf*.

of old books written or copied there which are now in the possession of European libraries), one would expect to find here a good and extensive collection of manuscripts. Many thoughts about this library will arise in the mind of an inquiring student. Its antiquity suggests an abundance of old and rare books. The fact that it is the library of one of the most important Shi'a religious centres points to a good collection of materials for the study of Shiism. Even the recent part of it should excite great interest, as it is supposed to be the richest collection concerning present Shi'a thought. Besides this, a study of the library would be likely to give a good idea about other libraries of the same type.

Everyone who has met Persian mollahs knows how bigoted they are and how unwilling they are to see their sacred books polluted by the touch of an unbeliever, and it is easy to understand the many obstacles and difficulties which would be placed in the way of anyone wishing to inspect this library. In the case of this particular library there is still one other obstacle in the way of those who may wish to visit it. The library is situated inside the sacred area of the shrine, which cannot be entered by an unbeliever. These circumstances explain why this library has continued to be known only by name in spite of the fact that Meshed is a place which has been visited by many travellers during the past hundred years.

By a very fortunate chance, whilst staying at Meshed during the summer of 1919, I have succeeded in gaining some more or less precise information as to the contents of the shrine library. I could not visit the place in person; all that I could manage was to obtain on loan for a very short time a catalogue (or rather a simple inventory list) of the library, and also a few of the books from its shelves.

<sup>1</sup> Some information about this library can be found in N. de Khanikoff's *Mémoire sur la partie Meridionale de l'Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1861 (pp. 100-2), and I'timad-us-Sultaneh's (*Seni-ud-Dowleh*) *Mattalush-Shams*, vol. ii, Teheran, 1303. Unfortunately neither of these books is available to me at present.

All my expectations of finding hidden treasures amongst the many manuscripts here have suffered a severe disappointment. Beyond a few rare MSS. nothing extraordinary could be found. Most of the books, including printed and lithographed ones, are of recent origin. The old books are mostly very common and well known. The expected riches of Shi'a books is wanting, especially when compared with Toosy's or other lists of old Shi'a literature. It is not in the library of the shrine that the student of Mohammedan history, literature, and spiritual life should seek the key of that unexplored field of study—Shiitic ideas and their development. Indeed, it does not seem that a great amount of material could be found in the library for the study of the present state of Shi'a thought. The modern books are for the most part those popular and familiar works of fiction which embellish a few historical facts like the death of Imam Hussein at Kerbela, etc., with all sorts of miraculous happenings.

This collection, with its seemingly poor and mixed contents, does not suggest a very favourable opinion about other libraries of the same type probably existing in Kum, Nejef, Kerbela, etc.

The disappointment resulting from a survey of the contents of the library should not, however, be final. Firstly, it is generally very difficult to judge a library of Mohammedan books with their elaborate titles by studying only a bare list of their headings. The closest examination is absolutely necessary. Secondly, it is a well-known fact that Persians in general and the holy and learned mollahs in particular are strikingly ignorant of all that concerns books of poetry, history, fiction, etc.—indeed, everything that is outside the scope of the ordinary school-books which they study by heart. Being inaccurate and trusting much to their scholarship, and having no idea as to the use of reference books, these people are particularly helpless when it is a matter of defining a book the title of which cannot be found in the book itself. This difficulty frequently arises, for there are always books with

front and end leaves missing. In this case certain different mistakes are commonly made. They may put in the list one of the eulogical expressions in which the author styles his work, thus creating a new book out of even one of the best-known works. In other cases it may happen that an uncommon book is given the title of a well-known one because their contents are similar. Again, the Persians very often bind together a collection of short treatises in one cover because they are of the same size, although their contents may be very varied. In these cases the name given in the list would be the name of the first book or treatise; the others they disregard. For all these reasons it is possible that the rather unfavourable impression created by the list would change after a closer examination of the contents of the library. It is, however, unlikely that many valuable manuscripts would be found in the library, which in its present state is chiefly a collection of school-books, commentaries and "glosses" upon the more important school treatises, and purely religious books dealing with the forms of worship, etc. All these classes of books show very clear traces of having been censored, probably by the mollahs who would be anxious not to admit a book containing heretical teachings. How many interesting books might disappear from the library on the pretext that they were unsuitable for inclusion in it!

The above-mentioned inventory list is the result of a revision of the contents of the library carried out in A.H. 1312, that is twenty-eight years ago.<sup>1</sup> It consists of eighty-nine pages in the usual business *shikesteh* on yellowish Oriental paper in octavo. The books are divided into twenty-three

<sup>1</sup> Its full title is as follows: صورت کتب خانه مبارکہ سرکار فیض اثار حضرت مان [sic] الائمه علیہ الاف الجنة و التنا

different classes according to their contents, but the division is not always strictly carried out. For instance, many books consisting purely of poetry are to be found included in the list of historical works. Within each class there is no special arrangement. The revisers evidently paid most attention to the source from which the books reached the library. Concerning each book there is the remark, "*waqf* of so-and-so," giving the name of the donor in each case. The titles of the books are written with much less accuracy and are often abbreviated. This is especially the case with the numerous school-books in the library. This type of book always bears a special school name which is not often shown in European reference-books. These names, not infrequently, are rather puzzling to the inexperienced student, for example شرح ملک or ملک بر آخوند, etc.

The compilers of the list always use the familiar titles instead of the full ones when entering particulars of books.

Every volume bears a number (a great improvement and a marked progress in an Oriental library), by which it can be found after consulting the catalogue. The class to which the book belongs is not, however, shown on the label, and this leads to great confusion, as the numbering for each class is separate and consequently there are always several books bearing the same number. On all the books that I succeeded in borrowing there were two numbers, the second having probably been left there since a previous enumeration.

The author's name rarely appears beside the title of a book; indeed, it is only shown when it forms part of the title itself. Remarks showing which books are manuscripts and which lithographs are also sometimes wanting. The number of books shown in the heading on the front page of the list is 2,982. The real figure seems to be higher than this on account of the additions written in different hands at the end of each

class.<sup>1</sup> It is found on closer examination that this number refers to volumes and not to separate works, and many of the religious treatises are very bulky and consist of many volumes. It is also found that there are in many cases two, three, or perhaps more copies of the same book.

When examining the library as a collection of interesting and rare old books many volumes must be excluded from consideration. First of all come lithographed and printed books, forming not less than one-third of the total. It is also necessary to exclude the following, nearly all the school-books (numerous MSS. of which can be found in the bazaars of all the large cities), collections of prayers, etc., and all those books which are very common in European libraries. After all these reductions it will be found that only about one hundred and fifty works remain for consideration. However, it must not be thought that even this small number consists exclusively of unique and valuable books. The titles of those which seemed to me most interesting are given below.<sup>2</sup> Of course, it would have been better to have given the list in full, but unfortunately it was not possible for me to copy it entirely. I shall give here *in extenso* only some classes of general interest, and I shall review the various classes in the order in which they are given in the catalogue. The following is a table of the contents of the list :—

<sup>1</sup> Persians who have seen the library tell me that the number of volumes now reaches ten thousand, the increase being due to recent donations. At this very time (August, 1919) a new revision is said to be going on in order to make a list of the recent acquisitions. Of course, all stories of this sort should be received with caution owing to the Persians' love of extreme exaggeration.

<sup>2</sup> I must warn the reader that having no reference books here in Persia at hand and being forced to rely only upon my memory, I may have missed some interesting titles or quoted some that are familiar. For this reason I am giving in the more interesting cases as many quotations as possible.

PAGE IN LIST.	NUMBER OF VOLUMES IN EACH CLASS.	NAME OF CLASS AND SERIAL NUMBER.
2	116 . . . .	1 تفاسیر خاصه
6	138 . . . .	2 تفاسیر عامه
11	383 . . . .	3 اخبار خاصه
24	30 . . . .	4 اخبار عامه
25	43 . . . .	5 اخبار خاصه فارسي
27	358 . . . .	6 فقه خاصه
38	67 . . . .	7 فقه خاصه فارسي
40	27 . . . .	8 فقه عامه
41	123 . . . .	9 كتب اصول
45	316 حکمة و کلام و اصول و عقائد و امامت	10
55	88 . . . .	11 علوم رياضي
58	34 . . . .	12 كتب رجال و انساب
59	47 . . . .	13 كتب اخلاق
61	50 . . . .	14 معاني و بيان و بدیع
63	88 . . . .	15 منطق
66	100 . . . .	16 طب

PAGE IN LIST.	NUMBER OF VOLUMES IN EACH CLASS.	NAME OF CLASS AND SERIAL NUMBER.
69	115 . . . .	كتب تواریخ 17
72	154 . . . .	كتب ادبیہ 18
76	138 . . . .	نحو و صرف 19
80	71 . . . .	لغت 20
82	28 . . . .	قراءۃ 21
83	226 . . . .	ادعیہ و زیارات 22
89	15 . . . .	مرقعات 23

I shall now proceed to review the contents of the various classes in the order shown above.

1. Commentaries upon the Koran according to Shi'a tradition. It is probable that amongst them there are still unknown Shiitic tefsīrs, but it is impossible to trace them without consulting books of reference. There are many copies of جواہر القرآن.

2. The same as No. 1, but according to the general Mohammedan tradition, chiefly the old books recognized both by Sunnis and Shi'as, such as کشاف، بیضوی، etc.

3. Books on sacred Shi'a tradition. Amongst these are some comparatively rare and little-known books of the great Shi'a doctor of the fourth century A.H. Ibn Bābaweyh (or Bābūya) Al Qummi, usually called by Persians Sheykh Ṣadūq. In his books, which are somewhat tiresome to read on account of their monotony, one can often find interesting hints about the early development of Shi'a beliefs. Such are the following :—

<sup>1</sup> عيون اخبار الرضا<sup>1</sup> (thirteen copies in the library);  
<sup>2</sup> كتاب التوحيد<sup>2</sup> (here three copies, very rare in Europe);  
also حصال<sup>3</sup> (No. 208),<sup>3</sup> امالي<sup>3</sup> (No. 192), and مجالس (No. 294).  
The last three named are not very rare in Persia, but they are still unstudied in the West.

I shall give here *in extenso* the titles of some more Shiitic books which seem to be rather rare, judging, of course, only from the headings found in the list. They are all MSS. :—

سفينة النجات	143
هدایة الامة	253
مناقب من تضوی	282
غزر و درر سید من تضی	286
جامع الاخبار	278
مناقب موسوم بالروضه لشیخ الحلى	295
انیس التوحیدین	319
مقامات النجات	353

<sup>1</sup> It has been lithographed at Tehran, so I have been told. In European libraries copies of this work are scarce. (As far as I can remember there are some copies mentioned in C. Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur.*) A new but good copy is in the possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences at Petrograd.

<sup>2</sup> Lithographed at Tehran A.H. 1285. I know of only one manuscript copy in Western libraries—that in the library of the University at Petrograd.

<sup>3</sup> This book has also been lithographed at Tehran.

4. Mohammedan tradition recognized equally by Shi'as and Sunnis, mostly Bukhāri, Muslim, etc., and commentaries upon them. The following MSS. would perhaps present something new :—

25 عقبة الدرر في اخبار الامام المنتظر

29 كتاب الانابة في مناقب ابي حنيفة

30 زهرة الرياض

5. Books on Shi'a tradition composed in Persian. They are mostly written in ornate prose or poetry, and consist chiefly of the marvellous and sorrowful stories of the holy Imams' "Passions". These books well deserve a thorough study, and this has not so far been undertaken. In present-day Persia they are more widely read than any other books. Still more are the stories listened to by crowds of learned and unlearned men and women in numerous *rūza-khwānī* held the whole year round, but especially in the months of Muharram, Safar, and Ramazan. This type of literature has become a sort of substitute for national epics. The lower classes care little for the Shāhnāma. The books in this class are mostly of recent origin.

6. Arabic books on *fiqh* or the system of theological law and religious prescriptions based upon purely Shi'a tradition.

7. Same as No. 6, but in Persian.

8. The same class of book as in 6 and 7, but recognized by Sunnis also.

9. The chief points of the Mohammedan creed and worship.

10. Philosophy (religious) and books on theoretical theology. Amongst the philosophical books there are some

works of Fārābī, but those of Ghazzālī are more numerous.

Besides these there are many **كتاب عقائد**, etc.<sup>1</sup>

11. Mathematics, astronomy, etc. There are several books of *zīj* (astronomical tables); some of them seem to be rather uncommon, such as **زیج احمد**, **زیج خواجه وزیر**

**زیج ایلخانی**, etc. **معربی**.

12. Catalogues of men who are trustworthy traditionists and books explaining the origin of names which are related to certain places and tribes. This class of books being closely related to history, it should not be without interest to reproduce here the titles in full.

1. **انساب سمعانی** (MS.)

2-5. **تهذیب الکمال فی علم الرجال** (vols. ii, iii, vi, vii, xv) (MS.)

6. **اللباب فی تهذیب انساب** (جزری) (vol. ii) (MS.)

8. **تقزیب التهذیب رجال اهل سنت** (MS.)

9, 14, 15. **تلخیص الاقوال فی علم الرجال** تالیف میرزا محمد

استرابادی (MS.)

10. **رجال میرزا محمد استرابادی**

<sup>1</sup> There are also included books on Sufism and its refutation.

There is also a copy of **سلم السموات** (No. 217). It is a very concise biographical treatise and its copies (all defective) are to be found in the library of the India Office (mentioned in H. Ethé's Catalogue amongst the books of uncertain date) and also in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Petrograd.

- 11, 19 رجال ابن واقف (MS.)
- 12 رجال صغير (MS.)
- 13 كتاب المحدث الفاصل بين الراوى و الداعى بادو رسالة ديكر (MS.)
- 14 خلاصة الأقوال تأليف علامه حلّى (MS.)
- 15 رجال شيخ طوسى (MS.)
- 16 صهر [sic] صبر علامه حلّى (MS.)
- 17 رسائل نحائل (MS.)
- 18 رسائل بدایة فی علم الدرایة (MS.)
- 19 رساله در رجال تأليف شاکرد محقق رومي (MS.)
- 20 درایه لابن حجر عسقلانی (MS.)
- 21 رساله خلاصه در درایه و معرفت حدیث (MS.)
- 22 تبصرة و تذكرة فی اصول الحدیث منظومه (MS.)
- 23 نجوم السما (Lith.)
- 24 قصص العلما (Lith.)
- 25 رساله آفة اصحاب الحدیث (MS.)
- 26 روضات الجنات (vols. i-iv) (MS.)

13. Moral and didactic works. This rich branch of Persian literature is poorly represented here by only a few very common books. The explanation of this is to be found in the fact that all the instructive books on this subject are much influenced by Sufic ideas which are considered heretical by the clergy. But even the most holy mollahs could not altogether ignore the greatest works of this kind, and perhaps even against their wishes they felt obliged to keep in the library such books as فتوح الغیب لابن مثنوی جلال الدین رومی

عرابی, etc. The following would perhaps be found to be more interesting :—

رساله زردشتیه فارسی (MS. No. 23)

رساله در آداب سلطنت (MS. No. 45)

درة المتنخبة (MS. No. 35)

14. Rhetoric; 15, Logic. Represented by the most common treatises and commentaries.

16. Medicine. Some books in this class seem to be old.

17. History. This group of books will attract the attention of students more than any other part of the library, therefore I propose to give here a complete list of the titles in this section so that I may not be reproached with missing any important book. Unfortunately the contents of the group are very poor. Of the 115 works sixteen are to be excluded as not containing historical material. Of all the MSS. only forty-four are of historical, geographical, and biographical contents. The state of this part of the library is a good demonstration of the miserable condition in which the study of their own history is kept by the Persians. In this respect Persians can be divided into two classes. The first class consists of the true believers, including the holy mollahs, who do not care about history at all. In its place they substitute

endless miraculous stories of the life and sufferings of the holy Prophet and the not less holy Imams. The few historical facts are so embellished by a rather primitive and tasteless imagination that any touch of historical inquiry threatens to destroy all. The other class cares just as little about history and is equally ignorant concerning it. The only difference is that instead of the miracles of the Imams being substituted for history, not less fantastic stories about the supposed golden age of Persia, that before Islam, are used instead.

Only a few books in this class can be called precious; chief amongst these is the second volume of Ibn Miskaweyh's

**تجارب الامم**<sup>۱</sup> There are also many geographical books amongst which something new might perhaps be found; it is, however, impossible to make any exact statement as all the titles given in the list are very much alike.

1 شاهنامه (MS.)

2 معجم البلدان (MS.)

3, 4, 107 كتاب ابن خلkan (Pr.)

5 روضات الجنان (MS.)

6 جام جم (Pr.)

7 (46) فتوح شام وآقدي (MS.)

8 جنات الخلود (Lith.)

9-11 ناسخ التواریخ (Pr.) 113

<sup>۱</sup> It will be described later.

<sup>۲</sup> Seemingly not the ancient book of that name, quoted by Tabari, but the so-called Pseudo-Waqidi of later origin.

- 12- كتاب يميني (MS.)
- 13 انسان [sic ?] العيون معروف بسره [sic ?] حلی (MS.)
- 14- تاریخ وصف (تاریخ معجم) (MS.)
- 15- تاریخ ابن اثیر (Pr.)
- 16- جامع الحکایات فارسی (MS.)
- 17- كتاب اغانی (Pr.)
- 18- تاریخ ابن خلدون (Pr.)
- 19- مروج الذهب مسعودی (Pr.)
- 20- كتاب هرنس از کفتار اهل هند بفارسی (MS.)
- 21- مکاتیب ملاقطب (MS.)
- 22- كتاب الموعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الخلطات والاثار (MS.)
- 23- تاریخ ابی الغرا (Pr.)
- 24- تاریخ روم و کرقن استانبول بفارسی (MS.)
- 25- عجائب الخلقات عربی (MS.)
- 26- تاریخ خمیس (Pr.)
- 27- تحفة العالم لعبد اللطیف خان (Pr.)
- 28- رحلة ابن بطوطه (تحفة الناظار في غرائب امصار) (Pr.)

- 46 فتوح الشام واقتدى (Pr.)
- 47-8 فوائد الوفيات (Pr.)
- 49 روضة الصفا (vol. iv) (MS.)
- 50-1 تورية (MS.)
- 52 تورية (Pr.)
- 53-4 ترجمة انجيل (Pr.)
- 55 كتاب در احوال حضرت سجاد و حضرت باقر و  
حضرت صادق (MS.)
- 56 ظفر نامه عليحضرت (Pr.)
- 57 وقفنامه امير تيمور املاک بر شیخ صفی الدین و  
اولاد<sup>۱</sup> (MS.)
- 58 روضة الاحباب (MS.)
- 60 درة المتكللة في فتح مکه (Pr.)
- 62, 82 تاریخ الحکما (MS.)
- 63 لباب الانساب (MS.)
- 64 مجالس النفاس نوائی به لغت ترکی (MS.)
- 65 تذكرة الحکما (MS.)

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a very interesting document.

- 66 شرح نفحات الانس جامی (MS.)
- 67 احوالات حضرت رسول (MS.)
- 68 قصص الانبیا (Pr.)
- 69 عمدة الطالب فی انساب ابی طالب (Pr.)
- 70 شرح عینی در تاریخ سلطان محمود (MS.)
- 71 کتاب در نسب مبارک حضرت رسول (MS.)
- 72 تاریخ نکارستان (MS.)
- 73 تاریخ تیموری (MS.)
- 74 تاریخ فرهنگ (Pr.)
- 75, 81 کتاب ملل و نحل (Pr.)
- 76 کتاب ملل و نحل شهرستانی (MS.)
- 77 ائیس المریدین (MS.)
- 78 تجارب الامم لابن مسکویه (MS.)
- 79 وصایای نظام الملک (MS.)
- 80 کتابی در امثال و حکایات (MS.)
- 83 مسائل الممالک (MS.)
- 84 طبقات الارض که از لسان ترکی بفا رسی ترجمه شد (Pr.)

- 85 قصّة موسى و خضر عليها سلام (MS.)
- 86 تاریخ اسکندر (MS.)
- 87 مرات البلدان (vol. iii) (Pr.)
- 88 روضة الصفا از اوّل تازمان خلفا (MS.)
- 89 کنز الانساب (Pr.)
- 90 تاریخ الانبیا و الخلفاء و الملوك (MS.)
- 91 دیوان ناصر [sic] (Pr.)
- 92 مشنوی (جلال الدین رومی) (Pr.)
- 93 کلیات سعدی (Pr.)
- 94 شرح دیوان اوری (MS.)
- 95 ترید [sic ?] (Pr.)
- 96 نان و حلوا (Pr.)
- 97 کلشن راز (MS.)
- 98 رساله مستشار الانوار در باب راه آهن و عدد روز (Pr.)
- 99 صحبة [sic !] ابرار جامی<sup>۱</sup> (MS.)
- 100 اسکندر نامه نظمی [sic ?] (MS.)<sup>۲</sup>
- سبحة الابرار<sup>۳</sup> نظامی (?)

- 101 صبح حسن (Pr.)
- 102 اسكندر نامه (MS.)
- 104 رسالة حورائيه بارساله واقعه امير تيمور (MS.)
- 105 ديوان حسن (MS.)
- 106 شرح رباعيات ملا صيدل دوانی (MS.)  
<sup>1</sup>
- 108 صفوة الصفي (MS.)
- 109 تاريخ جهان کشای نادری (Pr.)
- 110 اخبار البلدان (MS.)
- 111-12 مطلع الشموس (Pr.)
- 114 سرور العاشقين (Pr.)
- 115 جنات سمائيه (Pr.)
18. Poetry and fiction, Persian and Arabic. A very poor collection of MSS. It would be useless to give here the titles of the mixed printed books, mostly on Arabic poetry, which fill the list. I shall therefore only give a list of MSS. The study of literature is very rare in Persia; beyond a few facts about the most popular poets even the well-educated people know nothing of its history. Among the books in this class there are some interesting encyclopaedias such as No. 1
- نشر الدرر في الموا حظ الحكم و النوا در 10, درة الناج  
رياض الابرار 76, و الاخبار etc.

<sup>1</sup> New, but good and complete copy.

<sup>2</sup> This will be described later.

- 1 درة التاج
- 2 نفائس الفنون
- 3 مجموعه در مسائل و رسائل متفرقه
- 5 كواكب الدرية في مدح خير البرية
- 6 رسالة ذهليه با رسائل ديكر
- 7 فتح المتعالي في ذكر وصف التعالي
- 8 ديوان زيلعي با رسائل ديكر
- 9 حماسه ابي تمام
- 10 نشر الدرر في المواحظ الحكم والنوا در و الاخبار
- 16, 24, 94 ديوان سيد رضي
- 19, 31, 54, 77-8 ديوان متنبي
- 20 ديوان بختري
- 23 شرح سبعه معلقه
- 26, 30 كشكول شيخ بهائي
- 33 مقامات حريري
- 37 محاضرات راغب
- 48 اداب الكاتب لابن قتيبة

- 53 دیوان ابی العلاء المعربی
- 56 کتاب الاعجاز فی الاحاجی و الالغاز
- 57 اساس الاقتباس
- 76 ریاض الابرار مثل نفائس الفنون
- 80 دیوان صفی الدین علی
- 82 ثیار القلوب فی المصادف المنصوب لشعالی
- 83 محسان المحسن
- 84 عنوان الشریف
- 85 نزهہ الالباب
- 86 مفتاح المکمہ در علم صناعة
- 93 دیوان ابی تام
- 95 منهج المکییه فی شرح الهمزیه
- 100 دیوان امر القیس
- 101 شرح قصائد سبع علویات
- 102 دیوان ابن فارض
- 105 کتاب عرّه در محسان شعر (vol. iv)
- 106 کتاب الحججه فی سرقات لابن حجه

- 109 قصائد معلقات سبع
- 110 دیوان حضرت امیر المؤمنین
- 114 ریبع الابرار زخشری
- 118 دیوان شعر
- 119 مسطترف
- 120 ترجمة محاضرات
- 122 کفاية في علم الكتابة
- 123 وافي في العروض و القوافي
- 124 دیوان ابراهیم التوری
- 125 خطب ابن بنائه
- 126 قدری از دیوان شیر [sic]
- 131 کتاب مجموعه شعر بشکل بیاض
- 132 مکاتیب محی الدین
- 133 دستور الشعرا در عروض و قافیه
- 134 اطیاق الذهب
- 135 تحقیق التصریف بمعضطلح الشریف فی المکاتیب
- 136 رساله در عروض

- 137 طبیعت العلوم
- 143 رساله دیوان الشعر و غيره
- 145 دیوان ابی الحسن شاذلی
- 146 اسرار الصنائع
- 147 کتاب در عروض و قوافي (کدائی الشجر)
- 148 رساله انشاء عاد الدين
- 149 کتاب المرصع
- 152 کتاب مثلث
- 153 رساله ذی الارب فی شرح الخطب
- 158 دیوان نظری
- 159 عنك عربی

19, Arabic grammars ; 20, Arabic dictionaries. The contents of both these classes seem to be very common.

21. The art of reading the Koran.
22. Collections of the most effective prayers.
23. Collections of calligraphic inscriptions by the most famous and skilled scribes. In the opinion of an unprejudiced European specimens of this sort seem to be examples of how to make handwriting most illegible and puzzling, but Persians admire them very much and in most well-to-do houses an album of these wonderful productions will be displayed for the admiration of visitors.

This completes the general review of the inventory list. I hope to succeed in obtaining more books on loan from the library; if not, perhaps someone else will try to inquire into the valuable manuscripts still preserved there. This review would have been more interesting if I had had at hand even the chief works of reference, such as C. Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, Haji Khalifah's *Kashf-u-Zunūn*, etc.

In conclusion I offer here a description of the few books from the library which I have seen and examined.

*No. 76 (of 18th class)*

ریاض الابرار as it is shown in the list. I have been unable to trace this title in the text. The author at the beginning of each chapter always refers to it as  
كتاب تسعين.

The name of the author could not be found. This book is a sort of encyclopaedia, and the author very often says something like this, این کتاب مشتمل بر کل امور جمیع علوم و منظوی. Even in the list, which is by no means rich in details, this book is noticed as مثل كتاب نفائس الفنون. Many leaves at the beginning are mixed in order and some are missing, but from the remaining part of the book it becomes clear that it is divided into twelve روضه, and these into مقاله, حکمت, اصل, etc. Judging from the text it is hardly possible to fix its date before eleventh century of Hijrah. In the body of the book the headings of new chapters are not always made in red ink, as was intended by the copyist; it is therefore very difficult to make an index of

the contents of the book. The first four sections (روضه) deal with religious matters, creeds, life of the Prophet, Imams, etc., also some history of dynasties up to the second half of tenth century of Hijrah (the Safawy dynasty in Persia is particularly eulogized), and the circle of Koranic sciences, calligraphy, etc. 5th—Moral maxims, medicine, interpretation of dreams, and fortunetelling. 6th—علم اخلاق و علم طب و علم تعبير (روضه). 7th—Time-calculation (تقویمات). 8th—Archery (تیرانداختن). 9th and 10th I could not find. 11th—Explanation of difficult questions (بيان). 12th—Philosophy (حکمة). The final chapter (خطایه)—در بیان مقالات صوفیه—is on Sufism.

The book seems to be very superficial and based on recent sources. It does not seem very important. The last part on Sufism is very poor, and although there is much talk about these doctrines it contains no new material.

The exterior appearance of the book is as follows: yellowish Oriental paper, size octavo; the handwriting is of Khorasan type, not calligraphic; general impression as to age of copy 200 to 250 years old.

No. 23 (of class No. 10)

**رساله فردوسیه.** This book is a good example of the Persian custom (mentioned above) of binding in one  
 JRAS. OCTOBER 1920.

volume several different treatises. It is a collection of six small treatises, written on different paper in different hands. Size octavo. The following are a few notes about the six treatises:—

I. A treatise on theology in Arabic. Colophon تشرف

بسواد هذه الكلات القدسية والواردات الغيبة روح الله

بن عبدالله الالرى, which is certainly only the name of the scribe. Judging from the handwriting and the yellowish Persian paper it is possible to fix the age of this copy as belonging to twelfth century of Hijrah.

II. A small treatise on توحيد in Arabic, consists of only two pages, beginning قال الشيخ العالم

رسالة الشیخ رسلان [sic]. Paper and handwriting as in No. I.

III. A Persian commentary on the verse of the Koran رساله فردوسیه در تفسیر يوم تائی بعض آیات ربک عباد محمد طارمی و تاویل آیه کریمه ...

and the book is dedicated to شمس الدین ابو النصر مظفر<sup>1</sup>

شاه بن محمود شاه بن احمد شاه. The author often writes

شنه آمنه خود دارد, etc., but the book does not look old. Indian paper, good Persian *nastalik*, probably of 12th-13th century A.H. It begins الحمد لله الذي انزل

<sup>1</sup> Certainly a Bengali king who ruled A.H. 896-9, i.e. A.D. 1490-3 (see Stanley Lane Poole's *Mohammedan Dynasties*, para. 106).

علی عبده الکتاب... اما بعد بدانکه چنانچه کرامات

و فتوح.

IV. A treatise on psychology in Arabic, beginning  
اللهم يا نور الارض و اسما... و بعد يقول الخليفة...

author فن منصور بن محمد الحسيني, divided into several,  
complete, but not dated, 20 ff., paper, etc., as in Nos. I  
and II.

V. A treatise on theology in Arabic, beginning بحمد  
الواهب العقل, 8 ff., complete, Indian paper, hand mullai,  
approximately of 12th-13th century A.H.

VI. A treatise in Persian, consisting of eulogies of the  
Prophet and his family. Title (?) مقدمة چهل حدیث,  
author عمر المراولی دولت آبادی. The book is divided  
into ten باب as follows:—

- |                         |                              |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| I در اولاد رسول         | VI در دروسیلت ساختن بر رسول  |
| II در بشارت محبان اولاد | VII اسما و القاب سادات       |
| III در رعایت اولاد رسول | VIII بیان آنکه سادات با صرار |
| IV در فضیلت اولاد رسول  | در کفر نیرند ذکر منشور رسول  |
| V ثبوت نسبت علوی        | X در ذکر لعنت بریزید         |

Persian paper, comparatively elegant Persian handwriting, 66 ff., deficient at the end, approximately of 12th-13th century A.H.

*No. 78 (of 17th class—History)*

تَجَارِبُ الْأَمْ وَعُوَاقِبُ الْهُم—Annals of the celebrated historian عَلَى بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مُسْكُوِيَّةِ. This is the very rare second volume, as stated in the heading, containing the history of A.H. 101-256, i.e. the end of the Ommeyad Khalifat and the beginning of the Abbasid dynasty. The author, being probably of Persian origin (judging by his name), dedicates many interesting pages to Persian affairs, making his book thereby very important for the study of Persian history. The MSS. of this work are very rare; so far as I can remember they are preserved only in a library in Constantinople. The fifth volume has been published in facsimile.<sup>1</sup> The present copy is in good condition, only a few leaves are missing at the end. Judging from its paper, handwriting, etc., it must have been copied about the seventh and certainly not later than the first half of the eighth century A.H. It contains 259 leaves of thick yellowish paper, probably of Samarkand fabrication, nearly 8 inches square ( $8 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$  inches and  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5$  inches). The handwriting is by no means elegant; very often diacritical dots are missing, which makes the reading very difficult in some places, especially where the brownish ink is faded.

The title appears on the front leaf, as is often the case with old MSS., written in the same hand as the whole text. The inside of the book is subdivided into narratives year by year. To these accounts the author adds

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, as I have no books of reference at hand, I cannot say here in which series this book was published. Another, much better copy of the same fifth volume, found by me in Turkestan is at present in possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

special paragraphs about the more important incidents or persons, as ذکر اخبار الروندية و خروجهم و مقتلهم or ذکر سبب خروج عبدالله بن معاوية و طمعه في الخلافة or simply ذکر السبب في ذلك etc. و دخلت سنة احدی و مائة The book begins abruptly. Sometimes the author quotes the Annals of Tabari, history of Wâqidi, etc.



## Tablet of Prayers for a King (?) (K. 2279)

BY M. SIDERSKY, B.A.

THIS fragment K. 2279 + S. 675 + S. 2152 (lower half of a large tablet) was copied by Dr. Pinches at the British Museum many years ago. When I saw him on a visit to London he was kind enough to hand me, for publication, his copy of the text, which he had neither transliterated nor translated.

Naturally I should have liked to revise the inscription, but as the Assyrian tablets in the British Museum are not yet available for students, verification of some doubtful characters was impossible. I think, however, that little or no revision will be found necessary, as a copy made by the careful hand of Dr. Pinches can seldom be improved upon. I have therefore simply made a fresh copy from this of Dr. Pinches and worked it out.

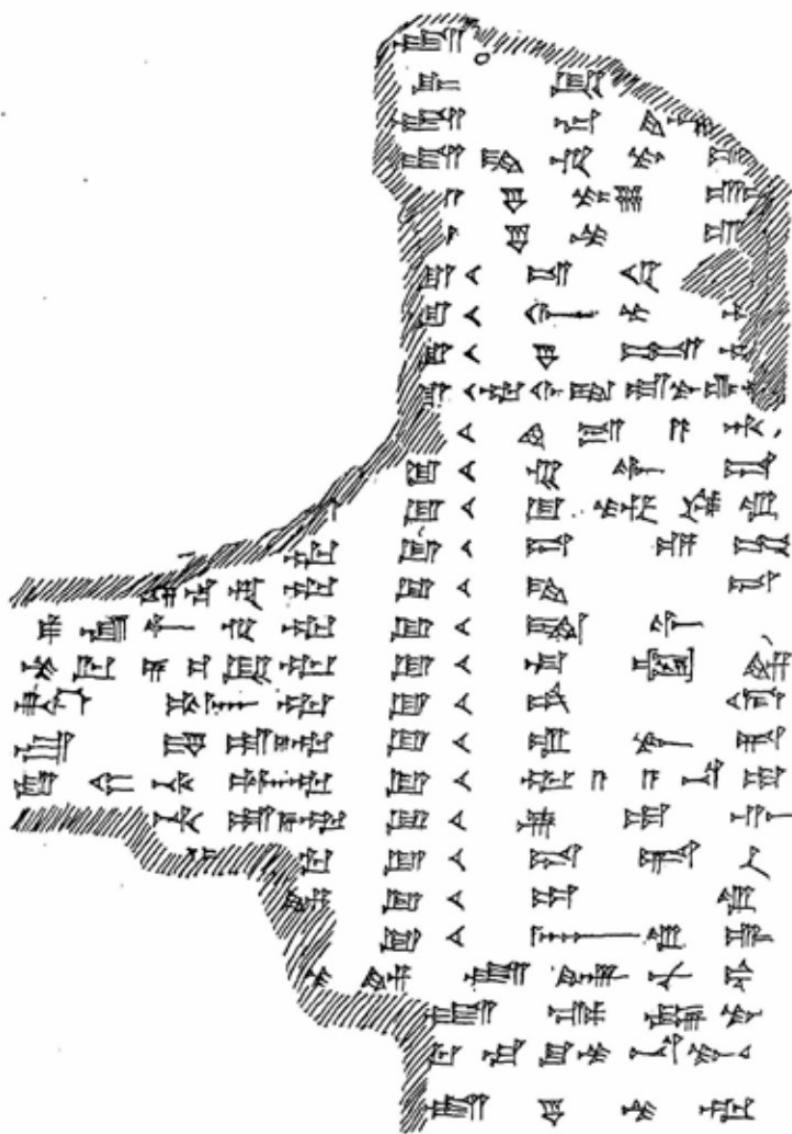
With regard to the text it will probably be recognized that, though defective, it is an interesting one, both from the literary and philological points of view. It contains some poetical expressions. Unfortunately we do not know who was the writer of the tablet, nor have we any information as to the person to whom the good wishes were addressed. Future discoveries may reveal these secrets.

In conclusion, I wish to thank my esteemed teacher, Professor Langdon, for some valuable suggestions and notes, which are marked by the initial letter L.

### OBVERSE

.	.	li	.	.
.	.	lip-ki-[du]		
.	.	li-ba-al		
.	.	li-kar-ri-bu-u		
5	.	li-ša-tir-ú		

## OBVERSE



## REVERSE



.	.	.	[li]-ša-mu-ú
.	.	.	[lu]-u-iš-šik
.	.	.	lu-u ši-mat-[ka]
.	.	.	lu-u ša-rič-[ka]
10	.	.	lu-u ka-ši-id ši-bu-ú-[ka]
.	.	.	lu-u hi-da-a-ti
.	.	.	lu-u kap-pi-du
.	.	.	-ka lu-u ku-uš-su-ru
.	.	.	-ka lu-u du-un-ku
15	.	.	*as (?)-la-ri-ka lu-u kar-du aš-ta-pi-ri-ka lu-u it-pe-šù mu-ur-ni-is-ki-ka lu-u la-[as]-im tarbaş alpē-ka lu-u šum-dul su-pur ši-ni-ka lu-u rit-pu-uš
20	ta-lit-ti	alpē-ka	lu-u ka-a-a-na-at [ta-lit]-ti ši-ni-ka lu-u sa-ad-rat .
	.	.	ka lu-u du-uš-šu
	.	.	im lu-u ab-ru
	.	.	lu-u meš-ru-ú
25	.	.	še-im li-ilj-nu-ub .
	.	.	li-riš in-bu
	.	.	[ma]-la šu-mu na-bu-u
	.	.	li-šà-mu-ka

## REVERSE

ka-ša-du liš-ru-ku-ka  
 [ina] di' li-iš-šu-ru-ka  
 [ina ū-me ?] kat<sup>1</sup> ru-bi-e li-ig-me-lu-ka  
 [i]-na ū-me ilu Gir-ra<sup>2</sup> li-ti-ru-ka

<sup>1</sup> For the idea cf. *ḫut ameli*, Ebeling, *Religiöse Texte*, 26, 2; and *ilu ḫarru bēlu u rubā dāgu-šu*, "God, king, lord, and prince oppress him," ibid., 7. Also *kat ili*, Ebeling, *Religiöse Texte*, 26, 1; 68, 2, et passim in omens an expression for affliction.

<sup>2</sup> Written *NITAH*-ra = *girra*, fire-god, an aspect of Nergal, god of the summer sun and lord of the dead. He is both a plague-god and a beneficent lord of agriculture. For *girra* as fire-god see Langdon, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 12, 80, 20; *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*, 337, 9; and as god of flocks, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, 177, 12. The reading *Girra*

- 5 i-na a-mat mamīti <sup>1</sup> li-še-zि-bu-ka  
     i-na a-mat ili u šarri li-šal-li-mu-ka  
     ina pi-i-ka lu-u a-si-im da-ba-bu  
     ina ēnē-ka lu-u na-mir ni-it-lu  
     ina uznē-ka lu-u ki-ru-ub <sup>2</sup> niš-mu-u
- 10 ina idē-ka <sup>3</sup> lu-u [kar]-du  
     ina šēpē-ka lu-u e-ṭil-lum  
     <sup>ilu</sup> Sin šarru lu-u [na]-sir-ka  
     mu-šal-lim-ka lu-u <sup>ilu</sup>Ninurta kar-ra-du  
     mu-kil na-piš-ti-ka lu-u <sup>ilu</sup>Marduk
- 15 mu-dan-nin bit ḥup-ka <sup>4</sup> lu-u <sup>ilat</sup> Ba-ú  
     AN-GUB-BA-MES <sup>5</sup> ilāni ší-ru-ti  
     AN-KU-A-MES <sup>5</sup> ilāni na-bu-u-ti

results from the writing *gi-ra*, Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*. 17, 12, and *ilu gi-ra*, AO. 4331, Rev. i, 2, in Thureau-Dangin's *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello*.

<sup>1</sup> *sag-bi-(ti)* = *mamītu*, variant of *sag-ba*. For a definition of *mamītu*, "curse," in both positive and negative magic, see Langdon, "Babylonian Magic," *Scientia*, xv, 226.

<sup>2</sup> The permansive of *karābu* occurs also in King, *Magic*, 8, 1, *ki-ru-ub* *niš šumi-ki*, "the oath in thy name is grace." *nišmā*, hearing, i.e. what one hears.

<sup>3</sup> ID<sup>st</sup> for dual. Lines 10 and 11 refer to protecting genii.

<sup>4</sup> The Assyrian cognate of Hebrew **תְּפִלָּה**, covering, roof, bridal tent, is *ḥuppu*, which occurs only as an architectural term. *išhiṭ ḥup-pa*, "she mounted to the roof," *Epic of Gilgamish*, vi, 175, and K. 4574 in Meissner, *Supplement*, *ḥup-pu* = *sellu*, ceiling. Evidence for the Babylonian custom of confining a bride and bridegroom in a bridal tent or house is adduced in my note on *kallatu*, bride, *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, vol. iii. [L.]

<sup>5</sup> *an-gub-ba* is a title of divine beings and has a meaning synonymous with "attendant". Note CT. 25, 2, 10, the five *an-gub-bu* of Eninnū; Ebeling, *Religiöse Texte*, ii, rev. 9, the *šedu* or protecting winged bulls are called *an-gub-ba* of Esagila. Two inferior deities are called the *an-gub-ba* of Ekur, CT. 24, 24, 67 ff. Hence *angubbā* is a kind of priest, see Streck, *Asurbanipal*, ii, 268, 27, *amet an-gub-ba* <sup>st</sup> = K. 5382b (p. 414), *an-gub-bi-e naṣir pirišti*, "guardians of the mysteries." With this passage compare *amet gub-ba*, clearly = *angubbā*, in BA. iii, 323; vi, 20 f. *ramki pašiši amet GUB-BA bārûte naṣir pirište*, where *angubbā* is combined with *bārû*, seer, prophet. The priest *amet GUB-BA* *passim* in divination texts, Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, 47, 10 = Klauber, *Politisch-Religiöse Texte*, 106, etc. In II R. 31, 32, *amet GUB-BA* is followed by *amet bārûte*, the diviners. Hence the *gubba* and *angubba* priests are diviners, seers. The element

	ina še-e-ri du-un-ki
	ina mu-uš-la-li <sup>1</sup> ni-me-li
20	ina šum-še-e <sup>2</sup> ku-ši-ru [kima ba-] ba-al ? lib-bi-ka lu-u ú-ṣu-ka [ina ma]-a-a-al mu-u-[ši] dum-me-ik šu-ut-tu
	e-gir-ru-u na-ḥa-še
	li-kil la dun-[ki]
25	liš-ṣu-u eli-[ka]
	lu-u ši-mat-[ka]
	lu-u ib-ba-a
	lu-u nam-ra-a
29	li UN BI TU ZI še . . .
30	šu-uš . . . uh-hi . . . damič (?) ḥu-su . . .

## OBVERSE

1. . . . may . . .  
2. . . . may (they) appoint (?)

an is only a noun augment, v. *Sumerian Grammar*, § 150. The idea of prophecy is not inherent in the word which should mean *muzzazu*, guard, one who stands, but it obtained this sense from its constant application to certain stars. The *mul gub-ba* pl. of Ekur and the *mul an-ku-a* of Ekur, VR. 46, 15 f. and in RA. 14, 22, 31 the *angubba* and *ankup* stars are described as the directors of all things. Kugler, *Sternkunde, Ergänzungen*, 30, identified the *angubba* stars with Serpens (CT. 33, 5, 27) and the *an-ku-a* stars with Ophiuchus (CT. 33, 9, 13). See also Kugler, *Sternkunde*, ii, 144 (82-5-22, 512, in Brown, *Researches*, cited by Kugler, *Ergänzungen*, 61, is now published in CT. 33, 9). Weidner, *Handbuch der Babylonischen Astronomie*, 32f., explains the *angubba* stars as the positions of the sun at the solstices and the *an-ku-a* stars as the poles of the celestial equator and ecliptic. See also RA. 16, 150, 15 ; 155, note 1. [L.]

<sup>1</sup> mušlalu, time of repose, siesta, see Landsberger, OLZ. 1916, 37f.

<sup>2</sup> šumšē is philologically identical with the Aramaic expression for evening, נַמְשֵׁה יְמִין “between the suns,” which often occurs in the Talmud and Targum. [This is a very fortunate identification by Mr. Sidersky. The original word is šamšā, dual, “the two suns,” see my corrections to Haupt, ASKT. 71, 16, in RA. 14, 16, išeri u šamšā, “in the morning and at evening.” The Sumerian here is d-ud mi-ba di-e, “the might of the sun glows in darkness,” i.e. twilight. The dual genitive accusative šumšē was obscured to šumšā by analogy with the nisbeh ending. Hence gitg-zal = šumšā, BM. 38372, rev. 9, and Weidner, RA. 11, 124, 19 ; šamšā > šumšā is due to the labial m.—L.]

3. . . . may (they) ?
4. . . . may they bless (thee)
5. . . . may they increase (to thee)
6. . . . may they . . . .
7. . . . may
8. . . . may be thy lot
9. . . . may be granted thee
10. . . . may thy wish be obtained
11. . . . may be joyful
12. . . . may they plan
13. Thy . . . may be secured
14. Thy . . . may be goodness
15. Thy . . . may be powerful
16. May thy servants be industrious
17. May thy steed be swift
18. May thy cattle pen be enlarged
19. May thy sheepfold be wide
20. May the reproduction of thy cattle be constant
21. May the reproduction of thy sheep be continuous
22. May thy . . . be fat
23. . . . be strong
24. . . . be abundance
25. . . . of grain grow lustily
26. . . . may . . . grapes
27. . . . as many as have a name
28. . . . may they purchase from thee

## REVERSE

- may they grant thee.  
 From headache may they protect thee.  
 In the day of the hand of the prince may they be merciful unto thee.  
 In the days of the god Girra (the plague) may they preserve thee in safety.  
 5 From the work of the curse may they save thee.

- In the affair of a god and king may they give thee safe  
deliverance.
- May speech in thy mouth be proper.
- In thy eyes may sight be clear.
- In thy ears may that which thou hearest be gracious.
- 10 By thy side may (there be) a mighty one,  
At thy feet a powerful one.  
May Sin the king be thy protector,  
Thy benefactor be Ninurta the heroic,  
(and) Marduk the upholder of thy life.
- 15 May the supporter of thy bridal tent be Bau.  
The "guardians" the supreme gods,  
The AN-KU-A the prophetic gods,  
In the morning favour,  
At noon wealth,
- 20 At sunset good fortune,  
[Even as the] desire (?) of thy heart arise for thee.
- 22 (On) the couch at night be pleasant (thy) dream.
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## An Ethiopic-Falasi Glossary

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD

(Continued from p. 230, 1919.)

- እዕድ : እበደ : to give light.
- ኋድ : እየ : to see.
- እመድ : እመለከት : to show, to mark.
- እሰድ : እበር : እያደን : to imprison.
- ጥቃዕድ : ቅል : እል : to neglect, to despise.
- ጥቃየድ : ቅገድ : to taunt a person with kindness shown to him.
- እክድ : መሙቅ : to dip, to soak.
- ወሰድ : ስነወቅ : to split.
- ወመድ : እመለከት : to point out, to denote.
- ጥወመድ : እያቶ : to judge.
- ጥወከድ : እስከ : to think.
- ዘዕድ : ስዕድ : to hide.
- ይመድ : እንደ : እያደን : to unite, gather.
- ጥንመድ : ቅንመድ : to boast.
- ጥንየድ : ቅንይድ : to emigrate.
- ጥመድ : እመረጥ : to foretell.
- መፈድ : መፈድ : to make a roof.
- ፈፈድ : ቅጥ : to intertwine.
- ፈዘድ : ጥጋታሙ : to explain.

- \***፳፻፲፭** : እስከብ : እለ : to carry (a sheep) on the shoulder.
- ሙዘበ** : እመቅ : to extinguish.
- \***ክረስ** : ስጋስ : to pierce.
- በደበ** : ንድፈ : to plunder.
- ዘርዝ** : በተኩ : to scatter.
- ተግባ** : ተዘረገ : to be spread.
- ነብጥ** : መደን : to sweep.
- የጽፈ** : ጽጂ : to pull out.
- እማዕረ** : እጽፈው : to sweeten.
- እምጣፍያ** : እጽፈው : id.
- እንገጋ** : ተንከበባልል : to roll about.
- እንከራይ** : ፍቃዕል : to overturn.
- እንገጋ** : እንገዲት :: ተቀባ : to murmur, to be excited.
- መሙ** : የፊ : to write.
- ማረ** : ሰፊ : to work.
- ተጋዕ** : ተተጋዕጥ : to be neighbour.
- ተጋሙ** : እንደ : ሆነ : to be joined.
- ተዓረ** : ተጠሳ : to hate.
- እስተዋዕ** : ሰሙን : to beg
- እስተካዕ** : እዋልል : to scorn.
- እስተጋበ** : እስተጅ : to prepare.
- እስተጋጋ** : እስተለሰድ :
- እማናበ** : እንደ : እይደን : to unite.

- እግዢደ :** እግና : to rouse, to stir up.
- ልስጥ :** እድገት :: እረዳት : to grow; to be old.
- ርሃጥ :** ደጥ : to be distant.
- ቁስጥ :** ተቋ : ወጪዎች : to guard; to love.
- ቁኝጥ :** ተጠቃሚ : to be distressed.
- ክልጥ :** እናጋት :: በኑ : to grow; to increase.
- ዓረጥ :** ባረ : ወን : to be empty.
- ተኞርጥ :** ተሸቻጥ : to be naked.
- ወደጥ :** ወደቅ : to fall.
- ቁደጥ :** እውነት : ወን : to be true.
- ክሙጥ :** ቦኩ : to be bad.
- ክኩጥ :** እኩጥ : to strangle.
- ልክጥ :** ቅደበ :: እንደብ : ወን : to be near; to be united.
- እልክጥ :** ይደበ : to arrive.
- መጠጥ :** እውጥ : to drive out.
- ሰስጥ :** ስጥ : to laugh.
- ወረጥ :** ወጥ :: ወረቅ : to go up; to rise.
- ሰንጥ :** በንጥ : የዚ : to take provisions (for a journey).
- ስጠጥ :** እልከብ :: መረጃጥ : to polish; to crush.
- ሰጠጥ :** ሰንጠጥ : to split.
- ረዳጥ :** ተቀመጥ : to sit, to dwell.
- ኩባልጥ :** ያንዳ : to support.
- ቦረጥ :** በደ : to shine.
- ነጋጥ :** በጀ : to work.

<b>፳፻Φ :</b>	<b>ከ፻፻ :</b> to divide.
<b>ከመΦ :</b>	<b>መ፻Φ :</b> to be deep.
<b>ከሰΦ :</b>	<b>ከሰረ :</b> to bind, capture.
<b>የረΦ :</b>	<b>ከሰተረΦ :</b> to reconcile.
<b>ከኬΦ :</b>	<b>ከኬረ :</b> to fetter.
<b>ከጠΦ :</b>	<b>ታጥΦ :</b> to gird on the sword.
<b>ተዓረΦ :</b>	<b>በጽ :</b> <b>በጽ :</b> to be strange.
<b>ወረΦ :</b>	<b>ተፋ :</b> to spit.
<b>ዘሐΦ :</b>	<b>ዘሐ :</b> to gorge.
<b>ከጥመΦ :</b>	<b>ከመሙΦ :</b> to baptise, to immerso.
<b>መልΦ :</b>	<b>ከመልΦ :: እኝ፻ :</b> to be deep; to be unclean.
<b>ያፈΦ :</b>	<b>ተጨማሪΦ :</b> to be distressed, oppressed.
<b>ፈሐΦ :</b>	<b>ፈΦ :</b> to scrape off, to tan.
<b>ፈረΦ :</b>	<b>እኝን :</b> to cure.
<b>መቀΦ :</b>	<b>እንቀጣ :</b> to burn.
<b>ረΦ :</b>	<b>ረቃΦ :</b> to be thin.
<b>ግΦ :</b>	<b>ግቃΦ :</b> to be thin, fine.
<b>ቀዋΦ :</b>	<b>ቀዋΦ :</b> to be warm.
<b>ነΦ :</b>	<b>ገኘ፻ :</b> to support.
<b>ያΦ :</b>	<b>ከወΦ :</b> to know.
<b>ከጠΦ :</b>	<b>ከስጠናቅ :</b> to distress.
<b>ተከደΦ :</b>	<b>ተከፈ፻ :</b> to be divided.
<b>ወሰΦ :</b>	<b>ገኘ፻ :</b> to support.
<b>ጠሙΦ :</b>	<b>መፈ፻Φ :</b> to crush, beat.
<b>መሩΦ :</b>	<b>ተረጅ :</b> to be assured.

- ጥፋችዎ :** ተሙያኝዎ : to consider oneself just.
- ሳንቀዎ :** ተቀባውዎ : to be delicate.
- መንቀዎ :** መኩችዎ : to pay attention.
- እንቀዎ :** መልዎ : to empty a vessel.
- እንዘብበችዎ :** እስከበችዎ : to shine, to glitter.
- እድልቁልዎ :** ተቁወዎ : to be shaken.
- ተዋለዎ :** ክስተት : to deride.
- ፍልዎ :** ተመራመረት : to doubt.
- ተባክዎ :** ገሬ : to belch.
- ልክብ :** ውኔ : to sweat.
- ብናብ :** እናደ : to be unclean.
- ርግብ :** ተጀብ :: በቅ : to be hungry; to be wide.
- ሻናብ :** የኑዋጥ : to be dry.
- ሻክብ :** ተጠናቃቂ : to be distressed, oppressed.
- ረዋብ :** ገወቦ : to be moist.
- ወይብ :** ቅደብ : to be near.
- ኋዋብ :** ንመብ : to drip.
- ኋይብ :** ገኑ : to enter.
- እዋብ :** መገብ : to be satiated.
- አሰብ :** እሰብ : to milk.
- አሰብ :** እሰብ : to think.
- አሰብ :** እሰብ : to wash.
- ሰሰብ :** ዘበ : to draw; to drag.
- ሰሰብ :** ገራይ : to undress.
- ሰረብ :** መግብ : to drink.

- ሰኝበ :** ተከተል :: ተዋህድ : to follow; to be united.
- ሰኝበ :** ተቋ : to lie down; to sleep.
- ደኝበ :** እንቋ : to find.
- ቀልበ :** ቅልብ : to nourish.
- ቀረበ :** ቅረብ : to be near.
- ቀጠበ :** መቅብ : to wink.
- ዘመበ :** ስደ : to work.
- ዘወበ :** ዘመዋ : to rob.
- ዘረበ :** ዘረብ : to set, to go down.
- ዓፈበ :** መሰዋ : to preserve, to protect.
- እስቀበ :** እዘጋጀ : to prepare.
- እተበ :** እማጥብ : to make a sign (esp. of the cross).
- እወበ :** መኬዋ : to oppress.
- እስወበ :** እስጋኬዋ : to amaze.
- ወሂበ :** ስዕት : to give.
- እውሰበ :** ዓገኑ to bring in, to marry.
- እውጥበ :** መል :: እሰነዱራድ : to throw; to provoke.
- እውጭበ :** ስደ : to work.
- እረበ :** መታ : to beat.
- እገበ :** እነማጥና : to assemble.
- ወዋበ :** መቁሙ : to sew.
- ጽልበ :** ስቁል : to hang.
- ጽረበ :** መጀብ : to work with the hatchet.
- ጽዋበ :** መልብ : to empty a vessel.

- ፈበብ :** እስከ : to flourish.
- ለበብ :** ሌከብ : to be smooth.
- ሰበብ :** መጋዘ : to detest, to envenom.
- ረበብ :** ዘጋጃ : to spread.
- ዘበብ :** ተጥነረ : to speak.
- ከበብ :** የመው : to appoint.
- መበብ :** ተረቃቁዋ :: በልሁ : ሆነ : to be wise; to be shrewd, skilful.
- ሸበብ :** ማቅዋ :: መስቦ : to be narrow; to be straight.
- መብ :** መሳም : ሆነ :: እዋዋ : ሆነ : to be learned; to be intelligent.
- ሐበብ :** ቅጽ : to draw water.
- ሰብ :** ስስተት : to have grey hair.
- ሐብብ :** ቅሙት :: ሰላን : to count; to reckon.
- ተቀኙብ :** ተመረሙት :: እስከ : to doubt; to meditate.
- መገብ :** መስዋ :: የመው : to guard; to appoint.
- እስከ :** ገዛ : to buy.
- የበብ :** እሳድ : እል : to shout for joy.
- ይግብ :** ወጥ : to go forth.
- ሐንጻብ :** እሩሻ : to bear fruit.
- ተመንጻይብ :** ተጨማሪ : to be distressed.
- ተመክፈብ :** እጽፋ : ሆነ : to be folded, doubled.
- ተዓጋዝብ :** እመሳጥ : to foretell.
- ይጠይብ :** መታታ : to beat.

- ገልበብ :** ተፈፋና : to veil.
- መጠቀም :** ገረዳ : to scourge.
- ቍ-በጽብ :** ቅ-ቸው : to cut.
- መጠቀም :** እማራ : to teach.
- እንተ-በጠቀም :** እከተስ :: ከነስ :: እንተባለም : to rain;  
to cause rain; to let fall in drops.
- እማራሰሰም :** ፍጻ : to open; to loosen.
- እማራሰዋም :** መሰዋ : to guard, to protect.
- እማራጥም :** እማጥቃ : to make a sign.
- ስልክበብ :** ተገኘት : to be mouldy.
- ምዕጥ :** መቶ : ሆነ : to be a hundred.
- ስልክጥ :** እሳደዳ :: ቴጥ : to give rest; to err.
- ተስልክጥ :** እሳደዳ : to be at rest.
- ስልክጥ :** ስልክኝ : to have power.
- ተተሳደጥ :** ክቅ : እሳ : to bow.
- ስነጥ :** ወጪ : to pierce; to wound.
- ዋጥ :** ታስዋ : to gird on (the sword).
- ዘሰጥ :** እፈፈሰብ : to destroy.
- ዓንጥ :** ተስቦ : to surround.
- እስከ-ዘሰጥ :** እሙስብና : to honour, to praise.
- ከውጥ :** ጉልጠ : to uncover.
- ከቦጥ :** ተስጠ : to hide.
- ለቦጥ :** ወቻ : to swim.
- ሐተጥ :** መረሙራ : to inquire, examine.
- እስተጥ :** እዋልል : to disregard, to despise.
- እስተጥ :** እስወጪያ : to remove, to shelter.

- በተ :** እኩረ : to pass the night, to dwell.  
**ቀዕተ :** ቅዕተ : to die.  
**ርተ :** ወልወል : to besmear; to wipe.  
**ልተተ :** ዳደ : ሆነ : to be dumb.  
**መሙተ :** ተስስረ : to be seized with panic.  
**በየተ :** ገሰረ : to pay tribute.  
**ጥስተ :** ደም : ሆነ : to bleed.  
**እመተ :** ከዘድ :: ስፈረ : to measure; to count.  
**ፈተተ :** ቅራብ : to crumble (tr.).  
**ፈጻተ :** ቅማ : to plunder.  
**ቍጠረተ :** እኩደ :: ወልወል :: በንሳ : to cleanse;  
 to scour; to polish.  
**መውረተ :** መውረት : to lay the foundation.  
**እመረዋዕተ :** እገተና : to curl the hair.  
**መጋዕወተ :** መጋዕወት : to give alms.  
**ስንበተ :** እደ : ስለተ : to rest; to remain.  
**ስንከተ :** ገንደ : to take.  
**ስነተተ :** ጥሩ : to cook.  
**ለልሙተ :** ማልሙ :: መቀረ : to be dark.  
**እክሞተተ :** እመረ : to be short.  
**ታስተ :** ክንያ : to delay.  
**ተዋከተ :** ተዋወቻት : to converse, to banter.  
**እጋሙተ :** እች : to consume, to finish.  
**በረጋተ :** እኩረት : to try to sow dissension.  
**እክሰበተ :** እክሰበ : to save.  
**እርሃረተ :** እፃፃቻ : to distress, to straiten.

<b>ብኩን :</b>	<b>ጥቃኒ :: ብን :</b> to be impossible; to be unable.
<b>ተክሱን :</b>	<b>ገንዘብለ :</b> to serve, to assist.
<b>ዝኩን :</b>	<b>ጽዋ’ :</b> እስል : to be calm, silent.
<b>ደኩን :</b>	<b>ደን :</b> to be convalescent.
<b>ጥስኩ :</b>	<b>ጻጠ :</b> to grind.
<b>እምነት :</b>	<b>እመን :</b> to believe.
<b>ዝዕኩ :</b>	<b>እዝኝ :</b> to be sorry.
<b>አዕኩ :</b>	<b>እሳይ :</b> to rear, to educate.
<b>አፈኩ :</b>	<b>ታፈኩ :</b> to be taken, covered.
<b>ለዕኩ :</b>	<b>ሰበሰቦ :</b> to assemble.
<b>ሙዕኩ :</b>	<b>ሙዕኩ :</b> to be barren.
<b>ሰዕኩ :</b>	<b>զዕΦ :</b> to be warm.
<b>ሰሰኩ :</b>	<b>ተረፈ :</b> to abound.
<b>ሰፈኩ :</b>	<b>ገኘ :: መፈ :</b> to buy.
<b>ራጭ :</b>	<b>ሙና :</b> to charge, to saddle.
<b>ራስ :</b>	<b>ገፈ :</b> to glow.
<b>ራጠ :</b>	<b>እያ :</b> to cure.
<b>ቀጠ :</b>	<b>ጽዋΦ :</b> to be fine.
<b>እጠ :</b>	<b>እመን :</b> to burn incense, to perfume.
<b>ካግኩ :</b>	<b>ከውረ :: ለሰብ :</b> to hide; to clothe.
<b>እወጣጥ :</b>	<b>ወደን :</b> እየደን : to make wine.
<b>ወጠ :</b>	<b>ዘመን :</b> to begin.
<b>ደፈኩ :</b>	<b>ከውረ :</b> to hide.
<b>ጽግኩ :</b>	<b>ሙና :</b> to charge, to impose a burden.
<b>ጽዋጥ :</b>	<b>ጽጠፈ :: ተፈኩ :</b> to cover; to veil.

(To be continued.)

## The Creation-legend and the Sabbath in Babylonia and Amurru

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES

TO many the name Amurrū will come as something new, but to Assyriologists *mát Amurrē*, "the land of Amurrū," is a revelation dating from the time of the decipherment of the Tel al-Amarna tablets in 1887-8. It is true that the identity of the name did not dawn on them immediately, but it was not long before they became aware of it. When this took place they realized that the district which they had read as *mát Alyarrē*, thought of as "the land behind", and rendered "the west", had, owing to the polyphony of the Assyro-Babylonian syllabary, been misread. It should have been *mát Amurrē*, and translated "the land of Amurrū", i.e. "the Amorites", who, because they dwelt west of Assyria and Babylonia, were thought of as "the westerners", and their country became the designation of the western cardinal point.

Concerning the land of Amurrū and its inhabitants, we have thought more lately, on account of Professor A. T. Clay's books, and likewise his lecture, read before the United Asiatic Societies in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society in September, 1919. That they were an important nationality is indicated by the fact that their country was used to designate the western cardinal point, to say nothing of the Biblical references to them. How important they were, however, we did not, before this discovery, realize, and Professor Clay's writings indicate that they were still more important than we thought even then. As many will probably remember, the theory has been started in Germany that all the civilization of the nearer East in ancient times came from Babylonia, and spread from that point to the nations around. This, however, is by no means a likely theory. That a nation

should be a pioneer in progress or in civilization is a reasonable hypothesis, but that it should have a monopoly therein is quite a different matter. It is true that the Babylonians, that mixed race of Semites and non-Semites, had made considerable progress in the arts of peace and of war at an exceedingly early date, and had developed a system of writing which, though not by any means simple, was practical and useful ; but many an idea of improvement, both civil and artistic, came from the western Semites, or the nations in their neighbourhood.

But the earliest evidence of the influence of the latter on the Babylonians—the non-Semites of the prehistoric period—shows that much more must be attributed to the inhabitants of the Palestinian coast-lands than has hitherto been supposed. It is generally recognized that there were two sections of Semitic peoples—those of the south (Arabia) and those of the north (Palestine)—and it was apparently from these latter that the earliest migrants into Babylonia were descended, as their language shows, for its consonantal system and vocabulary have much greater analogy with those of the Hebrews and the Phoenicians than with Arabic, though all, including the Aramaic dialects, have much in common. But the evidence is far from being mainly a question of language. Beginning with the legends current on both sides, it is to be noted that the accounts of the Creation differ greatly. That of the Babylonians deals with the formation of the earth, of man, of the animals, and of the way in which the great gods obtained their power over the forces of evil. Though poetical in its way, both the expressions used and the ideas contained in the Semitic Babylonian account—as in all the versions from that land—are rugged and, to our modern Western minds, uncouth. The account of the victory of Merodach over the powers of evil suggests, moreover, the composition of a fighting warlike nation, similar to the Norse and Germanic races. The account of the Creation in Genesis, on the other hand, is an entirely different thing, with reasonable teaching

about the divinity and a more rational order of creative acts. Moreover, there is no fighting in it—it is the composition of a nation of thinkers, and may be regarded as a fine attempt to solve a series of difficult problems.

The Hebrew account, however, was not and is not attributed to the Amorites, but it is noteworthy that it comes from the tract inhabited by them at the time when their influence was at its height. Now this period may be set down as belonging to the age of the dynasty of Babylon, which was presumably that of the rise of Merodach to the position of chief of the Babylon pantheon. And this leads to the question : When was the so-called "monotheistic tablet" drawn up ? Now this tablet, as is well known, identifies a number of the most prominent of the gods of the Babylonian pantheon with Merodach—Uraš, Lugal-akiata (?), En-urta, Nergal, Zagaga, Enlil, Nabiu<sup>m</sup> (Nebo), Sin, Šamaš, Addu (Hadad), Tišpak, Gal, and Sugamunu, with others whose names are lost. But it is the colophon of this remarkable text which attracts attention :—

"Behind the gate of Babylon. Written and set forth clearly like its original. Tablet of Kudurru, son of Maštukku."

The god of Babylon had, therefore, all his chief manifestations set forth in some distinct and prominent place within the city-gate.

If this belonged to the time of the Amorite dominion in the city, it is probably not going too far to attribute it, with its teaching, to them ; and in that case they would have become the pioneers of the doctrine of monotheism in those early ages. Naturally, this teaching would not stop at the mere identification of the gods of the Babylonian pantheon with Merodach, but would end by setting up a distinct and independent godhead, all-powerful, supreme, unaided by subordinate deities, and bearing a distinctive name, Yah or Yahwah among the Hebrews, and Allah, for *al Ilahu*, with those of Arab speech, though this latter designation seems to have come into use at a comparatively late date.

The polytheism, however, as we know from the inscriptions, continued in Babylonia, except, perhaps, among a few philosophers and thinkers. And the reason of this probably was, that each ancient state of the land, jealous of the renown of its own patron-deity, refused to admit the supremacy of the god of Babylon, no matter how reasonable that doctrine may have been. The Babylonians themselves, too, must have been wedded to their ancient cult, hence the failure of the teaching of Merodach's identity with all the other gods in Babylonia. Nevertheless, this teaching seems never to have been entirely lost sight of.

The worship of Merodach, it may be at once admitted, never had anything like universal acceptance in Palestine, though it must have been well known there ; and there, too, it may be held as certain that the Babylonian story of the Creation had obtained currency. This is shown by the references to Rahab in Job ix, 13 ; xxvi, 12, etc., in which the LORD is represented as smiting and breaking Rahab in pieces, as Merodach destroyed Tiawath and her followers. But the most important passage is evidently that in Isaiah li, 8, which runs as follows :—

“ Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the LORD ; awake, as in the days of old, the generations of ancient times. Art thou not it that cut Rahab in pieces, that pierced the dragon ? Art thou not it which dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep ; that made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over ? ”

Here, metaphorically, it is Egypt which is referred to as Rahab (see ch. xxx, 6), but there can be no doubt that the legend of Merodach was well known in the extreme west of Asia, and that different names were given to the personages in this old-world drama. And if Tiawath was identified with Rahab, with whom was the god of the Hebrews identified ? Surely with Merodach—and in this theory there need be no shock to the believer's mind, no weakening influence on his faith, for was there not a noteworthy and gallant Hebrew

named Maredecai (Mordecai), and does not his name mean "the Merodachite"—the follower or worshipper of Merodach? That the Hebrews identified Jah or Jahwah with Merodach would seem to be an undoubted thing, but they did not call him by that Sumero-Akkadian name. Nor, apparently, did the other nations of the Palestinian tract; indeed, it is probable that, for them likewise, he was Jah or Jahwah—*Ya'u* and *Yawau<sup>m</sup>*<sup>1</sup>—the divine appellation which we find in the names of men in the early Semitic Babylonian period.

Another question worthy of notice and connected with the Creation-legends is that of the Sabbath. As is well known, the Babylonians had the same word, *šapattu<sup>m</sup>*, derived, according to their own etymology, from the Sumerian *šabat*, meaning "heart-rest", or, perhaps better, "mid-rest." Now the words are so much alike that there is no need to seek any further for their derivation—this seems to be satisfactory in every respect. But there is a great difference between the Babylonian *šapattu<sup>m</sup>* and the west-Semitic *sabbath*, for the former was monthly—it was celebrated on the 15th—while the latter was weekly. Both were based on the phases of the moon, the latter marking the quarters, and the former the mid-monthly full moon. That the Babylonians had an idea of the seven-day week is undoubted, but it was simply a day unsuited for work; and for certain duties referring to "the shepherd of the great peoples", the king, the seer, and the physician.

The seven days of the Creation, therefore, find no place in the Babylonian legend of that great event—it is an exclusively west-Semitic detail. That the Hebrews should have taken the word *sabbath* and applied it to a great weekly rest-day, however, is only natural. This way may have been suggested by the seven-day Babylonian "evil (or unlucky) day", but the Hebrews made of it a strictly weekly day of

<sup>1</sup> See *The Tablets of the Berens Collection* (Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. xvi), No. 101.

rest, not merely unsuitable for certain occupations of certain people, but obligatory upon the whole nation for all work.

This is one of the points which differentiated the faith of Jah and Jahwah from that of the worshippers of Merodach.

All this naturally goes to show that the old Semitic civilization was not all due to Babylon, and that "pan-Babylonism" is in reality misnamed. Legends, and teaching, and inventions, and all that nations can claim as their culture and their knowledge, passed to and fro in ancient times as they do now—Amoria borrowed from Babylon, and Babylon from Amoria—the borrowing of the latter may have been less than that of the former, that is all.

Naturally the Amorite question is an extensive one, and space fails me for a development of it to its full extent, but I may be able to add my quota to the subject later on. In the meanwhile, it may be stated that Professor A. T. Clay, of Yale, has made this subject peculiarly his own. His first book upon the subject was published in 1909,<sup>1</sup> and in it he dealt with all the questions bearing upon the relations of the two nationalities—the Creation, the Sabbath, the antediluvian Patriarchs, the Deluge story, and the original home of the Semites. An interesting section is that dealing with Amurru in the Cuneiform and the west-Semitic inscriptions. Ur of the Chaldees is also treated of.

It was upon these lines that Professor Clay spoke in his lecture delivered before the United Asiatic Societies in September, 1919, and now a new book from his pen is announced. Its title is *The Empire of the Amorites*, and it is issued by the Yale University Press. Professor Clay believes that it is to the Amorites, and not to Babylonia, that the Hebrews owed their civilization. This is a view with which all reasonable minds will agree, but the give and take of all nations, ancient as well as modern, must be held to have had its influence, and Babylonia, through the Amorites, must have communicated

<sup>1</sup> *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*, Philadelphia, Sunday School Times Company, 1909.

culture, such as it was, not only by that channel, but also by means of other intervening states, to all the peoples around. It is Babylonian history and tradition which are referred to in the tenth and eleventh chapters of Genesis, not Amorite. But with one thing we can all heartily agree, namely, that Babylonian influence is not connected with the story of Samson, a "sungod", Joshua, Gideon, Saul, and David, whom the pan-Babylonians are inclined to regard as forms of solar or lunar Babylonian deities.<sup>1</sup> If there are any elements of the worship of Merodach applied to Christ in the Gospels, that is probably more a matter of chance than of intention on the part of the primitive Christian Church. Merodach and Tammuz both met with violent deaths, one to bring about the creation of mankind, and the other when hunting a wild boar—"the wild boar of winter"—but did either of them die upon the cross to save mankind from their sins? Those heroes of the Hebrews seem to be connected with solar and lunar myths about as much as Napoleon was, and Professor Clay's books are doing real service in making this clear.

<sup>1</sup> See the short notice of Professor Clay's book in the *Expository Times* for October, 1919, p. 27.

## Note on the Paris Conference

The second joint session of the associated Asiatic Societies was held at Paris last July and delegates and members of our Society and of the American Oriental Society attended it in response to the invitation of the Société Asiatique.

The session began with a reception at the Musée Guimet at 3 o'clock on July 6, when delegates and members were welcomed and papers and communications on Oriental matters were read, and the reception closed with a light collation. The next day two sections were constituted, one dealing with Nearer Asia and the other with Eastern Asia. They met in the morning and in the afternoon. Papers contributed by members of the different societies were read and discussions followed in each section. In the evening the President, M. Senart, held a reception at his house. The same procedure was observed in the morning of July 8, and in the afternoon all met in a combined session and considered further arrangements touching the entente between the societies. The association closed with a banquet in the evening, at which the Société Asiatique entertained the foreign members. We would acknowledge most warmly the perfect courtesy and cordiality of our hosts, and the complete friendliness that prevailed among all the members.

Our Society was represented by Mr. Pargiter (Vice-President), Dr. Thomas (Hon. Secretary), and Professor Langdon, who were appointed delegates by the Council, and also Mr. Grant Brown (Hon. Treasurer).

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## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### THE HOME OF RAMANANDA

In his interesting paper on "The Historical Position of Rāmānanda",<sup>1</sup> Dr. Farquhar has repeated the statement frequently made by previous writers that Rāmānanda came from the South of India. "Tradition," he says, "declares that he came from the South"; and again, "I am inclined to believe that Rāmānanda was an ascetic belonging to this sect [which regarded Rāma as the eternal god], and that he came to the North, bringing its doctrine with him." As this supposed southern birth is the basis of a great part of Dr. Farquhar's arguments as to the origin of the doctrines preached by Rāmānanda, the point is one of some importance, and I would ask permission to question it.

Beyond stating the existence of a "tradition", Dr. Farquhar offers no proof of his statement, and I must confess that, so far as my reading has gone, I do not remember coming across such a tradition in genuine Indian sources. So far as I am aware, it exists only amongst European scholars and those who have copied from them, and may be traced back to Wilson's remarks on p. 47 of his *Religious Sects of the Hindus*. Wilson, it is true, does not definitely state that Rāmānanda came from the South, but such is a natural inference from his account and its context, which has misled many people. I myself was for long of the same opinion, till I had had opportunities of examining original authorities.

So far as I know, all genuinely Indian accounts agree in stating that Rāmānanda was born at the Prayāga (Allahabad). Not one word is said as to his southern origin, and the fact that he was stated to be a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa is decisively against such a theory. Impossible or marvellous legends may grow up regarding the founder of a sect, but one thing

<sup>1</sup> JRAS. 1920, pp. 185 ff.

about which we may expect a tradition to be accurate is the name of the Brahmanical sept to which he belonged. Anyone acquainted with the Indian caste-system will understand the great importance attached to a correct record of the particulars of the caste of the man, from whom, in religion, their descent is recorded in carefully kept genealogies. So important is it considered that when, as in the case of Tulasi-dāsa, it is uncertain, it becomes a matter of acute controversy. On the other hand, when all are agreed on this matter, we may accept the tradition as a true one, and I believe that this is the case in regard to Rāmānanda.

I could quote many authorities to prove Rāmānanda's northern birth, but shall content myself with two. Rāmānanda's date is uncertain. Dr. Farquhar puts his activity as teacher between 1430 and 1470 A.D. I do not pretend to agree or to disagree with this, but accepting it, for the sake of argument, as correct, the earliest authority with which I am acquainted is the *Bhakta-māla* of Nābhā-dāsa. This was written at the request of Agra-dāsa, who was third in descent, in line of teacher and disciple, from Rāmānanda. The best and latest Indian authority, Sītārāma-śaranya Bhagavān Prasāda, dates its composition as between 1583 and 1623 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> or about a hundred years after Rāmānanda's prime of life. Nābhā-dāsa was fourth in descent from Rāmānanda, the *guruparamparā* being Rāmānanda, Anantānanda, Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Paihārī, Agra-dāsa, Nābhā-dāsa. His authority, therefore, cannot be lightly disregarded, especially because he is silent regarding the more miraculous events with which Rāmānanda's life is adorned by subsequent writers. The 30th *Chappai* of the *Bhakta-māla* runs as follows :—

श्रीरामानुज पद्मति प्रताप अवनि अमृत है अनुसर्यो ॥  
देवाचारज द्वितीय महा महिमा हरियानंद ।  
तस्य राघवानंद भए भक्तन को मानंद ॥

<sup>1</sup> His edition of the *Bhakta-māla*, p. 460.

पत्रावलम्ब पृथिवी करी व काशी स्थाई ।

चारि वरन आश्रम सबही को भक्ति दृढाई ॥

तिन के रामानंद प्रगट विश्व-मंगल जिन्ह वपु धरयो ।

श्रीरामानुज पदति प्रताप अवनि अमृत द्वै अनुसस्यो ॥ ३० ॥

"The radiance of the successors of the holy Rāmānuja, like the water of life, spread over the whole world.

(Amongst these successors) were Dēvācārya and, secondly, the glorious Haryānanda. (A disciple) of the latter was Rāghavānanda, who gave high dignity to all the faithful.

Armed with a certificate (that he had conquered all his opponents) he travelled over the earth and (finally) settled in Kāśī (i.e. Benares). (There) made he firm the faith of all the four stages of life and of the four castes.

(Rāma), the Cause of Weal to the universe, manifested Himself, and became incarnate in the body of his (disciple) Rāmānanda.<sup>1</sup> The radiance of the successors, etc."

From this we see that it was Rāmānanda's teacher, Rāghavānanda, who came from the South, and after much wandering had settled at Benares. There, and not in the South, he had Rāmānanda as his disciple.

The other authority is the work referred to by Dr. Farquhar himself, the *Agastya-samhitā*. I have seen the original work in one edition, which contains no life of Rāmānanda, but interpolations are common features of this class of Āgamas. On the other hand, the Hindī version also mentioned by Dr. Farquhar (p. 190) is simply a life of the teacher, and claims to be a translation of the part of the *Agastya-samhitā* relating to him. The life therefore does appear in some recensions of the latter work, and cannot be very modern, for it is accepted as a part of a Bhāgavata Āgama, written in Sanskrit, and, moreover, like the *Bhakta-māla*, is not adorned with marvellous legends about its hero. It praises him enough in all conscience. No detail is omitted to exalt the auspiciousness

<sup>1</sup> It is an article of faith with his followers that Rāmānanda was an incarnation of Rāmacandra.

of the moment of his birth, in which, according to the author, Rāma himself became incarnate in human form, and if the legends now believed had been current at the time that the life was composed it is impossible to imagine that they would not have also been reverently inserted. But there are none of them. I therefore urge that considerable confidence can be put in its statements of fact regarding Rāmānanda's parentage. The passages quoted are taken from pp. 5 ff. of edition<sup>1</sup> of the Hindi translation in my possession :—

दो० चारि सहस शत चारि भो	गत कलिकाल मलीन ।
तेहि अवसर नरलोक हरि	निवसनहित चित दीन ॥
गंग यमुन संगम जहाँ	तीरथराज प्रयाग ।
महापुण्य जेहि पूजहाँ	देव सहित अनुराग ॥
तहाँ महाभागी अनुरागी ।	कान्यकुञ्ज दिज जाति अदागी ॥
नाम भूरिकर्मा शुभ शर्मा ।	भक्तियोगयुतरत निजधर्मा ॥
नाम सुशीला तिन की नारी ।	मनङ्ग अदिति कश्यप की प्यारी ॥
तासु हिये हरि कीन निवासा ।	विगतभये पूरण दशमासा ॥
आयो माघ अमोघ पुनीता ।	पच असित सातैरवि प्रीता ॥
नखत सुचिचा चारु विचिचा ।	सिद्धयोगयुत परम पविचा ॥
प्रभु प्रगटन कर अवसर जानी ।	सब यह योग भये शुभ यानी ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

जाता गणक पुरोहित आये ।	विधिसम जनमपत्र लिखि लाये ॥
मंगल कर्म सविधि करवाये ।	रामानंद सुनाम सुनाये ॥

\* . \* \* \*

पढ़े प्रयाग बरप जब चारी ।	तब नहाँ पंडित परेउ निहारी ॥
पितहाँ प्रबोधि बोध सुखराशी ।	पुनि आये करुणाकर काशी ॥
तहाँ वेद वेदान्त विशेषा ।	सकल किये कर तल अवशेषा ॥
सोरह बरप विमल वय जानी ।	करन चहे सत गरु विज्ञानी ॥
जोहि जानि जगजलधि जहाजू ।	ओ संप्रदा नलिन दिनराजू ॥
गुरु राघवनंद महाना ।	रामभक्त विज्ञाननिधाना ॥

<sup>1</sup> Bārābaúkti, 1902.

"Four thousand four hundred years of the foul Kaliyuga had elapsed when Hari graciously determined to dwell in the world of mankind. At the best of all holy bathing-places, the Prayāga, where is the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā, and whose great virtues are affectionately worshipped by the gods themselves,—

"There lived a fortunate, devoted, and blameless Brāhmaṇa, of the Kānyakubja sept, by name Bhūri-karmā, virtuous and prosperous, whose religion was ever devoted to *Bhakti-yōga*. His wife was named Suśilā, like unto a second Aditi, the beloved of Kaśyapa. In her heart did Hari take his abode, and free from anxiety did the ten months pass. At last came the unfailing, hallowed, month of Māgha (January—February), and the day loved of the sun (Sunday), the seventh of the dark half of the lunar fortnight. The asterism was Citrā (*Spica virginis*), lovely and beautiful, and pure in its being simultaneous with the *Siddhi-yōga*. The Lord recognized the right moment for his manifestation, when all the planets and conjunctions were in auspicious aspects."

[*Here follows an account of the various omens that attended the birth of Rāmānanda. Then, after narrating the birth and consequent rejoicings, the poem goes on—]*

"The astrologers and the priest arrived, and according to the prescribed rules prepared his horoscope. After performing every kind of auspicious rite, they called his name 'Rāmānanda'."

[*Next, his babyhood is described. This it is unnecessary to quote. He is invested with the sacred thread. Then—]*

"When he had studied for four years at the Prayāga, no Pañdit (sufficiently) learned could be found to teach him, so after consulting with his father, who was much pleased at his progress, he went to Kāśī (Benares), where he thoroughly mastered the Vēdas and the Vēdānta. At the age of 16 he determined to look out for a good and wise *guru*, or spiritual preceptor, who should be as it were a sun to the Śrī Saṅpradāya lotus, and know the ship that would carry him

over the ocean of existence. So he adopted Rāghavānanda as his *guru*, he being a devotee of Rāma and a receptacle of all discrimination."

Nothing could be plainer than this. Rāmānanda was a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa, born at the Prayāga, where he passed his childhood and learnt the elements of Sanskrit. He then studied at Benares, and, finally, there became a disciple of Rāghavānanda. Moreover, there is no mention of his being a member of any sect tinged with Advaita leanings. On the contrary, he was an orthodox member of the Śrī Sampradāya, and as such an acknowledged follower of Rāmānuja. Again there is not a particle of evidence pointing to any residence in the South.

For these reasons, until Dr. Farquhar can bring more proof than a statement as to tradition, I am unable to accept his theory that Rāmānanda came from the South, or the arguments founded on it.

That the *Adhyātmā Rāmāyaṇa* exercised great influence on Rāmānanda's successors, such as Tulasī-dāsa, may be admitted. But that they adopted its peculiar points of dogma, such as the Śākta element, or the rape of an illusory Sītā, is to my mind very doubtful. Indeed, my old friend Pañdit Sudhākara Dvivēdin used to tell me that the great argument against the authenticity of the apocryphal *Rāma-satsaī*, attributed to Tulasī-dāsa, was the fact that it gave excessive prominence to the deity of Sītā. For this reason, and also on account of its language, he said that most authorities considered it to be the work, not of the great poet, but of a later Kāyastha author of the same name. It was amongst the Kāyasts that the special worship of Sītā was particularly popular.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

August 4, 1920.

## ABRACADABRA

Many suggestions have been made to explain the origin and meaning of the enigmatic and mystic formula of "Abracadabra", which was used as an amulet against fever and other sickness without any satisfactory result.

I shall suggest a quite new explanation which seems to me to be the right one without any doubt.

I think this formula was originally used by the Arabs, and probably by Arab Jews. It is a composition of three Arabic words, Abra cad abra أَبْرَأْ قَدْ أَبْرَأْ which mean: "He (the patient) may be recovered, certainly he may be recovered." The use of the derived IV form (أَبْرَأْ) instead

of the fundamental I form (أَبْرِي), is due to the influence of the New Hebrew, where the root בָּרָא in its derived IV form (דְּבָרִיא) expresses the meaning to be recovered.

If we may not accept this influence of New Hebrew, the formula may be left as pure Arabic, and translated in this way: May He (God) cure (the patient), certainly He may cure (him). The omission of the name of God in such expressions is quite usual in Arabic. Compare, for instance, the expression of thanks كَثِيرَكَ مَحَمَّدَ خَيْرٌ كَثِيرٌ May He (God) increase your welfare.

DAVID YELLIN  
(Jerusalem).



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

ÉTUDES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES ET ETHNOGRAPHIQUES. LES AÏNOUS DES ÎLES KOURILES. By R. TORII. Journal of the College of Science, Imperial University of Tokyo, vol. xlvi, art. 1, January, 1919. pp. 337, with 38 plates and 118 illustrations in the text.

The author of this article,—the Professor of Anthropology in the Imperial University of Tokyo,—contributes an interesting addition to what has been previously published on the subject of the Ainu. This people,—a degenerate and decreasing “white” or Caucasic race, classed with other small peoples like the Toda of the Nilghéri Hills and others in Asia, (*Keane's Ethnology*, 1901, pp. 224 and 418, etc.)—at one time occupied a considerable part, if not the whole, of Japan,—see Basil Hall Chamberlain's monograph on Japanese Place-names in the light of Ainu studies, which forms an early number of the present Journal. Within historical times they figure in the north-east as a barbarous people alien and hostile to the advancing Japanese.

Our author divides the remnant of them which survives into four classes,—the Ainu of the Island of Yezo, those of Saghalin (Japanese Karafuto), those of the Kurile Islands, which form the special subject of his present article, and, the fourth, those of the northern part of the mainland of Japan who have become absorbed in the general population there, and consequently figure ordinarily as Japanese. No one travelling through that part of Japan can fail to be struck with the strongly-marked Ainu features of many of the population. Professor Torii frankly classes them as a section of the Ainu. In Appendix V he views the Ainu of the more southerly parts of Japan as having in previous times become, in a similar way, absorbed, in part at least, in the general Japanese population.

The section of the race which inhabits the Island of Yezo has been well described by the Rev. John Batchelor, who lived among and with them for some time, and by others. In treating of the Ainu of the Kurile Islands Professor Torii collects information from the descriptions of them by the Russian Kracheninnikof (1768), and by men of our own time; and to this he adds valuable information regarding the geography of the islands, and the physiology, language, habits, and occupations, religion, history, clothing, and ornaments, implements, domestic utensils, food, etc., of the meagre remnant of this people. He gives some account of their neighbours; and describes his finds of the neolithic age in the islands. This varied information was collected by him mainly during a visit which he paid to the islands in 1899. To the 118 figures in the text he has added 38 well-executed plates, some of them coloured, in illustration of his subject. A table of anthropometric measurements is also given.

Professor Torii discusses at some length the theory that there lived in Yezo a primitive people, different from the Ainu, who have been called the Koro-pok-kuru, or Kobito,—cave-dwellers, or pygmies. He is evidently of opinion that no such separate race existed, but that the neolithic implements and rude pottery which are found there are nothing else than remains of the early Ainu themselves. I may mention that I have seen, in the house of a Buddhist priest in Matsumai, a collection of stone implements which had been found in that district. Those implements were in no way diminutive, and showed fine workmanship and finish. They must have been the work of a people who had reached a stage of considerable development.

In Appendix I the Professor takes up the much-discussed question of the rock-inscription, laid bare in 1877, in a cavern near the port and town of Otaru, on the south-west coast of Yezo. On this question he finally submits a proposed solution of his own,—that the markings there cut in the rock are a real inscription, in writing resembling that of the Turcs of the

Orkhon in Mongolia, or, better, of the Yenesei ; that this inscription was executed not so likely by Turcs themselves as by Tungus, who learned this alphabet from the Turcs ; that it is a burial inscription of Tungus whose remains were found in the cavern ; and that it dates probably from the seventh or eighth century. At p. 297 he gives, in parallel columns, the Orkhon and Yenesei forms of the letters alongside of those of the Otaru inscription. His proposed solution merits the attention of experts.

In Appendix IV he describes certain tombs in Yezo, and compares them with tombs of the Tungus of the Orkhon and of the Yenesei. From those, and from the vestiges of some defensive works, he infers that the Tungus once occupied positions at the mouth and in the basin of the Ishikari River, and in other parts of Yezo. He adds a historical notice of their presence at one time in the Island of Sado.

In Appendix V Professor Torii presents his hypothesis of the Tungusic origin of the Mongoloid Japanese of the neolithic age,—the Yamato ; and, at p. 236, adduces resemblances in their later equipments and customs in support of this view. I do not find that he notices that the Japanese house, with its sliding doors and windows, and raised place of honour in the inner apartment, seems to have preserved a reminiscence of a Mongolic race living in tents.

He links up with the deductions which he makes from the archæological evidence found by him the traditional early Japanese history which has been preserved in the Ko-ji-ki and Nihon-gi,—works which have been made accessible to readers of English in the translations of B. H. Chamberlain and W. G. Aston, respectively.

JAMES TROUP.

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TRENTE TABLETTES CAPPADOCIENNES. By Dr. G. CONTENAU.  
Paris : Paul Geuthner. 1919.

In my communication on "A Ladies' College in Cappadocia", which appeared in this Journal last October, I have already drawn attention to Dr. Contenau's work. It is a valuable addition to our knowledge of ancient Cappadocia in the age of the Third Dynasty of Ur, that is to say, about 2400 B.C. Just before the war the natives discovered about 2,000 tablets at Kara Euyuk, 5 kilometres north-east of Kaisariyeh, the site of the chief emporium of the early Babylonian metal trade, where all the other tablets of the same class, first noticed and named "Cappadocian" by Dr. Pinches, have been found. Some 800 tablets were secured by the Turkish Government; of the rest a few made their way into European collections—among others those of Dr. Contenau and myself—but the greater part have, for the present at all events, disappeared.

Dr. Contenau has now published thirty of his tablets, with transliteration and (in most cases) translation, as well as notes, and has made them the subject of a very interesting monograph. The monograph is, in fact, a model of what such a book should be, containing as it does a full account of the bibliography of the tablets, their place of origin and date, and the character of the script and dialect in which they are written. This is followed by a vocabulary and a very useful index of the proper names occurring in them.

The script is (like the proper names) that of Babylonia in the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur, while the language is an Assyro-Babylonian dialect which has been powerfully affected by the non-Semitic languages of Asia Minor. M. Thureau-Dangin has published a tablet with the imprint of a seal giving the name and titles of Ibi-Sin, "king of Ur," and I have published another with what is almost certainly the name of the early High-priest of Assyria, Sargon son of I[kunum]. At this early period the silver, copper, and lead mines of the Taurus were worked for the benefit of the

Babylonian firms, and Babylonian *damgari*, or commercial travellers, traversed the roads which already intersected eastern Asia Minor. M. Contenau has given a map indicating the localities in which gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, iron, and manganese are found. The oldest examples of bronze yet brought to light have come from the second prehistoric city of Troy, and since the bronze with which Western Asia and Egypt were supplied at a later date appears to have been in large measure derived from Asia Minor, we should expect to find tin there also. It is therefore curious that no tin mines or workings have thus far been detected there.

The name of the city now represented by the mounds of Kara Euyuk was Ganis, which is evidently the Kanes of the Boghaz Keui tablets, of which Dr. Emil Forrer has recently informed us. He would identify "the language of Kanes" mentioned in the tablets with the literary Hittite of Boghaz Keui; but this can hardly be right. At all events a thousand years before the age of the Hittite empire the language of Kanes was an Assyrian dialect.

I must not part from Dr. Contenau's volume without mentioning that he has appended to his copies of the tablets a list of the Cappadocian cuneiform characters with their corresponding forms in the inscriptions of Ur, of Khammurabi, of Assyria, and of later Babylonia. In short, nothing is wanting to make his volume complete.

A. H. SAYCE.

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DIE ACHT SPRACHEN DER BOGHAZKÖI-INSCHRIFTEN. By  
Dr. EMIL FORRER. *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen  
Akademie der Wissenschaften*, December 18, 1919.

Dr. Forrer has presented a short but interesting report to the Prussian Academy on the various languages which his examination of the Boghaz Keui cuneiform tablets has brought to light. Hitherto we have assumed that apart from Assyrian and Sumerian the only language represented in them is

Hittite—the language of that city of Khattu to which the tablets belonged. Now Dr. Forrer has discovered that the languages are no less than eight in number, and he would even deny to the principal among them the right to be called Hittite, preferring to give it the name of Kanesian.

The eight languages are Sumerian, Assyrian, Cappadocian, which is, however, merely an Assyrian dialect, Hittite, Kharrian, or, as I should prefer to read the name, Murrian, Luvian or Luvian, "Proto-Hittite," and Palauian, to which we should also add Aryan. The Sumerian is found not only in the vocabularies but also in some fragmentary texts which give the pronunciation of the Sumerian words together with their translation into Assyrian and Hittite. The Aryan is confined at present to borrowed words, of which the most important are the numerals contained in a treatise of Kikkuli of Mitanni on the training of horses.

Kharrian or Murrian is a Mitannian dialect, perhaps distantly related to Vannic. Portions of a poem composed in it by a certain Kesse, and extending over no less than fourteen tablets, each of two columns, have been preserved. The poem included the story of "the god Kumerwi" as well as of "the god Galgamis", the Gilgames of Babylonia. "Proto-Hittite" is the name given by Dr. Forrer to a language which he believes was originally spoken over the major part of the Hittite region. Thanks to bilingual texts he has been able to decipher it to a certain extent. It proves to be a prefixal and not a postfixal language, and so resembles Gruzian or Abkhasian, and like them has an extremely complicated grammar. The cases are indicated by position only; the plural by the prefix *le*. The demonstratives and possessive pronouns are prefixed, or, rather, encapsulated, *le-a-sakh*, for example, being "those bad ones". Instances of the verbal forms are *wa-kh-kun*, "he remarked him," *se-kh-kuwat* and *ta-kh-kuwat*, "he seized him," where *kh* is the infix "him".

Palauian seems to have been reserved for incantations.

According to Dr. Forrer the city of Paläum was situated somewhere between Tokat and Sivas in north-eastern Asia Minor.

Dr. Forrer distinguishes "Luvian" from the Hittite of Boghaz Keui and makes it a separate language. But it is evident from the grammatical forms and words which he quotes that it was really vernacular Hittite, which, unlike "the language of the scribes", as Hittite is called in one of the Liverpool inscriptions, was not intermixed with words and forms borrowed from Sumerian, Assyrian, and Aryan. This explains why it is that literary Hittite is once called "Luvian", *Lāi-li*, "in Luvian," taking the place of the more usual *nāsi-li*, "(to be pronounced) nasally."

Dr. Forrer would term literary Hittite "Kanesian", chiefly on the ground that by the side of "the bard of the city of Khattu" mention is made of "the bard of the city of Kanes". Kanes, however, is clearly the Ganis of the Cappadocian tablets, that is, the modern Gyul-tepe, 3 miles from Kaisaryeh, and it therefore can have nothing to do with Boghaz Keui. An interesting fragment describes Kanes as opposing a king of the dynasty of Akkad along with the Khatti and the country of Kursaūra or Garsaura. This must be an allusion to the campaign of Sargon of Akkad, a legendary account of which is contained in the cuneiform tablet found in the house of the Hittite ambassador at Tel-el-Amarna, of which I have given a transliteration and translation in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (November, 1916).

A. H. SAYCE.

THE KASHMIR SERIES OF TEXTS AND STUDIES, Nos. VIII—  
XXIV. Edited with notes by MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA  
MUKUNDA RĀMA SĀSTRĪ. Srinagar, Bombay printed.  
1918. 8s.

The numbers of this series which we have here to record are all, with one exception (No. XXI) Sanskrit texts, and bear

upon various phases of the Śaiva theology of Kashmir. No. VIII is the Vijñāna-bhairava, a Tantric work, with commentary by Kṣemarāja & Śivopādhyāya ; No. IX, the same work with the commentary Kaumudi of Ānanda Bhaṭṭa ; No. X, the Stava-cintāmaṇi of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, 120 devotional verses, with commentary by Kṣemarāja ; No. XI, Mahēśvarānanda's Mahārtha-mañjari, with the author's own exposition ; No. XII, Puṇyānanda's Kāma-kalā-vilāsa, a work of fifty-five verses with prose exposition ; No. XIII, the Śat-triṁśat-tattva-sandōha, twenty-one anonymous verses, with commentary by Rājānaka Ānanda ; No. XIV, Cakrapāṇidatta's Bhāvopahāra, forty-seven devotional verses, with Ramya-dēva's commentary, to which is appended Ādyanātha's Bōdha-pañcāśikā, another metrical tract ; No. XV, the Parā-prāvēśikā, a tract by Kṣemarāja ; No. XVI, Kṣemarāja's Spanda-sandōha, another tract ; No. XVII, Abhinava-gupta's Tantra-sāra, a digest of Tantric doctrine ; No. XVIII, the Parā-triṁśikā, a metrical tract, with Abhinava-gupta's commentary Tattva-vivēka ; No. XIX, Vāma-dēva's tract Janma-marana-vicāra ; No. XX, Gōrakṣanātha's tract Amaraugha-śāsana ; No. XXI, Śitikanṭha's Mahā-naya-prakāśa, comprising fourteen *udayas* of Old Kashmiri verse (a most important document of the ancient language) with Sanskrit prose exposition ; No. XXII, Utpaladeva's Īśvara-pratyabhijñā with Abhinava-gupta's commentary "vimarśinī" (wrongly styled in the title-page "The Īshwara-pratyabhijñā vimarshini of Utpaladeva, with commentary by Abhinava-Gupta") ; No. XXIII, vol. i of Abhinava-gupta's Tantrālōka, a survey of Tantric doctrine with Jayaratha's exposition ; and No. XXIV, Tantra-vaṭadhānika, a metrical tract by Abhinava-gupta. Space forbids us to give more than this catalogue of the contents of these interesting and valuable publications, which do much credit to the learning and energy of the editor.

L. D. B.

GRAMMAR OF GONDI AS SPOKEN IN THE BETUL DISTRICT,  
 CENTRAL PROVINCES, INDIA, WITH VOCABULARY, FOLK-  
 TALES, STORIES, AND SONGS OF THE GONDS. Vol. I :  
 Grammar. By C. G. CHENEVIX TRENCH. Printed  
 by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras,  
 1919. 8s.

Mr. Trench has made a thorough study of Gonđi, and he has every reason to be satisfied with the result. He has given us an excellent sketch of the grammar of the language as spoken in the Betul district. After a short introduction he deals with the pronouns, the verb, the noun, the adjective, the adverb, prepositions, interjections, conjunctions, numerals, and syntax, and as an appendix he gives some interesting information about the exogamous section into which the Gonđis are divided and about different terms for the various members of the family, words connected with crops, agriculture, sport, and trees, and lastly some selected verbs are given in different forms. The final portion of the first volume is taken up by a short English-Gonđi vocabulary.

The first thing that strikes one in reading through Mr. Trench's little book is the great care he has bestowed on the proper noting of the different sounds. His way of describing them is sometimes a little unusual. What he calls palatal *t*, *d*, and *r*-s, are usually designated cerebral or lingual, and I can hardly think of an *n* that is not nasal. But it is always easy to see what is meant, and the marking of the sounds seems to be absolutely reliable.

Everybody who has had to deal with spoken dialects from a grammatical point of view knows how important it is to be careful in this respect. A slight variation in sound can occasionally open the eye to phonetic laws of the most far-reaching importance. Mr. Trench has rendered a great service to Dravidian philology in devoting his attention to the phonetics of Gonđi, and, further, his sketch of the grammar is very instructive and gives much new material.

The author repeatedly quotes my own description of the  
 JRAS. OCTOBER 1920.

Dravidian languages in the fourth volume of the Linguistic Survey, which he erroneously describes as the work of Sir George Grierson. This latter fact I only mention because it would be unfair to blame Sir George for such statements as may be wrong or for such shortcomings which are not due to the peculiar kind of materials available for the purposes of the Survey. The blame should be addressed to me and not to him.

Mr. Trench remarks that it is a pity that the verb *kīānā*, to do, has been chosen for illustrative purposes in the Linguistic Survey as well as in Williamson's grammar. So far as the Survey is concerned, the reason was that Williamson's grammar was one of my chief sources. Mr. Trench here touches one of the weak points of the Linguistic Survey. The materials upon which the description of the non-Aryan languages, which was my principal share in the Survey, is based, were mostly specimens prepared by officials, and it would have been unfair to expect that they should throughout be trained in phonetics and in the exigencies of grammatical lore. Works like Mr. Trench's grammar would have been extremely useful, and so was Mr. Williamson's sketch. But no practical grammar and no written specimens are sufficient to solve every question connected with Gondī phonetics and grammar. It would be necessary that a scholar thoroughly trained in modern phonetical and grammatical methods should go out and personally study the various forms of Gondī on the spot.

Gondī is, after all, philologically one of the most interesting Dravidian tongues, because it has not at an early date been reduced to writing and does not possess a literature. It would be possible in the Gondī dialects to study the old Dravidian tendencies and also the results of non-Dravidian influence of various kinds. Gondī has in its neighbourhood Aryan as well as Kolarian tongues, and we must even reckon with the possibility that it has to a great extent replaced some Kolarian dialect, such as Kurku, so that we might expect to find

Kolarian peculiarities in phonetics and grammar among the speakers of the language.

Mr. Trench's grammar contains several details which are highly important from this point of view, and show how wide a field Gonđī actually offers to the philologist. On p. 12 we find an interesting remark about the variation in the inflection of Gonđī verbs. "The absence of a script," the author remarks, "is mainly responsible for this variation. Euphony has run wild, and as its principles vary, to some extent, with the individual speaker, alternative forms abound." I take this to mean that some of the sounds of Gonđī are still far from being quite correctly described. The ear is no safe judge, and the same sound may at different times make a different impression. The more important it is to get reliable phonograms of such sounds, and such ought to be prepared on a large scale.

Mr. Trench's remark further points to the composite nature of the tribes speaking Gonđī. We cannot consider the language simply from the standpoint of Dravidian philology; also Aryan and Kolarian peculiarities might be expected to occur. Mr. Trench himself is inclined to consider the general agreement in syntax between Gonđī and Hindi, as the result of the influence of the latter. "The first Aryan invaders," he thinks, "found it necessary to learn Gonđī, but spoke it badly, readily assimilating the vocabulary but not the syntax. Accordingly, like the average English schoolboy abroad in France, they forced their own syntax on the language. Eager to copy the superior race, the Gonđī concluded that the Hindified Gonđī was the more correct, and adopted it wholesale."

This explanation is very ingenuous, but perhaps a little too ingenuous, and I suppose most scholars will continue to stick to the old theory that the general agreement in syntax, as also in grammatical principles, between the Aryan and Dravidian tongues of India is due to the fact that Aryan languages are to a very great extent spoken by tribes whose

ancestors used some Dravidian or Kolarian tongue and transferred their linguistic tendencies to their new speech.

The Aryan influence in Gonđī is in reality very little prominent in grammar, though some few Aryan forms can be traced. We see much more of it in vocabulary, and Mr. Trench's remarks about the adaptation of Hindi verbs are interesting. They show that the principle is about the same as in Khidmatgarī, with its "roast karo", "fowl karo", etc. The general tendency to assimilate words but not grammar is further well illustrated by cases such as *haiyul*, he is, *haiyur*, neuter *haiyung*, they are, where the Aryan base has been provided with Gonđī suffixes.

If we bear in mind that Gonđī is in Betul spoken in the neighbourhood of Kurku, and that it has in all probability to some extent intruded itself upon people who had formerly spoken Kurku, we should not wonder to find some Kolarian features in Gonđī. In the Linguistic Survey I have supposed that the doublets of the plural of the personal pronoun of the first person in Dravidian tongues is an innovation due to the infusion of Kolarian principles. Though I am now very much in doubt about the soundness of this view, it is of interest to note that the inclusive form in Betul Gonđī is the Aryan loanword *aplō*. I should not like to put too much stress on this point. On the other hand, I think it highly probable that the curious use of pronominal suffixes in cases such as *anā Koitu-nā āndan*, I Gonđ-I am, I am a Gonđ, etc., is due to Kolarian tendencies with some speakers of Gonđī.

It would be possible to find many further details in Mr. Trench's book which might widen our horizon and explain features which seemed to be inexplicable. That has not, however, been his aim. He has not had the purpose to give us a reasoned grammatical analysis, but to present us with a faithful representation of the principal facts of the spoken language. And this he has succeeded in doing in such a way that Dravidian philology has every reason for being thankful.

STEN KONOW.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LARSA DYNASTY. By ETTALENE MEARS GRICE, Ph.D., Member of the Yale Babylonian Seminary. Yale Oriental Series, Vol. IV, 1. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1919.

Though this is but a small book of 43 pages, it is one of the most important publications of its kind as yet issued. As all Biblical students are aware, the fourteenth chapter of Genesis presents problems which, though often thought to be solved, are now known to be far from receiving their correct explanation. At first Arioch was identified with Rîm-Sin, but this could only have come about owing to a wrong assimilation on the part of the sacred writer. And to make even this fit, it was needful to identify the Biblical Ellasar with the Babylonian *al Larsa*, "city of Larsa," with a transposition of two consonants and one vowel, making *Lasar* instead of Larsa. The present writer, in following those who identified Rim-Sin's brother, Warad-Sin (which, in Sumerian, might be read *Êri-Aku*), with Arioch, cannot claim to have been any more successful than his predecessors and his contemporaries. Though we did not know it, a successful solution, with the material at our command, was unattainable, and at present it must be admitted that we seem to be as far from a satisfactory identification as ever.

The chronology of the Dynasty of Larsa was revealed by the text, in duplicate, published by Professor Clay in his excellent collection of inscriptions in vol. i of the Yale Babylonian Series. The present work, however, deals with the date-lists, as far as they are known, of some of the later kings of the dynasty. These rulers are Gungunu<sup>m</sup>, the fifth, Abi-sarê, the sixth, Sumu-ili, the seventh, Nûr-Rammâni, the eighth, Sin-idinna<sup>m</sup>, the ninth, Sin-iriba<sup>m</sup>, the tenth, Sin-ikiša<sup>m</sup>, the eleventh, Warad-Sin (? Arioch), the thirteenth, and Rîm-Sin (also identified with Arioch), the fourteenth of the dynasty. The dates, which are all in Sumerian, are given in

transcription, with all the variants and references, and excellently translated by the authoress.

Naturally the first things that a student, on looking at this material, seeks, are the historical references, especially those bearing upon the fourteenth chapter of Genesis—for we ought to find here, either in the reign of Warad-Sin or of Rim-Sin, the two brothers who have been successively identified with Arioach, some mention of an expedition westwards, that is, to Palestine. In this, however, we are disappointed—there is apparently no reference to anything of the kind, and the names of the other three allied kings are absent.

Unfortunately such evidence as is given in these colophon-dates cannot be conclusive, especially when we take into consideration the long reign of Rim-Sin. What his age could have been at the time of his death, it is impossible to say, but it seems probable that he was then incapable of taking part in any military operations, and perhaps, also, in public affairs, which may have been performed by a regent. According to the colophon-dates, a new era—and therewith a new method of dating—began with Rim-Sin's 31st year, when the city of Isin fell into his hands. For the remainder of his reign the dating of his documents was based on this event, the last date being the 31st year of that era. And in this connexion it is to be noted that this seems to have divided Rim-Sin's reign into two equal parts—a strange coincidence. Though the latter half, from his own records—or rather from these dates—was altogether uneventful, in reality this was not the case, as we know from the records of Samsu-iluna, Hammu-rabi's son and successor on the throne of Babylon. Indeed, Hammu-rabi claims to have captured the King of Larsa in his own 32nd year, but whether this event is correct or not is uncertain. That he became a fugitive, on the other hand, is undoubted, and he gave some trouble to Samsu-iluna when that monarch came to the throne.

In all probability most Assyriologists have been inclined to regard Larsa as a comparatively small and unimportant state;

and this, when we compare the power of Babylon under the dynasty of Babylon, is undoubtedly correct. There is no doubt, however, that the rulers of Larsa had so well organized their power that they were able to make their political influence felt with effect. Many of the colophon-dates refer simply to religious, artistic, and utilitarian events, such as the introduction of the statues of deified kings of Larsa, their predecessors, into the temples; the digging of irrigation channels, the restoration of temples, etc. Military operations, crowned, apparently, with success, are, however, not wanting. Thus, one of the dates of Warad-Sin records the conquest of the city Kazallu, and in Rim-Sin's reign we read of the "smiting" of Erech, Isin, Babylon, Rabiku<sup>m</sup>, Sutium<sup>m</sup>, and Warad-Nene, king of Erech (the king's 15th year). In the next year he took Ka-ida (*pī-nárāti*, "the mouths of the rivers"—i.e. the Tigris and Euphrates), and the city Našarum<sup>m</sup>. Two years later he captured the cities Imgur-Gibil and Zibnatum<sup>m</sup>, and this was followed, in his 19th year, by the capture of Ē-Šu-Zuena (*Bīt-Šu-Sin*) and the city Uzarparra. Two years later (his 21st year) he took for Larsa the district called Kišurra and devastated Dūru<sup>m</sup>. In the meanwhile, apparently, Erech, which he had captured in his 14th year, revolted, but was now recaptured and ravaged. To all appearance this gave him the command of all the district as far as the Persian Gulf, and in order possibly to reconcile the people to his rule he provided them with "abundant water" by digging canals from the interior to the sea.

The next military operations referred to relate to Rim-Sin's 26th year, when he took the city Damiq-ili-šu, and apparently brought the inhabitants of Isin as prisoners to Larsa. For some years there was now peace, but seemingly discontent again arose in Rim-Sin's 30th or 31st year, when the king captured the city Dannum<sup>m</sup> of Isin in a single day, but the people were not deported, as was the Babylonian custom when a recurrence of revolt was feared. The culminating point of this military expedition was reached

transcription, with all the variants and references, and excellently translated by the authoress.

Naturally the first things that a student, on looking at this material, seeks, are the historical references, especially those bearing upon the fourteenth chapter of Genesis—for we ought to find here, either in the reign of Warad-Sin or of Rim-Sin, the two brothers who have been successively identified with Arioach, some mention of an expedition westwards, that is, to Palestine. In this, however, we are disappointed—there is apparently no reference to anything of the kind, and the names of the other three allied kings are absent.

Unfortunately such evidence as is given in these colophon-dates cannot be conclusive, especially when we take into consideration the long reign of Rim-Sin. What his age could have been at the time of his death, it is impossible to say, but it seems probable that he was then incapable of taking part in any military operations, and perhaps, also, in public affairs, which may have been performed by a regent. According to the colophon-dates, a new era—and therewith a new method of dating—began with Rim-Sin's 31st year, when the city of Isin fell into his hands. For the remainder of his reign the dating of his documents was based on this event, the last date being the 31st year of that era. And in this connexion it is to be noted that this seems to have divided Rim-Sin's reign into two equal parts—a strange coincidence. Though the latter half, from his own records—or rather from these dates—was altogether uneventful, in reality this was not the case, as we know from the records of Samsu-iluna, Hammu-rabi's son and successor on the throne of Babylon. Indeed, Hammu-rabi claims to have captured the King of Larsa in his own 32nd year, but whether this event is correct or not is uncertain. That he became a fugitive, on the other hand, is undoubted, and he gave some trouble to Samsu-iluna when that monarch came to the throne.

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next year, when the capital itself, the city of Isin, was taken, and the era of Isin, as has already been noted, began.

With regard to the other dates—those referring to the everyday benefits of the pious gifts conferred by the king, I will only now (owing to the need of economizing space) quote one example. This is the colophon-date for Rim-Sin's 13th year, which reads as follows:—

*Mu nin-dingir <sup>a.</sup> IM šag IM <sup>ki</sup> ba-dugga.*

Year he invested the high-priestess of the god IM in IM.

Apparently it was the duty of the king to signify his assent to the appointment of temple-officials and priests in the way indicated. In the above example it will be noted that the authoress shows her caution, for she does not venture to transcribe either the name of the place or its god, otherwise than by the syllable 'IM'. Nevertheless, the former is by no means doubtful—it is the *Muru* of *W. Asia Inscriptions*, ii, pl. 60, lines 13 and 22. As to the deity, that should be Hadad or Rimmon, for *IM* is the ideograph of this deity—the god of the atmosphere, of wind, and of rain. I do not venture, however, to say which of its numerous pronunciations may be the right one in this case. Moreover, it is worthy of note that the person invested is a priestess, and this presupposes some divine female as the goddess of the place—perhaps Šala, who seems to have been Rammānu's (Rimmon's) spouse. The above-named plate, however, suggests that the real name of the deity may have been Išhara, one of the names of the goddess Ištar—see the *Journal of the R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 144 and 145, line (6). The name of Rimmon occurs under the form of *İlu-Mir* in 1 (2), and again on p. 146, lines (17) ff., where he is called *Num-gigri*, *Rihamun*, *Mermeli*, *Mur* (from which the name of the city *Muru* comes), *Šeru*, *Adad* (better *Hadad*), and *İlu-Mer* (= *İlu-mir*). The candidate, therefore, was probably invested as priestess of Išhara in the temple of Rimmon at Muru, which seems to have been the centre of their worship.

It is needless to say that all Assyriologists will recognize the great merit of this little book, and hope for more work from Dr. Ettalene Mears Grice's pen. It is full of painstaking research, and a testimony to the authoress's tireless industry in Assyriological research.

T. G. PINCHES.

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A MANUAL OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE. By J. D. ANDERSON.

Crown 8vo ; pp. xviii, 178,  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$  inches. Cambridge.  
1920. Price 7s. 6d.

The Cambridge University Press is to be congratulated on the inception, under the general editorship of Dr. H. F. Stewart and Professor H. M. Chadwick, of its series of "Cambridge Guides to Modern Languages". Dr. Anderson's excellent little work is the first of the series to be published, and a résumé of its contents will show the principles of arrangement that have been laid down by the editors. After a brief Introduction dealing with the history and general character of the Bengali language, we have seventy-three pages of grammar, sixty-eight of graduated specimens, commencing with simple fables and ending with poems by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, eleven dealing with the alphabet, and twenty-four of a very complete vocabulary. With the exception of the pages devoted to the Bengali alphabet, the whole is in the Roman character. Of the grammar, twelve pages are devoted to orthography and thirty-two to declension and conjugation, the remaining thirty pages containing miscellaneous information on Sandhi, points of idiom, and so on, occasionally necessary for reference. The Accidence, therefore, is not a full grammar in the ordinary sense of the term, but is designedly a sketch, giving a general view of the principles of declension and conjugation and of their chief irregularities. This is filled out in detail, and completed by the specimens, which are well selected and supplied with copious notes, so that the riddle of mastering the language *solvitur ambulando*.

The learner makes his own grammar—or absorbs it—as he goes along.

I have for many years maintained that this is the best and surest method of learning to read a language. The question of speaking and writing it is different, and requires other methods, but these should not be seriously attacked till the learner can read books in it with some facility. I have tried it myself with several forms of speech, and have found it the quickest and the easiest method in the end. It implies first mastering the simplest rules of declension and conjugation, which is generally a matter of a day or two, and then at once starting to read an easy text for which a translation is available. If the text is graduated in difficulty, is interesting and varied in its subject-matter, and is supplied with a vocabulary, so much the better, and all these desiderata have been given by Dr. Anderson in the present work.

I have remarked that nearly the whole manual, including the selections, is in the Roman character. Here, again, I am strongly of opinion that the right course has been followed. A strange alphabet is a terrible impediment to a learner. He has to learn it in addition to the language, or, in other words, he has to learn two things at once, and too often fails to do either well. As one who has had to wrestle with many Oriental characters, from Armenian to Siamese, I can state this with some confidence. The first thing a learner has to do is to master the rudiments of inflexion and to collect a small vocabulary of common words, and the task, a toilsome one at best, should be made as easy for him as possible. Once, for some years, I had to examine sets of students in Hindostānī—each twice, once after six months' study and again at the end of a year. The first batches were taught from beginning to end through the medium of the Persian alphabet. At my instance a reform was introduced, and a knowledge of that character was no longer required at the first of the two examinations. The result was to my mind conclusive. The new set of students, who had been studying the language for

only six months, showed a greater familiarity with it than their predecessors who had been at it for a year. In their second six months they easily mastered the character, and went out to India with a considerably more thorough knowledge of Hindostānī than had been achieved by average candidates in previous years.

Dr. Anderson confines his grammatical remarks to literary Bengali, spoken only when reading aloud or when addressing an audience *ore rotundo*. He draws attention to the frequent instances of vowel-assimilation that occur even in the literary form of speech, and gives a brief half-page to the consideration of the far greater assimilation of the colloquial language, which, owing to the Bengali habit of stressing the first syllable of a word—instead of, as elsewhere in Aryan India, the penultimate or antepenultimate—reduces such words as *karatēchilām* to *kórch'lum* or *kócc'h'lum*. When, however, such forms occur in the reading lessons—and they are common in novels and poetry—they are all carefully explained by him, and this, I imagine, is the best way of teaching them. So far as I know, no grammar of colloquial Bengali has ever been written, nor is any admitted standard of it in existence. I notice that, in his remarks on phonetics, he does not mention the common pronunciation of such words as *Kṛṣṇa* and *Viṣṇu* as *Kíś'o* and *Bíś'o*. He has probably omitted them as vulgarisms, but if they are they are very frequently heard, even in the mouths of the educated.

The sketch of declension and conjugation, though condensed, is very complete, and much of it, especially the author's treatment of the passive, is new, and undoubtedly correct. It is refreshing to find that Dr. Anderson is writing a Bengali grammar and not a grammar of what Bengali would be if it had adopted Latin constructions. Amongst people who write grammars of Indian languages there have been unfortunately many who have tried, or who still would like to try, to force an unfortunate Eastern tongue into a framework that does not fit it. Oriental languages have their own ways of

expressing ideas, and we have no right to assume that they necessarily have the same array of voices, moods, and tenses that has been forcibly instilled into us in Europe by some plagosus Orbilius.

Works on Oriental languages are not popular reading, but some have been known to pass through more than one edition. This will no doubt be the destiny of Dr. Anderson's Manual, and therefore I venture to make one suggestion for the second edition when the happy time arrives for its issue. It is that smaller type should be employed for the chapters on *Upasargas*, *Sandhi*, and *Samāsa*. Although these are necessary, they are not nearly so important as the rest of the grammar, and require merely a preliminary perusal by the beginner, being subsequently referred to as occasion may require. Smaller type would bring their importance into proper focus, would save an unguided student needless alarm, and would allow room for another specimen. Of these last there is a generous supply, but they are so instructive, and so well edited, that there cannot be too many of them.

I have congratulated the Cambridge University Press on securing Dr. Anderson's services for the preparation of the first book of this new series, and I may conclude by offering further congratulations to an old friend and fellow-student on the successful completion of an excellent work.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

A GUIDE TO THE OLD OBSERVATORIES AT DELHI, JAIPUR,  
UJJAIN, BENARES. By G. R. KAYE, F.R.A.S., Honorary  
Correspondent of the Archaeological Department of India.  
Calcutta : Superintendent Government Printing, India.  
1920. Price, 2 Rs. 4 As., or 3s. 6d.

In January, 1918, Mr. Kaye published a beautifully illustrated work on the Observatories of Jai Singh, and the present book gives the chief contents of the former in a convenient form. The principal omissions are the Appendices, namely, the Star Catalogues available to Jai Singh, the

Astrological Tables, the Geographical Elements, and the Technical Terms and Symbols.

This handy little guide seems to raise the questions : " What was the purpose that Jai Singh had in view when he erected these ponderous instruments ? " " Why did he refuse to follow the lines of research indicated by the European astronomers of his time ? " Mr. Kaye says—" that Jai Singh made no new astronomical discoveries is hardly a fair criterion of the value of his work ; for, indeed, a great deal of the most valuable astronomical work is not concerned with new discoveries. His avowed object was the rectification of the calendar, the prediction of eclipses, and so on—work which entails a great deal of labour and generally shows no remarkable achievement." The difficulty in accepting this avowed object as the real one lies here—there is no record of observations actually made and directed to this purpose. This difficulty is emphasized by the fact that, though as late as 1891 a Ram Yantra was erected at Jaipur, we have yet 'no knowledge of what precise astronomical observations have been made, or could be made, with this instrument.'

An examination of many of the instruments themselves—combined with acquaintance with the mode of Hindu thought—raised the suspicion that the real purpose was astrological, not astronomical ; that astronomical knowledge was employed in the design of the instruments in expectation that astrological information might be secured. One of the instruments at Jaipur, the Rāśī Valaya, may serve to make this point clear. At this Observatory there are twelve examples of the Rāśī Valaya, all on the same platform, one for each sign of the Zodiac ; they are miniatures of the Samrat Yantra, but the gnomon points to the pole of the ecliptic when the first point of its special sign is on the eastern horizon. The quadrants on either side of the gnomon are in the plane of the ecliptic instead of in the equator, and the shadow of the gnomon would give the longitude of the sun. This would seem an ingenious and effective instrument for its purpose, if only it

did not presume a precise knowledge of the very thing it professed to indicate ; the readings obtained are the readings previously calculated. It is useless to the astronomer, though no doubt very impressive to the earnest seeker after a horoscope, and as valuable a guarantee of good faith as the turning up of the cuffs of a conjuror. In the West the Nautical Almanac has long served, not only its legitimate purposes, but also to save trouble to the astrologer who wishes to give an astronomical colouring to his divinations. In the East we may perhaps see in these Observatories of Jai Singh a real and honest attempt, though an ignorant one, to derive the details of a horoscope from the heavens themselves.

A. S. D. MAUNDER.

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ECONOMICS OF THE SILK INDUSTRY : A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION. By RATAN C. RAWLLEY, M.A., M.Sc. pp. xvi + 349. London : P. S. King & Son. 1919. Price 10s. 6d.

This is an excellent study of its subject. An earlier work of the same author, *The Silk Industry and Trade*, was reviewed in the Journal of October, 1919 ; and this volume carries his study on to the economics of the subject. Within the field of his observation the author has turned out a good result, packed full with facts, illuminated by close reasoning, and marked by thoroughness and care.

Mr. Rawlley wrote this book as his thesis for the degree of D.Sc. Considered as a thesis no praise can be too high. For information on production in Kashmir, Italy, and France, and on manufacture in France and England, it is very thorough and almost complete ; but he has been restricted by limitations of time and of the materials at his disposal, and his information on other fields of production and manufacture is less complete. He tells us almost nothing of China and Japan, which, between them, supply two-thirds of the silk required for Western

markets ; and it is on this defect that I intend to comment, rather than on the undoubted merits of the book.

The omission of Kwangtung on p. 48 from the provinces of China in which "the sericultural industry is the most predominant" is merely an oversight, as the author refers to Canton silk elsewhere ; and its importance in the world's markets is shown in the table on p. 63. No particulars are given of the climatic conditions of any of the Far Eastern fields of production, though the author points out their importance ; but meteorological observations have been recorded and published for fifty years at Canton, for twenty-five years at Soochow and Hangchow, and the bulletins of the Sikawei Observatory at Shanghai are as complete and on as scientific lines as any in the world.

On p. 68 Mr. Rawlley gives the figures measuring those climatic conditions in India, France, and Italy ; from the above sources he could give them for China as well, and I have no doubt he could find them for Japan. He also states that "those areas which are close to the sea-level are not regarded as suitable for the production of silk". Silks from the Shanghai district are by nature the best in the world, any present-day superiority in other silks being due to the application of science to nature ; but those silks come from a territory which is nowhere as much as fifty feet above sea-level.

On p. 48 it is said of the reeling of raw silk in China that "the major part of it is still conducted on indigenous lines". That is quite true in general, but it is not true of much of the silk shipped to Western markets, which is filature silk. In 1913, the last normal year, of a total of 13,401,550 lb. of white raw silk exported from China, no less than 9,112,250 lb. were "steam filatures", and 2,740,400 lb. were "re-reels". I do not see that it is anywhere shown how very important is the supply of waste silk from China. With an export of white silk as above, yellow silk 2,510,000 lb., brown (wild) silk 3,956,000 lb., cocoons 3,396,000 lb., and woven silk fabrics 4,600,000 lb., there was also an export to foreign countries

of waste and refuse 19,053,400 lb. These figures, of the export trade alone, quite dwarf those of any other country.

When information on these Far Eastern countries is added to the very complete and precise information given on the Far West, the book will leave nothing to be desired.

The etymology on p. 12 is open to question.

H. B. M.

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PSALMS OF MARÁTHÁ SAINTS. Heritage of India Series.  
London : Oxford University Press. 1919.

To the majority of English readers who have sought to interest themselves in the thought of India, the literature hitherto available has been mainly that which embodies the philosophical conceptions which enter into or form the basis of Indian religion. In the booklet which Dr. Macnicol has published, entitled *Psalms of Maráthá Saints*, the author has made an interesting and, we may add, an important contribution to our knowledge of another side of Indian religion. This work deals with the actual religious experiences of the people, as exhibited in the poems of certain men and women belonging to different castes, in which the deepest longings of the Indian heart in its thirst for God found expression.

The influence which these writings have exerted over the popular mind has been so widespread and so persistent that we may regard them as a true revelation of the mind of India and an indispensable key to the understanding of its people.

The group to which these writers belong is known as the *Bhakti School*, the devotional school, the school of the mystics. This endeavour to reach God by the path of devotion was probably a reaction against the arid doctrines of the *Way of Knowledge*, the Dnyánamárga which was open only to the few who were capable of appreciating its abstruse speculations, and made little appeal to the heart of the people.

For a period of about five hundred years, from the twelfth

to the seventeenth century, Western India was the favoured home of this new movement, which was part of a widespread development witnessed also in Bengal and in the northern and southern parts of India. It sprang from a universal human need in the Hindu world and manifested itself in widely separated areas of the land, but nowhere did it attain to so marked an efflorescence as amongst the peoples of Maháráshtra. To the illustrations of its far-reaching influence the author might have added the remarkable fact that in the *Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, whose eclectic religion was an attempt at the reform of Hinduism, long passages taken from the *abhangs* of Námdeva, one of the writers of these Maráthá psalms, are to be found side by side with extracts from the works of Kabir Panth, whose influence in far north India is less surprising.

We are therefore justified in regarding the religious movement of which these Maráthá poets were the leaders as marking a distinct phase in the religious history of India.

The introduction prefixed to the collection of hymns contained in this volume gives brief sketches of the various authors, beginning with the Bráhman Dnyáneshvar, who was the precursor of the reaction and was subjected to not a little persecution at the hands of members of the Bráhman caste who sought to restrict his freedom of thought and action. Dnyáneshvar, however, scarcely represents the *bhakti* school in its full development; he has not so fully emancipated himself from the old traditional conceptions of religion as those who were to follow in the new path. Brief, but carefully compiled notices of the others who form this devotional "succession", Námdeva with his associates and Tukárám, who all belonged to castes which were commonly ranked below the Bráhmans, complete the narrative part of this introduction.

It is not possible in this brief notice to find a place for many extracts from the writings of these Hindu saints. A few stanzas must suffice. Dnyáneshvar (words ascribed to Kṛishná):—

For not in heaven I dwell, nor in the sky  
 In the sun's orb ; than Yogis' visions high  
 Far higher still am I.

Not in such places, Pándav, I abide,  
 But those who sing my praises far and wide,  
 Within their hearts I hide.

How glad of heart are they beholding me !  
 Forgot are time and place; where'er they be,  
 There sing they joyfully.

Námdeya strikes a deeper note :—

Dost thou behold me perishing ;  
 O haste and come, my God and King.  
 I die unless thou succour bring ;  
 O haste and come, my God and King !  
 To help me is a trifling thing,  
 Yet thou must haste, my God and King !  
 O come (how Nama's clamours ring),  
 O haste and come, my God and King !

And again :—

From Scripture scholars sought I once again  
 The form divine, but found them rent in twain.  
 Not one agrees with what the others say,  
 But pride and error lead them all astray.

Next in Puráns I sought the form so fair,  
 But still, alas ! no place of rest was there.  
 The preachers preach of Brahm, but set their mind  
 On lust, and so true peace they never find.

Weary with seeking, here at last am I ;  
 Low at thy feet, O Pándurang, I lie ;  
 My worldly life is full of fears, but thou  
 ('Tis Nama cries), O save me, save me now.

Most of the extracts in this collection are taken from Tukárám, whose numberless *abhangs* lend themselves most easily to quotation, in spite of a certain monotony of thought and expression. A few examples are here given :—

Ah ! Pándurang, if, as men say,  
 A sea of love thou art,  
 Then wherefore dost thou so delay ?  
 O take me to thy heart.

I cry for thee as for the hind  
 The fawn makes sore lament.  
 Nowhere its mother it can find,  
 With thirst and hunger spent.

In a similar strain :—

As on the bank the poor fish lies  
 And gasps and writhes in pain,  
 Or as a man with anxious eyes  
 Seeks hidden gold in vain,  
 So is my heart distressed, and cries  
 To come to thee again.

Thou knowest, Lord, the agony  
 Of the lost infant's wail,  
 Yearning his mother's face to see  
 (How oft I tell this tale !).  
 O at thy feet the mystery  
 Of the dark world unveil.

On a similar level of thought :—

Unwearied he bears up the universe,  
 How light a burden I !  
 Does not his care the frog within the stone  
 With food supply ?  
 The bird, the creeping thing lays up no store,  
 The Great One knows their need.  
 And if I, Tuká, cast on him my load,  
 Will not his mercy heed ?

Tukáram may be called the Robert Burns of India. His writings make the same kind of appeal to the popular mind and show something of the same perception and tender feeling in regard to the humblest things in the world of nature. In the castigations of hypocrisy his words sting as did those of the Scottish poet. Of these we give one example :—

Soon as the season of Simhasth comes in  
 The barber and the priest—what wealth they win !  
 Thousands of sins may lurk within his heart,  
 If only he will shave his hair and chin !

What is shaved off is gone, but what else, pray ?  
 What sign that sin is gone ? His evil way  
 Is still unchanged. Yea, without faith and love  
 All is but vanity, I, Tuka, say.

We have selected in these quotations passages that seem to come nearest to the language of spiritual aspiration, as we find it in Christian experience, and we recognize in them a wonderful approximation both in thought and expression to some passages in the Old and New Testament with which all are familiar. But the majority of the hymns in this collection clearly arise out of an idolatrous background. Tukáram was himself the devotee of Vithobá of Pandharpúr and the worshipper of the grim idol which is its chief possession, and it would be as easy for the defender of idolatry to discover in Tukáram's writings a glorification of his worship as for the Christian to find in them an echo of his higher spiritual aspirations. In the introduction Dr. Macnicol discusses in a very suggestive manner the strange phenomenon that is presented in these writings—spiritual devotion of a high order side by side with idolatry as it prevails amongst the ignorant and the unspiritual, not to speak of manifested intrusions into these poems of the *advait* doctrine with all its pantheistic colouring. The author's explanation of the phenomenon as illustrating the varying moods of the Hindu mind rather than reasoned convictions is the most satisfactory that can be given, and lends no countenance to the suggestion that has sometimes been made that such hymns might be used in the Christian worship of the Indian churches. The aspirations which they express are in their nature spiritual, earnest, and pathetic ; but they are not directed towards a God who has revealed himself as Spirit, nor are they dominated by a spiritual conception of holiness. They remain a touching and

impressive testimony to man's need of God, but they offer no sure guidance into the sanctuary of His presence.

D. MACKICHAN.

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AN OUTLINE OF THE RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF INDIA.

By J. N. FARQUHAR, D.Litt. Oxford University Press.  
1920.

*In magnis et voluisse sat est*, and Dr. Farquhar's task in his latest volume is such that even comparative failure would have been creditable. In point of fact, however, no excuse is needed for the work ; it deals with its vast theme with so wide a knowledge and so much objectivity of exposition and judgment that it must immediately rank as indispensable alike to the specialist and to the general student of Indian religion, of which in effect, though not in theory, it presents us with an able and up-to-date history. The scale of the volume and the purpose of the author forbid elaborate discussions of the great problems which arise on every hand, but he has succeeded by judicious compression in indicating what these problems are, while the elaborate and careful Bibliography provides the means for further investigation of the questions at issue.

The most novel and certainly not the least valuable feature of the work is the decision to attempt treatment by periods in lieu of describing in isolation the development of the literature of each of the great branches of religious thought. That it is possible even to make the attempt is, of course, the result of the investigations of the last quarter of a century, which have gone far to bring definiteness into our knowledge of the mediaeval period, and have rendered in some measure available the wealth of Jain and sectarian literature. But, though much has been learned, much yet remains to be accomplished ; Dr. Farquhar has rightly decided that it is worth while endeavouring to ascribe portions of the Purāṇas to definite periods in the religious history of

India, despite the extreme difficulty of obtaining any external confirmation of the validity of such ascriptions. His suggestions (pp. 136 ff.), made with all due absence of dogmatism, will furnish ground for further investigation, whence in due course we shall learn whether this will prove to be a trustworthy clue to the dates of works which are apt to convey the impression that, as we have them, they have suffered so much working over as to render it vain to hope for very definite results.

Apart from its extremely valuable contributions to the history of religion, the work renders excellent service by its aggregation of precise facts regarding the dates of literary works. The case against the authenticity of the *Kauṭilya*, which Dr. Farquhar is inclined (p. 43) to accept, has been strengthened by the progress of Professor Jolly's researches, which more and more suggest that the work is a pseudepigraph, a conclusion which harmonizes well with the text's strange lack of any proof of familiarity with Candragupta's regime, its close affinity in terminology with the later Smṛtis, and the testimony of Daṇḍin to its modern composition. A curious and interesting point is raised by Dr. Farquhar (p. 239) regarding the authorship of the *Bhāskara-bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta Sūtra*, on whose importance he lays just stress. Tradition<sup>1</sup> makes out that Bhāskara Ācārya was the original name of Nimbāditya or Nimbārka, the founder of the Nimbārka sect, and the identification of the author of the *Bhāṣya* with Nimbārka is more directly asserted in the India Office manuscripts<sup>2</sup> of that work and of a commentary upon it. The first of these in one colophon styles the author Nimbabhāskara; the second, though modern, comes from Vṛndāvana, suggesting that Bhāskara's work was studied especially there; and the MS. of the commentary expressly treats the *Bhāṣya* as Nimbāditya's, and emphasizes its harmony with Śaṅkara's work. To the identification Dr. Farquhar

<sup>1</sup> Hall, *Bibliographical Index*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Eggeling & Windisch, *Catalogue*, pt. iv, Nos. 2480-2.

urges the objections that it is unlikely that one man should write a pure Vedānta *Bhāṣya* and also a sectarian *Vṛtti* (the *Vedāntapārijātasaurabha*), and that, so far as our knowledge goes at present, the name and worship of Rādhā appeared at Vṛndāvana at a date considerably later than Bhāskara, who lived at least some time before Udayana. But we cannot feel any assurance as to the date of Rādhā's appearance, and it must be remembered that, though the *Bhāskarabhāṣya* is not sectarian, yet it adopts quite definitely the *bhedābheda* point of view, and in this agrees with the doctrine of Nimbārka, a fact which detracts seriously from the force of the argument against the traditional identification. Comparison of the *Bhāṣya* with what is otherwise known of Nimbārka's works may lead to a solution of the issue, and it is not the least merit of the author's work that it suggests repeatedly such paths for investigation and research.

The value of the book has been largely increased by the ability of Dr. Farquhar to draw material from oral tradition ; the continuity of Indian cult in its most terrible aspect is vividly illustrated by the testimony of the priests at Vindhyačal (p. 203, n.l.) that human sacrifice continued there until forbidden under British rule, when we remember the powerful description by Vākpatirāja (eighth century) of the human offerings to Kālī of the Vindhya.<sup>1</sup>

The typography of the work is excellent, and the only cause for regret is that the index hardly gives adequate guidance to the richness of its contents.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

MOSLEM ARCHITECTURE : ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

By G. T. RIVOIRA. Translated from the Italian by G. McN. RUSHFORTH. 4to ; pp. xvii, 383. Humphrey Milford. Oxford : University Press. 1918.

This book is described in its preface as an inquiry into the origin of the elements of Muhammadan religious architecture

<sup>1</sup> *Gāḍavaho*, 318 ff.

and their development, and it is designed to serve, in conjunction with a previous work on Lombardic architecture, as a guide to the main types of religious architecture of the West, the Near East, and North Africa in the period between the first and twelfth centuries of the Christian era. The recent decease of the author, who was a distinguished archæologist, is to be lamented.

The contents consist of accounts of thirteen of the principal early mosques of Islam, of early churches of Armenia, and of churches of Spain, with discussions of the elements of Muhammadan religious architecture as they come to notice in the accounts. A considerable portion of the matter has little or no connexion with Muhammadan work. Nearly as much space is devoted to the churches as to the mosques. No relation between the Armenian churches and Muhammadan architecture is established. Out of the examination of the Spanish group comes a conclusion supporting the belief that the horseshoe arch, so prominent a characteristic of Moorish architecture, was not derived, as has recently been advanced, from the pre-Islamic architecture of Spain ; but, while the conclusion is relevant, the demonstration at such length would hardly be in place if Muhammadan architecture alone was in view. The investigations into origins go back in some cases to the first years of the Christian era or even earlier, and as regards Islam there is no need to start from before the beginning. They are largely concerned, moreover, with showing the debt that the world owes to Rome for the invention of architectural forms and features, and that many of them which have been supposed to be of Byzantine or Hellenistic origin should properly be credited to the Latin genius, a question well worth pursuing for its own sake, but one with which Muhammadan architecture is little concerned. One of the conclusions—that the essential discoveries of vaulted architecture were the legacies of the West—coincides with the opinion arrived at by Miss Bell in her study of Ukhaidir.

The general outline of the evolution of the mosque is well

enough known. The first mosque was that of the Prophet at Madinah. In their conquests the Arabs built mosques in the countries they occupied, the most important of their centres being Damascus, Kūfah, Baṣrah, and Fustāt. The earliest mosques of all were rude buildings exhibiting much diversity of design, and consisting of the simplest elements. Before long, mosques of more importance began to be built; a regular plan was established, and various adjuncts now essential to a mosque, such as the mihrāb in the form of a niche and the minaret, were added. The plan then instituted prevailed universally for some three or four centuries, when the madrasah plan was introduced and after some time succeeded in gradually supplanting the first and continues to be the standard up to now. The Arabs of the Islamic conquests (though hardly deserving the epithet of barbarians) had little knowledge of architecture, so the early mosques were in general the work of the natives of the conquered countries, and represent the state of their advancement in the art of building and their ideas, though on some important occasions help was obtained from Constantinople. The immediate origin of the elements of these mosques is therefore to be looked for in the architecture of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, as it was in the seventh century of our era. Most of the subsequent changes came from the East.

Signor Rivoira does not trace the mosque in detail later than the twelfth century. He gives a brief summary of subsequent developments and a number of illustrations of later mosques, also a short account of the earliest mosque of the newer style known in Cairo. Otherwise, all his detailed accounts of mosques relate to the earlier type. With the exception of the mosque of Kūfah, known only by means of very cursory descriptions given by early writers, like Balāduri and Tabari, the mosques he describes in detail all belong to the western part of the Muhammadan dominions, that is, the part to the west of the Euphrates.

A good deal might be added to what he tells us about the

first phase. One has only to glance at the beginning of Maqrîzî's history of the mosque of 'Amr to see several statements on early authority with regard to the maqsûrah, the mihrâb, and the minbar that certainly deserve notice. For what they are worth, they point to an earlier date for these inventions than is commonly assigned to them. Ibn ez Zaiyât also speaks of one of the ancient mosques of Fustât, apparently still standing in his day, with a square minaret built in 51 A.H. in its middle, rather a remarkable variant in the plan. The stone minaret built by Ziyâd for the mosque of Bašrah, as related by Balâduri, must have been as early or probably a little earlier, and one would have expected it to have been referred to. Mu'âwiyah's orders for minarets (*manâr*) to be added to the mosques of Fustât at about this time are of some importance; for hence it follows that minarets were not an Egyptian invention and that mosques were regulated by the Khalif at an early date. Signor Rivoira does not allude to this general order, though he mentions that the Governor of Egypt had four towers erected, one at each angle of the mosque of 'Amr, and in another passage that this was done by order of Mu'âwiyah. He has probably been misled by some translation when he says that Maqrîzî does not describe the towers as minarets. The expression used is *ṣawâmi'*, which means minarets, and in other parts of his book it happens that Signor Rivoira uses the rendering minaret where the original is the same word. Another instance of a general regulation affecting mosques was an order by El Mahdi that all mosques of assembly should be provided with maqsûrahs. This is recorded by Dinawarî.

Signor Rivoira points to the mosque of Ziyâd at Kûfah as being, to judge from existing buildings, the first of the type which was the origin of the colonnaded mosque plans of the first Muslim centuries. If this view is based ultimately on Tabari's narrative, as seems to be the case, it is to be observed that the facts in the original are meagre. The mosque was built with columns 30 cubits high, formed, as Signor Rivoira

says, "of stone drums from Ahwâz, held together by iron clamps and beddings of lead" (rather iron dowels bedded in lead), and roofed, doubtless not roofed over entirely, and had "aisles and backs"; perhaps a colonnade at the back is meant. It is difficult to find very much on such a description. One outstanding point is that the mosque as regards its great height differed from all those with which we are acquainted. No descriptions of the earliest Syrian mosques seem to have been preserved, from which it could be seen whether the "aisles and backs" are likely to have been a Persian invention.

The earliest mosques still existing are the two at Jerusalem dating from the reign of 'Abd el Malik. Not much of the original structure is preserved in either, nor in the mosque of Damascus, less still in those of Makkah or Madinah. Signor Rivoira's descriptions include these mosques, also the mosque of Qairawân, besides that of Cordova and the three oldest Egyptian mosques—that of Ibn Tûlûn, El Azhar, and that of El Hâkim. The mosque of 'Amr at Cairo has been rebuilt entirely.

While these mosques have a family resemblance, they all differ considerably from one another. There are considerable departures from the normal plan, and several of them have arches of a form not found in the others. Signor Rivoira notes the variations. He makes one or two suggestions as to their sources. Thus, as he sees that the hood-shaped pendentives and certain other features of a ninth century dome in the mosque of Qairawân resemble others of the fifth century at Ravenna, and he finds no earlier examples in North Africa, he supposes that these Roman Campanian inventions reached Qairawân by way of Sicily, lately conquered by the Muslims of North Africa, at the time the dome was built. He sees in the Qairawân dome the model of certain tenth century cupolas at Cordova. He conjectures that some niche pendentives in the eleventh century mosque of El Hâkim must have been derived from Sicily, because the only earlier

attested specimens are sixth century ones at Ravenna, and twelfth century buildings in Sicily have the same devices in a more advanced form. He points out that, so far as is known at present, El Azhar of the tenth century has the earliest dated examples of the Persian arch, and suggests that the form was invented in Egypt by the architect of the mosque working out an idea of the founder.

Most of the suggestions seem to be speculative. One notes that while, contrary to the assertion of an eminent authority, all the early mosques appear to have had domes, El Aqṣā, for instance, being credited with as many as fifteen, the dome at Qairawān is the earliest that has survived, that is in the mosques treated of, and that in those mosques only two other examples of early domes remain, viz. at Cordova and in the mosque of El Ḥākim. The domes in these mosques may well have been derived from earlier Muslim domes ; these may have been derived ultimately from Ravenna, but through intermediate buildings of which nothing is known. At all events, conjectures based on so small a number of examples as those produced are hazardous. With regard to the Persian arch, in another part of his book Signor Rivoira ascribes its origin to India.

On the whole, it seems that there is very little evidence that any of the mosques in question were derived from any of the others, and that the sources of the distinctive features to be seen in them—the horse-shoe arch, pointed arch, pendentives, and so forth—are not established and are not likely to be traced. The early mosques appear to be divisible into two categories, those designed on the simple plan and those which have the T plan, the former being Eastern and the latter Western. The Eastern mosques in several cases are known to have had the roofs of their arcades supported on columns without the intervention of arches. Piers instead of columns may, perhaps, also be taken as an Eastern feature, and round towers rather than square ones ; also in general the Western mosques had round arches, whereas the pointed arch

seems to belong to the East. If this is accepted, then the Fatimid mosques of Egypt should be put in the Eastern series, together with the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn, which is known for certain to have been based on the mosque of Sāmarra.

Signor Rivoira makes little attempt to trace the Eastern element in early mosque architecture, and leaves the general impression that the whole of what appears in the early mosques was derived from the West, except a few details supplied somehow by India. That Mesopotamia and Persia should not have exercised a large influence is contrary to probability. One sign of what came from Persia is the number of Persian words used in Arabic for common architectural terms, like *tāq*, *riwāq*, *iwān*.

Signor Rivoira's conclusions with regard to the omission of El Muqaddasi to mention Egypt among the countries from which workmen for the mosaics of the mosque of Damascus were brought cannot be accepted. Muqaddasī probably includes Egypt under the general term *maghrib*. Besides, "Pay for the wages and supplies of a sawyer for work on the mosque of Damascus for 6 = six months in the present (eighth) induction" occurs in the Aphrodite papyri, and it is highly improbable that this refers to any other than an Egyptian workman. The same sources, by the bye, give the names of the two architects of the mosque, one of whom, 'Ubaid ibn Hurmuz, obviously must have been a Persian. It may be noticed that, according to what seems to be a legend, the original architect of the mosque of 'Amr was a Copt.

In general, Signor Rivoira's book seems to be free from minor errors, though one may notice one or two. The date 656-7 connected with El Mu'izz is doubtless a misprint. Asrafs should be ashrafs. Arus means bride, not wife. Qattayi should be Qatayi; shiarik, sharik. The attempt on Mu'āwiyah, which, it is said, must have happened more than two years before the murder of 'Ali, took place, as is well known, on the same day. Ibn Katib el Fargani is a curious name, and could hardly have belonged to a Copt.

Signor Rivoira displays originality as well as a wide acquaintance with early architecture, and his accounts of edifices seem to be based largely upon personal observation ; his authority for his statements is given clearly. His book, therefore, will have a permanent value. The translation is, perhaps, the most comprehensive account of early mosques that has appeared in English. It does not appear, however, that he advances knowledge much as to the history of the early growth of mosques, or, indeed, that he presents what is known about the subject fully and in a thoroughly impartial light. He conveys the impression of advocating a case, and is somewhat contemptuous with regard to the opinion of others. His method of dealing with his main theme by means of digression is not a convenient one. It involves repetition, and fails to bring home the facts with the same force as would an ordered narrative, and hinders the utility of the work as a book of reference. One wishes that the buildings personally examined had been specified and that a plan of each mosque described had been given, instead of a plan in only a few cases. The translation is so good that one could hardly suspect the work was not English in the original. The illustrations in general are excellent. They include many photographs taken expressly for the book, and form a collection of representations of works of architecture that will render the volume attractive to those who appreciate art without troubling about its origins.

A. R. G.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY. By P. D. GUNE. pp. ix, 252, xii (index). Poona, 1918.

This little book is intended to supply a long-felt want. Before its publication there was no manual suitable for initiating Indian students into the science of Comparative Philology, which has begun to be a subject of teaching and examination in Indian universities. Not only have most of

the best books been inaccessible to Indian students because of their ignorance of French and German, but even those written in English are scarcely of any use to them. Indian students are unacquainted with the two oldest languages of Europe, Greek and Latin, as well as with Gothic and Old High German, which, beside Sanskrit, furnish the chief comparative material in European manuals. Their knowledge derived from such sources must necessarily be mechanical and unreal, for they can never understand how forms quoted as equivalents from these cognate languages have been phonetically arrived at. Thus I have met Indians who, though able to tell me that the Greek  $\epsilon\eta$  corresponds to Sanskrit *syāt*, could not explain how the former word came about. Till the Indian student has acquired a working knowledge of these essential ancient European languages Comparative Philology will be full of pitfalls for him. Yet no Sanskrit scholar who aims at possessing a comprehensive knowledge of Sanskrit on the linguistic side can dispense with that science. Without it he cannot have a grasp of the phonetic laws which govern derivation and act as a check on the production of wild etymologies.

Professor Gune has in the present book contributed much to counteract the disabilities of Indian students by supplying them as far as possible with material from the Indian branch of the Aryan languages, at least in the last two chapters, which deal with the historical development of Indian speech from its earliest phase in the Veda down to the modern vernaculars. He has besides provided Indians with a good summary of a subject which would otherwise be inaccessible to them. He has divided his book into five parts. The first describes the principles of the science, with an exposition of its general phenomena, such as the nature of phonetic law, "Grimm's" and Verner's laws, assimilation and dissimilation, the causes of phonetic change, expansion and restriction of meaning, and many other matters. The second, entitled "Families of Languages", sets forth the characteristics

of the main classes of languages, especially those of the Aryan group. The third is a comparative account of Indian and Iranian, the two most closely allied of the Aryan tongues. The fourth deals with the post-Sanskrit development of the Indian languages, under the title of "Pāli and the Inscriptional Prākrits". The last part describes the literary Prākrits and the modern vernaculars. The account of the latter is only sketched, because scientifically definite statements about them can hardly be made till trustworthy historical grammars of these modern Indo-Aryan languages have been written. Such works are a desideratum in Indian philology. It is much to be desired that critically trained Indian Sanskritists should take up this task, in which the workers are as yet so few, and in which the results will fully equal in importance those obtained in the field of Romance philology.

The author shows a grasp of the principles of Comparative Philology, and on the whole states them adequately. But his book has considerable defects in detail, largely due to his apparently not possessing a living knowledge of the ancient Aryan languages other than Sanskrit. The result is a very large number of misprints and errors, predominantly in the forms quoted from Greek, the most important of the old languages beside Sanskrit from the comparative point of view. This is unfortunate, because freedom from mistakes in an elementary work dealing with a new subject full of detail is of the utmost moment, for students will otherwise learn and disseminate many wrong forms. I therefore consider myself bound to point out the numerous errors (apart from those corrected in the list of errata) which I have noted while reading the book through.

To begin with Greek. Final *s* is nearly always printed as  $\sigma$ , as  $\xi\delta\sigma\sigma$  and  $\kappa\nu\nu\sigma\sigma$  (p. 36), but sometimes in its regular form, as in  $\kappa\lambda\nu\tau\sigma$  (95),  $o\sigma$  for  $o\iota\sigma$  (39); it also appears medially, as in  $\phi\acute{e}r\sigma\sigma\iota\sigma$  (39) and  $\delta\sigma\sigma\text{-}\pi\sigma\tau\sigma$  (113), and even initially in  $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\sigma$  (141),  $\sigma\tau\gamma\lambda\eta$ , and  $\sigma\tau\acute{e}y\sigma\sigma$  (109). Many words have a wrong initial breathing, as  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{a}\kappa\iota\sigma$  (60),

*εἴπετο* (39), *ἐπομαῖ* (96); *οἶκος* (144), *ἔι*, and all the forms of the imperfect of the verb *ἔσται*, "to be" (155). Others appear without any breathing at all: *ειμι* (155), *οικοσ* (95), *οῦσι* (152), *αλεω*, *ελαφοσ*, *αγειρω* (149), and *οίδα* (97), which also has a wrong accent (for *οίδα*). Many words have an incorrect accent, as *ἱπποσ* (107), *ὑπνοσ* (145), *πήχυν* for *πῆχυν* (152), and others. Some words have no accent, as *έστι* (155), *ήσται* (119), *διδώμι* (119), *λειπο* for *λείπω* (139), *περνημι* (149), *διω*, elsewhere wrongly printed as *δύω* (145). The word *ἔλφοσ* (108), said to mean "butter", is a Cypriote form found only in Hesychius. It ought not to have been given at all as parallel to Sanskrit *sarpis* (not *sárpis*) because of the *ϕ*, but its alternative form *ἔλποσ*, which also occurs in Hesychius only. There are as many as five unaccented forms on p. 151. On the other hand, some words appear with a double accent, as *ποίη* (114), *θῦμόσ* (145), and (143) *κηρυξ* (*sic*). The latter word occurs elsewhere (145) as *κάρυξ* correctly accented, but with nothing to show that it is the same word in a dialectic (Doric) form. The wrong form *διδώμι* (77), though corrected in the list of errata, appears there as *διδώμι* with wrong accent for *διδωμι*. The impossible form *διδώσι*, with the addition of an impossible accent, remains (40). It is uncertain whether the accent is wrong or not in *κάλοσ* (145) because the meaning is not stated. It is wrong if *καλός*, "beautiful," is meant; if "rope" is intended the word should not have been quoted in this form, as being only a dialectic form of the regular Greek *κάλως*.

Misprints unconnected with accent are the following: *πρόν* for *πρός* (76); *ἄπαχ* for *ἄπαξ* (91); *ἥ-φῆγοσ* for *ἥ φηγός* (98); *β'ουσ* for *βοῦς* (104); *θὺσα* for *θύρα* (109); *Ζεύσ. ξένιοσ* for *Ζεύς ξένιος* (115); *λείφω* for *λείψω* (157); *διδο-ῖ-μεν* for *διδο-ῖ-μεν* (159); *ζυγόν* for *ζυγόν* (104), is written with a symbol which is intended by the author for *dz*, but is used only in Old Germanic words to express

the sound *ts*. The impossible form *éos* (115) is meant for the Homeric *ἡώς* or the Attic *ἥως*, "dawn." The form *δάτος* (141) is non-existent besides being provided with the wrong accent: it should be *δοτός*. The word *νίοσ* should be *νύός* (112); *λακφ* appears for *λύκφ* (151).

Even Sanskrit words sometimes appear wrongly accented: *aśrāvi* for *áśrāvi* (129), *dadámi* (141), *pañcá* (145), *paptíma* (46), *madhú* (109), *tisṭhámi* (141). Other misprints or errors in Sanskrit words are: *āpnumá* (47), *ádhadhvam* for *ádhaddhvam* (155), *āvatīrya* (220), *sūnandm* (152), *gíral* for the dative *gíraye* (125), *bharāsi* for the 3rd sing. *bharāti* (128), *dadhātā* in place of *dádhāti* (155), *tatvā* for *tát tvā* (79), *vasiṣṭha* for *vasiṣṭha* (126), *ákarm* for *ákarma* (131), *Brāmhī* for *Brāhmī* (179); and in suffixes, such as *-masa* (154) for *-mas* and *-masi*, *-tayai* for *-taye* (130), the "*-na* class" for "*-nā* class" (127), the "*-aye* class" for "*-aya* class" (127); and the vowel *e* for *i* in *áśrāvi* (129). There are also a good many wrong spellings in Sanskrit names, as *Kāśmīrī* for *Kāśmīrī* (233); *Varanci* for *Vararuci* (125).

In Avestan I have noted the following mistakes: *straorəm* for *staorəm* (122), *barāmi* (1st plur.) for *barāmahi* (127), *barat* for *barat*, *barəm* for *barən* (127), *baroit* for *baroīt* (128), *histati* for *hišta'ti* (93), *adu* for *zdī* (128). In the very weird form *þuh̄fa*, "fifth" (126), the Germanic symbol for *th* is printed instead of *p*.

In Latin, *nefos* appears for *nepos* (145), *putulus* for *putillus* (119), *semi modus* for *semimodius*, and *semmodus* for *semmodius* (52), *kasus* for *casus* (80). The word *polis*, which is given as a cognate of Sanskrit *pṝṇ* (109), is non-existent as a Latin word. The word *venum* (110) as the equivalent of Sanskrit *vasna* and Greek *ῶνος* (not *ῶνος*), should be printed *vēnum*.

From the Germanic languages the following may be quoted. The Gothic word given as *trieu* should be *triu* (145). The monstrous form Gothic *hungerdide* (156) would be *huggrida* if it occurred, like *nasida* from *nasjan*. The word twice (95, 144) given as *ahil* in Old High German should be *ahir*. In

German, *knie* should be read for *kuie*, and *ofen* for *offen*, which is also given the wrong meaning of "kettle" for "stove" (111), though the original sense may have been "pot". *Romantische* [romantic] *Philologen* (1) appears for *romanische* [Romance] *Philologen*. Instead of *roh* (42) as cognate to Sanskrit *kravīs* and Latin *cruor*, the Old Saxon *hrā* would have been preferable as showing the initial *h*, which has been dropped in modern German. *Kunst- or Hochsprache* should be *Kunst-* or *Hochsprache* (136), and *Prinzipien* (57) and *Shrachwissenschaft* (157) are other misprints. The verb *abtreten* (79) takes the dative of the person, *jemandem*, not the accusative, *jemanden*.

In Old Irish there is no such form as *sechen* (96), quoted as parallel to Sanskrit *sacate*, Latin *sequor*.

In Lithuanian *bālsas* should be read for *balsas*, *pēlnas* for *pilnas*, and *viltis* for *valtis* (146), and *dubūs* for *dubus* (39). If the blank space before the latter word had been filled in by the Indo-Germanic root *dhub*, the rest would have been clearer.

In Spanish the word *Fry* should be *fray* (19). It is wrong to say that the "Spanish has *volo* to form the future" (157). There is no Spanish word *volo* "to wish", and the only Romance language which employs the Latin *volo* to form the future is Rumanian. The Spanish future is compounded with the present of the Latin *habere*.

The title of de Saussure's book is a remarkable specimen of inaccurate French: *Mémoire sur le systeme primitif dans le langages Indo-Européennes* (142) for *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes*.

I have noted upwards of seventy misprints in English, and there are probably many more. As most of them can be easily corrected, I will mention only a few that might be unintelligible or misleading to Indian students: "anagloy" for analogy (171), "monogram" for monograph (64), "Finish" for "Finnish" (index iii), "Islandic" for "Icelandic" (89, 144), "Ural Lake" (101) and "Sea of Ural" (103) for "Aral Sea" or "Sea of Aral". The word *nil* is always spelt *nill*.

The English style in which the book is written is on the whole good, though it is not infrequently defaced by the influence of German idioms. Thus the author always refers to two different forms coalescing into one by the abominable Germanism "falling together", the literal translation of *zusammenfallen* (36, 96, 122, 123). In describing the pronunciation of the Latin *centum* and the Greek *éκατόν* he remarks: "Speak *kentum*" and "say *hekaton*" (95) for "pronounce". "Followers" is at least twice used for "successors" (116, 179). The Indo-Aryans and the Iranians are described as "sitting together" in the Caspian region (101). "Points to the same direction" is said for "points in" (191); "goes back on" for "goes back to" (147); "them two" for "these two" (226); "O.G.H." for "O.H.G." (37), i.e. "Old High German". The translation of *Pāli-grundlage* should be, not "Pāli-grounding", but "Pāli basis" (184). The English form is "Frankish", not "Frankian", "Czech," not "Cechisch" (89). "Old Sl. *bera*" (39) should be "Old Sl.", i.e. Old Slavonic, *bera* (for *bera*). As Indians often seem to do, the author has a tendency to use the verb "to get" unidiomatically. Thus cardinals and ordinals in Avestan are said to "have got declensions like nouns" (126); and the sound *l* "gets a tendency to increase" (132).

Many of the errors in the book indicate that the author has not an independent working knowledge of the linguistic material he uses outside of Sanskrit. Thus he speaks (78) of the relative *ōs* (Skt. *yá-s*) as if it were the article *ō* (Skt. *sí*). The 3rd sing. of *φέρω* is quoted (155) as *φέρει(τ)*, as if it had dropped a final *t* (which is the case in *ἔφερε(τ)*), but *φέρει* represents *φέρε(τ)ι*. The form *φέρεμαι* appears for *φέρομαι*, and *ἔφέρεμεν* for *ἔφέρομεν* (155). The form *ἔστημι*, given as an equivalent of the Skt. *tisṭhāmi* (141), is due to a confusion between the correct form *ἴστημι* and the perfect *ἔσταμαι*; the alternative form *ἴσταμι* ought to be written *ἴσταμι* to show its exact correspondence to

the Sanskrit form. The words for "ten" and "city" appear as *deka* (94) and *polis* (109) in Latin, while they are Greek only. Twice (39, 119) the form *esti* is given as the 3rd sing. pres. of the verb *es-* "to be" in Latin. The Latin dative *mī* appears as the accusative, and the accusative *mī* (for *mē*) as the dative (90). The form *bo* (107) instead of *bos* is given as parallel to *βοῦς*, and therefore must be meant for the Latin nominative. All the six forms of the imperfect of *ēσ* "to be" are given (155) with the *spiritus asper* as well as the 2nd pres. sing. *el* (for *ēl*). The 2nd and 3rd sing. imperfect of *τιθημι* are given as *ἐτίθεις*, *ἐτίθει*, though not parallel to the Skt. *ādadhās*, *ādadhat*. The older, though less common forms, *ἐτίθης*, *ἐτίθη*, should have been used for the purposes of comparison with Sanskrit. The Greek aor. *ἔστην* (1st pers.) is given as the equivalent of Skt. *āsthāt*, instead of *ἔστη*, 3rd pers. sing. (156). The form *πεποιθ-ο-μεν* (158) is quoted as an example of the perfect subjunctive in Greek. This is a form which occurs only once in Homer, while *εἴδομεν* and *εἴδετε* are found six times. Why choose an isolated example in preference to others that are much commoner? The form *πόνωφ* is given (151) as a relic of the instrumental case in Greek. Written with iota subscript *πόνρωφ* could only be a dative; as an adverb it would have to be written *πόνω*. But this word is so problematical that it would have been far better to quote the adverbs *ἄρω* and especially *τῶ*, the latter being very common in Homer. As equivalent to the O.H.G. *ala* (104) is given the form "Germ. *aῆla*". Can the latter word be intended for the German *Ahle* as the meaning of the O.H.G. *ala*? There is no Germanic word *aῆla*. The English verb *draw* is given (37) as a cognate of the Latin *duco* and the German *ziehen*; but it has nothing whatever to do with them phonetically, and only expresses their meaning. The equivalent English verbs are *tie* and *tow*. The connexion of the Greek *κιρυξ* with the English *herald* is more than doubtful.

The book contains a good many misleading or incorrect

statements with regard to grammar and to phonetic laws. Thus it is said (134) that the imperative endings *dhvāt* and *dhi* "were frequently used in [the] Veda side by side with *hi*". Now *dhvāt*, so far from being frequent in the Veda, does not occur even once in any of the four Samhitās, and apparently only in the one form *vārayadhvāt* in the Brāhmaṇa literature, and that, too, where *hi* would not be added.

It is incorrect to say that the "augment is used to make the imperfect and aorist only" (153). It is also used to form the pluperfect in Greek and Vedic. It is also wrong to say (129) "as in the imperfect the Avesta differs from Sanskrit in not having an augment". There are several undoubted examples of augmented forms in the Avesta, such as *apatat*, *abavat*. It can only lead the student astray to give λύκοι as an example of the ablative in Greek. It is in form and origin a genitive only.

The Pāli form *eso* "this", Skt. *esah*, is described as showing the change "of the *s* of the termination into an invariable *o*". This is too Pāṇinean a way of saying that final *-as* (not *s* only) becomes *o*, as it regularly does in Avestan and in Sanskrit before sonant consonants.

What does the author mean (48) by saying that "*o* palatalizes the labio-velar in *quo*, which becomes *πο*"? The vowel *o* is not a palatal, nor is the Greek consonant *π*. Does he mean "labializes"? But in any case the *π* is not caused by the *o*. With regard to Sanskrit it is said that "original Indo-German[ic] palatals have become spirants, i.e. *s*, *ś*, *s̄*". This is true of the first two of the latter sounds (as in *śatam* and *yas-um*), but when does an Indo-Germanic palatal ever become a dental *s* in Sanskrit?

The statement that "the Sanskrit palatal class is the old velar or guttural class, labialized or not labialized, before palatal vowels" is obscure, and to the Indian student would probably convey no meaning.

There is something wrong about the statement (38) with reference to the second Germanic sound-shifting, "the hard

spirants *f*, *þ*, *χ* become soft spirants *ð*, *d̥*, and *z* (which disappears intervocally)." Now the hard guttural spirant *χ* can never become the soft dental spirant *z* (if this is meant to be equivalent to English *z*). It looks as if the symbol for soft *h* had been mistaken for *z*. The latter never disappears intervocally, but may become *r* (as O.H.G. *was* : *warun*). The statement (123) is made that in Avestan "Sanskrit *n* is represented in different ways". The examples given from the Avesta show one way only, i.e. by the same identical dental *n*. But the *n* of *barənti* should have a diacritical mark. The Skt. *jaŋghā* and its equivalent illustrate the guttural *ɳ*, not the dental *n*. When the author says (168) that Pāli possesses all the Sanskrit consonants, he presumably includes *s* and *ʂ* (which are non-existent in Pāli), and even gives the form *karoʂi* (174).

It is wrong to say that "Grimm's law is called after its discoverer" (37). The Dane Rask was its discoverer; the result of his investigations, published in 1818, were adopted by Grimm in the second edition of his *Deutsche Grammatik* in 1821. The statement (93) that in Armenian, Italian, and Germanic original *ɳ*, *m̥*, become *an am*, *en em*, *un um*, respectively, must be puzzling to an Indian student, who would probably think that cerebral *ɳ* and anusvāra (*ɳi*) are intended. The author no doubt means the sonant nasal, which, however, is only explained much later (138).

There are many inconsistencies in the book. Thus Sanskrit and Greek words are sometimes quoted in the stem form, as *víka* (119), *ἄκμων* (40), *τέκτον* (111), sometimes in the nominative, as *ásvah*, *ἄκμων* (119). In Latin and Greek, at any rate, they should always be given in the nom. sing., according to the recognized usage of classical scholars. Instead of the nom. sing. masc. form *káh*, the Vedic neut. *kád* ought to be used as parallel to Latin *quod* and English *what*. Again, when a Sanskrit word is quoted in the nom. plur., as *hantārah*, the equivalent Avestan should be *jantāro*, not the uninflected stem form *jantar* (145). The Indian student, probably not

knowing anything of English philology, would be mystified by finding *thatch* as corresponding to Greek *τέργος*, without any explanation that it is a dialectic variation of the exact equivalent *thak*. The same student seeing the Avestic optative *sūšōit* placed between the Sanskrit and the Latin past participles *sīṣṭa* and *castus* is likely to regard it as a past participle, and wonder how it has assumed such a form. Why should not the proper equivalents *sīṣṭa* or *sāsta* be given instead? The modern vernacular equivalent of Skt. *bhramara*, "bee," occurs on the same page (238) once as *bhāṇvara* and again as *bhavaṇra*.

There is also inconsistency in the use of terminology. Thus "subjunctive" is used (128, etc.) alternatively with "conjunctive" (133, etc.), "potential" (176, etc.) with "optative" (128, etc.), "absolutive" (134) with "gerund", "preterite" (165) with "imperfect", "Indo-German" (93) with "Indo-Germanic", and "medial" (154) is wrongly used for "middle". The terms used are not always the best. "Neuter" should be given up in regard to verbs, and "intransitive" employed instead. All foreign terms should be avoided, as they tend to obscure the meaning. I have noticed that the term *ablaut* is to the Indian student shrouded in impenetrable mystery. Why not say "vowel gradation"? If *umlaut* also happened to be used confusion would be still worse confounded. Though the term "affricate" is correctly defined (38), it is thoroughly misapplied in describing the Sanskrit *j* and *jh* (144). There are no affricates in Sanskrit. I should advise the author before bringing out a new edition to consult the Report of the Oriental Advisory Committee *On the Terminology and Classifications of Grammar* (Oxford, 1920).

Many of the statements contained in the book must be misleading or positively unintelligible to the student, because there is no explanation or because the meaning is omitted. Thus Indo-Germanic *a* is mentioned (93), but I believe nowhere explained. When the cognates of the Sanskrit

sākhā are given (143), it should be stated that the meaning of the Lithuanian *szaka* is "branch" and that of the Gothic *·hōha* "plough", an explanation being added that the sense of the latter word is due to a branch being used as a plough in primitive Germanic agriculture. Again, the bare statement that a characteristic of Greek is "change of *j* into *dj*" (93) is worse than useless. This statement, evidently based on a German source (where *y* is spelt *j*), is as it stands quite unintelligible. It should be "change of *y* to *dy* (i.e. ξ)", with the illustration "e.g. Skt. *yugdám*, Greek ξυρίων". But even this would be only a partial statement; for the Skt. *yáh* is in Greek ὅς. This divergent treatment of *y* should be explained.

Several omissions of words occur here and there. Thus the voc. and accus. sing. of *giri* are left out (125); the Pāli form corresponding to the Skt. *trayodaśa* (198) is wanting; the loc. case is altogether omitted in the list of endings (207, after line 2); and the Skt. form *bharadhvam* is left out (128). And why is there a blank for the numeral "ten" (91) in the Slavonic languages, when there is the Lithuanian *dészimtis*?

Some of the abbreviations have a wrong form or are erroneously used. Thus "*q.v.*" ("which see") is almost invariably used instead of "*v.*" ("see") in the index. *Ibd* stands for *ibid.*, and "*O.C.*" for *op. cit.* One of the fundamental defects of the book is the lack of a complete list of abbreviations and symbols occurring in it.

The above is a formidable and by no means an exhaustive enumeration of the errors of detail contained in this manual. Nevertheless, I consider that it will prove a good book for the purposes of the Indian, and to some extent even English, student of Comparative Philology. It is only for this reason that I have subjected it to a searching criticism, which otherwise would have been pure waste of time. In its present form, however, it cannot safely be used without the guidance of a highly trained teacher. But it can be made a really

valuable book by correcting its defects in a second edition. With a view to this end the author should pay special attention to accuracy and consistency, the two fundamental qualities essential in a work dealing with a scientific subject. I should advise him to work through carefully for comparative purposes standard grammars, especially a Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Old High German one, so as to acquire a real command of the linguistic material derived from them. In quoting words direct from comparative grammars, such as those of Brugmann, he should conscientiously verify each form he quotes in his own work, so as to distinguish standard words and forms from those of conjectural, doubtful, rare, or dialectic occurrence. In his list of works consulted I do not notice some of the most important that should be found in the comparative philologist's library, while he mentions some others, such as Thumb's *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, which should only be used with great caution. In his bibliography (xv), by the way, he confuses Fausböll's edition of the Pāli Jātakas with Kern's edition of the Sanskrit *Jātakamālā*.

The author will, by improving the present work as indicated, supply a useful foundation for the more advanced study of comparative philology in its special application to the Indo-Aryan languages of India.

A. A. MACDONELL.

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SUMERIAN LITURGIES AND PSALMS. By STEPHEN LANGDON.

University of Pennsylvania Publications, Babylonian Section, X, 4. Philadelphia : University Press. 1919.

This is the last, and in some respects the most important, volume containing the religious texts from Nippur in the University Museum at Philadelphia which have been published by Professor Langdon. He tells us that the material is now exhausted ; so far as the religious texts are concerned, the Philadelphia collection has nothing more to offer. Some of the best texts he has reserved for the last ; certainly his

introduction to them is one of the best and most interesting accounts of early Babylonian ritual that he has written.

Professor Langdon is not only a leading authority on the Sumerian language, but also on Babylonian religion, a subject which he has made peculiarly his own. And Babylonian religion, like most of the other elements in Babylonian culture, went back to Sumer. That remarkable consciousness of sin and the need of penitence and absolution which distinguished the religion of the Babylonians had its origin among the Sumerians. Its expression may sometimes seem to us wearisome and childish ; but this is partly due to the fact that our knowledge of Sumerian is still imperfect and that the hymns and psalms which have come down to us represent a primitive period in the history of human thought. The same childish monotony meets us from time to time in the Pyramid texts of Egypt.

Professor Langdon divides the history of Sumerian liturgiology into two periods, the " precanonical " and the " canonical ". In the first we have what he calls " songs of prostration ", " daily song services, all of sorrowful sentiment " with " a tendency to include a song to the wrathful Word of the gods and a song to the sorrowful earth-mother ", which have been compiled for liturgical purposes from earlier and shorter compositions. These were succeeded by the liturgies of " Praise " concerning the deeds and characters of the great gods. Among them is the hymn to the deified Dungi, king of Ur, which has been translated by Professor Langdon in a previous volume. From many points of view it is an important text. The present volume includes another hymn of the same class dedicated to Isme-Dagon, king of Isin. Another hymn included in the volume is a lamentation of the same king over the capture and pillage of Nippur by its enemies, where Isme-Dagon takes the place of " the sorrowful Mother-goddess ".

The doctrines of a divine incarnation, of a divine Word which creates and destroys, and of human sin which requires

reconciliation with the gods, are all to be found in the liturgical literature of Sumer. But the services which embody them, so far as they have survived, are almost entirely of a congregational character. Extraordinarily few prayers and devotions of a private or individual character have been discovered, although we know that many such must have existed, and in later Semitic times they seem to have been more popular than the choral services of the church. Professor Langdon avows that he is unable to explain the absence of such a collection from every collection of Sumerian religious literature which we possess. It must be remembered, however, that such individual prayers were largely mixed up with charms and magic ; they implied the assistance of the private practitioner of magic rather than the authorized minister of religion, and were, therefore, discountenanced by the priests.

The last text published in the volume is of exceptional interest, as it gives an explanation of the various mystic symbols of the Babylonian deities and cult. Thus we learn that silver belonged to the moon, gold to En-me-sarra (the sun), copper to Ea, the water-god ; that the cypress was dedicated to Hadad and bitumen, very appropriately, to the River-god ; that the tamarisk was Anu and the head of the date-palm was Tammuz. The *guskin-sig-MES* identified with the Anunnaki, or Spirits of Earth, means "red gold", that is to say, the unpurified metal as it is found in the earth. The Anunnaki thus correspond with the gnomes of European folklore and the griffins which according to Aristeas guarded the deposits of gold in the land of the Arimaspians. This latter country is the Arallu, "the Mountain of Gold," of the Babylonians, within which dwelt the Anunnaki by the side of the Waters of Life.

By way of conclusion it may be noted that Asrat, "the mistress of letters" (p. 331), is described in one of the Boghaz Keui texts—the treaty between Subbiluliuma and Tette, king of Nukhasse—as "the mistress of tablets of the city of Kinza". Kinza was in Northern Syria, and according to Dr. Otto Weber

must be identified with Kadesh on the Orontes. The word *me* which Professor Langdon renders "ritual utensils" (p. 257) I should rather translate "ritual texts".

A. H. SAYCE.

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SACITRA SĀRNĀTHER ITIHĀS (A Documentary History of Sarnath). By VĀNDĀVANCANDRA BHATTĀCĀRYYA, M.A., M.R.A.S. Octavo; pp. x, 128, with six plates. Calcutta, 1918.

Some years ago Rabindranath Tagore, when trying to teach his native Bengali to an Englishman, discovered with a shock of surprise that the Bengali alphabet is, like that of most living languages, a less accurate phonetic record than the *vṛṇṇa-mālā* of the parent Sanskrit. It is this defect, perhaps, that makes it a treacherous means of recording the sounds of foreign speeches. The author of this admirably arranged and well-informed history of Sārnāth expresses his obligations to his teachers at Benares, whose names are given as "Dāl Bhinis", "adhyāpaka Narmmān", "adhyāpaka Tārnār", and "adhyāpaka Mālabhyānī". To contemporaries of the scholars named this spelling presents little difficulty. But posterity may be puzzled. On the other hand, names spelt in English letters bewilder the Bengali compositor even at a time when the use of English is increasingly common; and we get slips like "*Foucher, Etude sur i Iconographic Buddhique*". Such are the mechanical hindrances in the road of the Bengali scholar. The more reason why we should congratulate Mr. Bhattācāryya on the excellent use to which he has put the example and the guidance of the professors under whom he has studied. His book is not only a thorough and conscientious but a delightful guide to the antiquities, the archæology, and so much as survives of the history of that famous and ancient Deerpark of Sārnāth where the great Buddhist Saṅgha or Order came into being. He has not only given a full and intelligent account of the place and its existing

remains, but has supplied ample references to his authorities and an adequate index. The Bengali visitor to Benares and Sārnāth is fortunate to have so competent a guide.

But Mr. Bhaṭṭācāryya is more than a learned and conscientious cicerone. He is also, if a foreigner may venture to judge of such a matter, an author who has a pleasant and a dexterous style. There can be no better test of literary skill than a satisfactory and tactful translation. In discussing the etymology of the old name of Sārnāth, i.e. Mṛgadāya Rśipatana, he puts into Bengali a tale from the Jātakas, rendered with just the needful touch of archaism fitted to communicate to the modern reader a sense of the antiquity and the old-world charm of what he is reading. Told thus, the naïve simplicity of the old story is singularly attractive. Mr. Bhaṭṭācāryya is to be congratulated on a piece of work exhibiting not only learning and labour, but literary skill and a real gift of exposition such as will, it may be hoped, win him many readers in Bengal, a land where Buddhist influences survive into Vaiṣṇava piety perhaps more unmistakably than in the Holy Land of Buddhism itself.

J. D. A.

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DARAH BHARATA : COLLECTION OF HEADFIGURES OUT OF WAYANG POERWA. Indonesian Printing Office, Weltevreden, 1919.

The shadow-play, a form of entertainment that has spread over a great part of Asia, is an ancient and honoured institution in Java, where it has developed on characteristic lines. The most ancient and important form of it is styled *wayang purwa*, and can be traced back for about 900 years. The plays thus represented comprise episodes from the two great Indian epics, and the puppets are figures of grotesque and conventional form, cut out of leather and most beautifully coloured. The present collection consists of thirty-seven very fine colour plates of such puppets, being figures from the

Mahābhārata. They are all well reproduced, and are preceded by a brief preface, some introductory remarks, and a table giving explanatory details. The only criticism I can make is to express a regret that the English text of this fine work has not been revised by an Englishman, who could have corrected its style and language in a good many places with advantage. That, however, is a point of quite secondary importance, entirely overshadowed by the excellence of the plates themselves, which constitute the real essence of the book.

Indian scholars will be interested to see how the personages of one of their great epics have been treated in this outlying part of the Indian sphere of influence. It cannot be too often repeated that in the history of Asiatic civilizations the part played by India will never be fully understood or adequately valued if we confine our attention to India proper and neglect Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago. I therefore welcome this work as an instalment which will, I hope, interest British students in these matters, and I anticipate the thanks due to the Dutch editors for having issued an edition of the work in English for the benefit of a wide circle of readers to whom Dutch is an unfamiliar tongue.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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SINO-IRANICA : CHINESE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ANCIENT IRAN. With special reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products. By BERTHOLD LAUFER, Curator of Anthropology. Chicago, 1919.

Whenever a new work from Dr. Laufer's various and voluminous pen appears, there come into my mind two absurd lines from an ancient music-hall song and dance, " You should see me dance the Polka, You should see me cover the ground ! " For Dr. Laufer does cover a great deal of ground, in fact, the greater part of the continent of Asia, and who

knows where he will stop? In truth, he is not so much, or perhaps so little, a mere Sinologist as an Asianist, for his researches range from the extreme North-East, China, which suffices for most men, Tibet, on which he is now a leading authority, Siberia, and now going west (*unberufen*) within the cultural and linguistic limits of Iran. Wherever he settles for the time, his wide reading, well-grounded and solid learning, coupled with his critical intelligence, ensure the dissipation of much error, and the establishment of new and valuable information.

In this area of Iran Dr. Laufer has aimed at showing the influences of Iranian products—plants, minerals, textiles—upon the culture of Eastern Asia, and towards the end of the volume he devotes a section, for the book is not divided into chapters, to “the reverse of the medal”, and to the consideration of “what the Iranians owe to the Chinese”. Nor is this all. There are also five Appendices, to Iranian Elements in Mongol, Chinese Elements in Turki, The Indian Elements in the Persian Pharmacology of Abu Mansur Muwaffaq, The Basil, and to Additional Notes on Loan-words in Tibetan. The volume ends with a General Index, a Botanical Index, and an Index of Words occurring in the text, arranged under no less than thirty languages in order. These Indexes will greatly facilitate the use by workers of what is bound to be a book of reference of a most valuable kind, rather than a work to be perused from end to end.

I regret that the space available renders an adequate review of this sound and stimulating volume impossible, but a quotation from the Introduction (p. 188) will at least show the author's aim in his own words:—

“The linguistic phenomena . . . form merely a side-issue of this investigation. My main task is to trace the history of all objects of material culture, pre-eminently cultivated plants, drugs, minerals, metals, precious stones, and textiles, in their migration from Persia to China (*Sino-Iranica*), and others transmitted from China to Persia (*Irano-Sinica*).”

Animals, games, and musical instruments are left for future treatment.

Perhaps I can best use the space remaining to me by a précis of one of the author's sections, chosen at random, that on the spinach. Dr. Laufer begins by quoting the Russian author Bretschneider that spinach is said by the Chinese to come from Persia, and that the various European names are derived probably from the Persian term *esfinadsch*. "The problem," observes Laufer, "is not quite so simple." He proceeds to quote a passage from a Chinese work, which he describes as not only the earliest datable mention of spinach in Chinese records, but in general the earliest reference to it that we thus far possess. Here it is stated that in A.D. 647 the vegetable *po-ling* (spinach) was sent to the Chinese Court from Nepal, and Laufer points out that the present Chinese colloquial name *po-ts'ai*, or "po vegetable" is a contraction of *po-ling*, and does not mean "Persian vegetable". Laufer next approves De Candolle's belief that spinach was first raised as a vegetable in Persia, but cites Leclerc's *Traité des simples* to prove that the Arabs carried the plant to Spain—contrary to De Candolle's statement—where it was cultivated towards the end of the eleventh century. From Spain it spread to the rest of Europe, and was well known and generally eaten in England in the sixteenth century.

In Persian literature the earliest mention of spinach occurs, again according to Leclerc, in the pharmacopœia of Abu Mansur, and is apparently of the thirteenth century.

Dr. Laufer concludes that "we are compelled to admit that the spinach was introduced into Nepal from some Iranian region, and thence transmitted to China in A.D. 647". And further that "the Persian cultivation can be but of comparatively recent origin, and is not older than the sixth century or so".

L. C. HOPKINS.

ETHIOPIAN GRAMMAR WITH CHRESTOMATHY AND GLOSSARY.  
By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., D.D. pp. 116. Oxford:  
Clarendon Press. 1920.

The author's object to provide a concise Ethiopic grammar in English merits the highest approval. Ethiopic is not an easy language to learn, and to study its grammatical rules in a foreign language increases the difficulty. The existing English edition of Dillmann's grammar, as Dr. Mercer rightly points out, is scarcely suitable for the beginner, though indispensable to the research student. It cannot be denied that the seven columns of the alphabet, with their hooks and signs representing the vowels, are somewhat deterrent, but this initial difficulty is fairly compensated for by the complete absence of unvocalized texts, which in other Semitic languages demand a thorough acquaintance with all the rules of grammar, including syntax. Why Dr. Mercer enhanced this difficulty by adding the Amharic variety is not easily seen. His recommendation not to give too much time to certain phonological rules in Chapter III might be extended to various paragraphs in the preceding chapter, several details of which are too complicated for the beginner. The reading exercises are decidedly helpful, but the book is marred by a number of inaccuracies, among which, by cursory perusal, I noticed the following. Par. 18 *፳፻፻* should be replaced by some other example, because the rule discussed speaks of roots with a guttural as *second* consonant. In paragraphs 87 to 89 there occurs four times the misprint *ተ* for *ቃ*. To speak of three genders in a Semitic language is misleading. Par. 100 *፳፻፻* (*፳፻፻*) cannot be chosen as an instance of primitive nouns. Ibid. 65 what is *ሙተተ*? Par. 67 *፳፻፻* should be *፳፻፻*, but here it should be explained that nominal forms with affixed *ተ* are not real participles, but only used in their place. In the chrestomathy (p. 91) read *Exodus* for *Genesis*. In the glossary, p. 106, *፳፻፻* does not mean *five*, but *hundred*. P. 113 *፳፻፻* "naked" is incorrect, because it is the intensive stem meaning *nudare*, etc.

With all its conciseness and other laudable features, the little book can only be used under the guidance of an experienced teacher who will not only have to correct its inaccuracies, but to supplement its bald rules by giving the student some notion of the organic development of the phonological phenomena on the basis of comparative philology. The absence of diacritical signs renders this for Ethiopic more necessary than for any other Semitic language.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LITERATURE UNDER TARTAR DOMINION  
(A.D. 1265-1502). By EDWARD G. BROWNE. University Press, Cambridge. 1920.

This book, though it issues from the Cambridge University Press under a different title and in a new form, is, in fact, the third volume of Professor Browne's Literary History of Persia, of which the preceding volumes were published by Fisher Unwin in 1902 and 1906 respectively. To one of the causes which have delayed its production the author alludes in his preface, and there are others of a sufficiently obvious kind; but if Orientalists have had to wait a long time, the result surpasses all their expectations. Such a wealth of hitherto unexplored materials as is revealed in these pages has rarely been brought together in a single work. Professor Browne has drawn from many sources inaccessible to former historians and unfamiliar to Oriental scholars even at the present day, and he refers in particular to the valuable manuscripts and books—about a hundred in all—which he had the good fortune to acquire, partly from the library of Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, and partly from the choice collection made in Persia and Mesopotamia by Hájji 'Abdu'l-Majíd Belshah. From an historical point of view, specially noteworthy is a collection of fifty-three letters written by Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, the illustrious statesman and historian, and edited by his secretary, Muḥammad of Abarqúh,

which appear to have survived only in the two MSS. now in Professor Browne's possession.

Mention also may be made of the *Zafar-náma* of Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfi, a versified history extending to A.D. 1331-2, of which there is a unique MS. in the British Museum, and the *Ta'ríkh-i Bandákati*, composed in A.D. 1317 by Abú Sulaymán Dá'íd of Banákat in Transoxiana, which contains an interesting account (translated on p. 102) of Chinese printing from wood blocks. Much information respecting literary matters is supplied by the *Mujmal* of Faṣihí of Khwáf, a Persian chronicle and necrology carried down to A.D. 1442. Two of the three known copies are at Cambridge—one belonging to Professor Browne and the other to the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. As regards the general treatment of the subject, the plan adopted in the second volume has been retained, so that the historical survey of each period is followed by one or more chapters dealing with the contemporary literature. Students of Professor Browne's writings know that his learning, though profound, is never pedantic, and that they can count upon enjoying the instruction which he offers them. They will find here the same breadth and lucidity in exposition, the same abundance of apt illustration, the same acute criticism, ready appreciativeness, and kindly humour which many of us know to be characteristic of him. The numerous and excellent translations both in prose and verse are not a new feature, but it is an innovation (and one which greatly adds to their interest) that they are accompanied by the original texts in cases where the latter exist only in manuscript or cannot easily be come by.

Tímúr, of course, is the central and outstanding figure in this epoch of history. While justice is done to his exploits as a warrior, no whitewash is used to disguise his atrocious cruelty and utter disregard of human life, and the view of him taken by Sir John Malcolm is emphatically endorsed. The opening chapter on the Mongol Il-Kháns of Persia gives a masterly account of these sovereigns and their relations with

Europe, which from the Western side were often based on the legend of "Prester John" and the delusion that the Mongols had embraced Christianity. The chapter on the later Tímúrid period includes a graphic picture of Úzún Hasan, of the Turkmán "White Sheep" dynasty, who, according to Contarini, "was fond of amusing himself in a homely manner, but when too far gone was sometimes dangerous. Take him altogether, however, he was a pleasant gentleman." Here Professor Browne has made use of Turkish sources, namely, the State papers (*Munsha'át*) of Firídún Bey and the *Sahá'ifü'l-Akhbár* of Munajjim-báshi. Apart from two great poets, Háfiz and Jámí, the Persian literature of this age is chiefly remarkable for its historians. Amongst these, Juwayní (whose death falls within the limits of the present volume, although his *Ta'ríkh-i Jahán-gushá* was concluded five years before the accession of Abáqá), Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, and Hamdu'lláh Mustawfí claim precedence; and Rashídu'd-Dín, in virtue of his eminent position, his singular opportunities, and his far-reaching conception of the scope of historical science, is unquestionably the most important of the three. Sections of the *Jámí'u'l-Tawárikh* have been edited by Quatremère and M. Blochet, and a scheme for the publication of the entire work was put forward by Professor Browne in this Journal (January, 1908, pp. 17-37). It is to be feared, however, that we can hardly expect to see the project carried out in the immediate future, unless Professor Browne himself will take it in hand. Tasks of such magnitude commonly require the co-operation of a number of competent scholars, which there is little possibility of obtaining until the study of Persian—and to a lesser extent of Turkish—is not only brought on a level with that of Arabic, but combined with it so as to form an instrument for the study of Islamic civilization in the same way as both Greek and Latin have long been regarded as equally indispensable to students of classical antiquity. No one has set forth more eloquently than Professor Browne the

evil consequences of the separatism which still prevails, or illustrated more successfully the advantages to be gained by abandoning it. He refers to the subject here (pp. 64-5), and his observations should be carefully weighed by all who desire the advancement of sound knowledge concerning the history and literature of Islam.

While Professor Browne suggests a likely explanation (p. 207) of "the curious but indisputable fact that in Persia, at any rate, periods of great turmoil and disorder have generally produced the finest poetry", it remains a paradox that Persia should have given birth to her greatest poet at a time when she had lost her national independence and was overrun by barbarians. In the pages devoted to Háfíz and his contemporaries the author has derived some valuable details from the *Shi'rū'l-'Ajām*, a modern book written in Urdu by the late Shibli Nu'mání. He shows, for instance, that Háfíz owed something to the bards whose ideas he borrowed and seldom failed to improve. The mixture of spiritual and material in the Odes is well described, but a few words might have been added regarding the mysticism of Háfíz and its influence on his poetry. His countrymen, I think, are right when they feel that mysticism in him was no fashion or passing mood, but a deep and vital element in his nature; it is the source of the rapturous quality that pervades his verse, and it endows his vision of life and things with a largeness and significance which he shares with no Persian poet except Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí. When the author of the *Masnaví* gathers up the whole lesson of *Faust* in the verse

داند آن کو نیک بخت و محرم است  
زیر کی ز ابلیس و عشق از آدم است

we recognize that he too "penetrated into those provinces of thought which we of a later age are destined to inhabit." I confess that, personally, I am unable to understand the

view sometimes held in Persia that the odes of Háfiz are not superior to those of Sa'dí. To the admirable and accomplished Jámí, Professor Browne pays a high tribute, and this is only his due, although most European students will agree with Mírzá Bihruz in finding him less profound and original than Nizámí. The biographies of minor poets and the specimens of their work are full of interest, opening as they do many paths for future research. Attention may be called in particular to Fakhru'd-Dín 'Iráqí, who wrote some fine mystical odes and a prose work, the *Lama'át*, which gives an artistic form to the ideas of Ibnu'l-'Arabí; Qásimu'l-Anwár, whose odes show traces of Ḥurúfi influence; and 'Ubayd-i Zákání. The last-named is a racy satirist, and some of his work, e.g. the *Músh u Gurba* (inadvertently described as a *mathnawi*), exhibits a type of composition quite novel in Persian literature. One verse of this amusing poem is noticed by 'Ubayd's contemporary, Háfiz, who alludes in a

well-known verse to the گربه عابد. The extracts translated from the *Akhláqu'l-Ashráf* or "Ethics of the Aristocracy", a prose satire in a more serious vein, will be enjoyed by many. The "Fragments" of Ibn-i Yamín include, as Professor Browne has pointed out, an imitation of a famous passage in the *Masnavi*; and it may be worth while to add that the piece at the foot of p. 218, "typical in its Manichæan and Malthusian pessimism," is manifestly copied from the following verses by Abu'l-'Alá al-Ma'arrí (*Luzúmiyyát*, Cairo, 1891, i, 45, 3-5) :—

عَلَى الْوَلَدِ يُحْنِي وَالَّذِي لَوْلَا أَنَّهُمْ \* وُلَادَةٌ عَلَى أَمْصَارِهِمْ خُطْبَاءٌ  
وَزَادَلَ بَعْدًا مِنْ بَنِيلٍ وَزَادَهُمْ \* عَلَيْكَ حُقُودًا أَنَّهُمْ ثُجَّابٌ  
يَرَوْنَ أَبَانَ الْقَاهِمُ فِي مُؤَرَّبٍ \* مِنْ الْعَقْدِ ضَلَّتْ حَلَّهُ الْأَرَبَاءُ

The first of the eight selected poems by the mystic Maghribí occurs in the edition of the *Díván-i Shams-i Tabríz* lithographed at Tabríz in A.H. 1280, with the final verse :—

ای شمس تو این حدیث بگذار \* سر دو جهان مکن هویدا

I have not found it, however, in the Lakhnaw editions of A.H. 1295 and 1302, or in two manuscript copies of the *Díván-i Shams-i Tabríz* in the British Museum (Or. 2866 and Add. 16,779) which I have consulted. The question whether it belongs to Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí or to Maghribí cannot be settled definitely without further examination of old MSS.

To review this volume adequately would need more learning, time, and labour than I can bestow on it, but perhaps enough has been said to indicate the variety of its interest and the range of its erudition. It contains twelve beautiful illustrations, six of which are new and have been reproduced from manuscripts in the British Museum, viz. portraits of Húlágú, Timúr, Sháhrúkh, Sa'dí, and Háfiz, and the colophon of the *Qur'án* which was transcribed for Uljáytú and his two ministers, Rashídú'd-Dín Faḍlú'lláh and Sa'du'd-Dín, in A.H. 710. Professor Browne has now in front of him the spacious times of the Ṣafawís, and the completion of his Literary History is in sight. Orientalists of all lands will hope that the last stage may be quickly traversed.

R. A. N.

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LALLA-VAKYANI, OR THE SAYINGS OF LAL DĚD. By Sir GEORGE GRIERSON and Dr. LIONEL D. BARNETT. pp. viii, 225.

This is a work which, in spite of the modesty of its claims, is of great interest to the student of either religion or language. It contains an account of the sayings of a remarkable woman affectionately known in Kashmír as Lal Děd or Granny Lal.

She was a contemporary of Chaucer, but her memory is nearly as fresh to-day as in the century following her death, and if popularity is any test we may say that she has left a greater impression upon her native country than anyone else. She was a prophetess of Śaivist Hinduism, a form of religion which has always has a great vogue in Kashmīr, although in accordance with the greater devotional freedom of those days she influenced and was in turn influenced by the Muhammadan Sayyid 'Alī. She was not a theologian ; her sayings give in semi-popular dress the philosophic speculations of the leaders of Śaivist thought. One must, however, observe that the populace which could digest some of the utterances given to us in this volume was certainly accustomed to strong meat. In illustration we may quote the first and fifteenth stanzas :—

When by repeated practice of yoga the whole expanse of the  
visible universe hath ascended to absorption ;  
When the qualified universe hath become merged within the  
Ether ;  
When the ethereal Void itself hath become dissolved, then  
naught but the Weal itself hath remained.  
The true doctrine, O Brāhmaṇa, is but this alone.

(It may be so, but we are glad to have Dr. Barnett's explanation to aid us in realizing it.)

The ever-unobstructed sound, the principle of absolute vacuity,  
whose abode is the Void  
Which hath no name, nor colour, nor lineage, nor form,  
Which they declare to be successively transformed into the  
Sound and the Dot by its own reflection on itself,—  
That alone is the god that will mount upon him.

Here, again, Dr. Barnett lays the reader under obligation.

Yet many of the verses give expression to simpler doctrines in a simpler manner, while some remind us that the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world has not left Kashmīr in total darkness.

The phenomenon of Eastern prophetesses is one of considerable interest. Lal Dēd may usefully be compared with Qurrat ul 'Ain, the martyr priestess of the Babis. Unfortunately the details of the career of the former are now shadowy through lapse of time.

Before giving a summary of the contents of the book it may be stated that the learned authors have very successfully divided the work between them, the principle of division being that Sir George Grierson has assumed responsibility for all the linguistic part of the book, while Dr. Barnett is responsible for all that deals with religious belief and practice. A two-paged preface is followed by an interesting introduction. The work proper consists of the undermentioned parts :—

Note on the principle called Yoga, with a full index to the note.

Text and translation of 436 lines of verse, together with a Sanskrit translation of 260 lines by Rājānaka Bhāskara. This portion contains many religious notes by Dr. Barnett and a number on linguistic points by Sir George Grierson.

Further sayings attributed to Lal Dēd, found in Knowles's Dictionary of Kashmirī Proverbs.

Article on Lalla's language.

Article on Lalla's metres.

An exhaustive vocabulary extending to 76 pages.

One rises from a study of this volume with a feeling of great gratitude to the authors. First of all this is due to the fact that in this materialistic time men have turned aside to a labour of mind and spirit like this, and gone back in thought to a world of 450 years ago when life moved more majestically and with a statelier rhythm than it does to-day. It is essentially a scholar's work, and its value is twofold—linguistic and religious.

Sir George Grierson has spent many years in the study of Kashmirī, and he has here given us a text which exhibits the

oldest known form of the language ; we are able, therefore, to trace its development over a period of several centuries. The difference is surprisingly small. The sixteen pages on Lalla's language draw attention to all the more important changes which have taken place, and students of the modern language are placed in a position which excites the envy of many of those who study the other present-day vernaculars of India. The vocabulary is a particularly valuable piece of work. With great patience the author explains every word and form occurring in the text, and gives references to the verses in which the words are found. When I add that in the vocabulary Dr. Barnett has given a number of notes on the religious points that emerge, it will be seen that the treatment of words goes far beyond that customary in textbooks.

The use of the word "affricates" differs from that in phonetic textbooks, for while on the one hand the sound *z* is called an affricate, which is new to me, *c* with its aspirate *ch* is not, though modern phoneticians consider it the commonest of the affricates.

There is an illuminating chapter on Lalla's metres in which it is shown that she has given up quantity for stress accent. This is in consonance with the character of her verses as an expression of more or less popular thought, for in North India the everyday verse-jingles, as distinguished from the more formal written verse, confines itself to stresses, and discards the rules of quantity.

When we turn to the other side of the work we find that the notes contributed by Dr. Barnett are worthy of the linguistic equipment. He is happy in his subject, for he deals with Saivism in Kashmīr, where that cult flourished, and he deals with it at its best, as it appears transformed in the outpourings of a heart, in which (may we not hope ?) there was a genuine desire for God, if haply it might feel after Him and find Him. The remarkable fact that these verses have been handed down, with hardly the change of a letter, almost *verbatim, literatim, et punctatim*, through the centuries, testifies to the hold

which they have upon the minds of the people. The fact that only a small percentage of Kashmiris are Hindus somewhat obscures the fascination which these sayings have for those whose religious training enables them to appreciate their thought. For us the interest is increased by their age. Whether it is that we all tend to be *laudatores temporis acti*, or that the past will always win a glory from its being far, there is no doubt that what is old attracts us. In this case the intrinsic merit of many of the verses explains the attraction. The interest is enhanced by the author's being a woman. Deborah, Huldah, and Priscilla from the Bible, Joan of Arc, Lal Dēd, and Qurrat ul 'Ain in more modern times, all appeal to our imagination.

Dr. Barnett moves easily among the mazes of popular Śaivist philosophy. His special article, and the notes scattered throughout the text and vocabulary, are what such articles and notes should be, concise without being perfunctory, learned without being unintelligible.

The authors, as has been suggested above, work in happy combination, and we owe them our gratitude for this unpretentious but valuable account of an episode in linguistic and religious history which we should be sorry to have to do without.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

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## OBITUARY NOTICES

### SIR CHARLES JAMES LYALL

ON September 1 Sir Charles James Lyall, K.C.S.I., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Royal Asiatic Society, died at his London residence in his 76th year, deeply mourned by all who knew him. His career was a remarkable combination of practical activity and literary achievement of the highest order. For thirty years he was engaged in the arduous work of Indian administration, and for twelve more years he held an important post at the India Office. Yet in his spare moments he acquired an amount of learning which gained for him a place among the most eminent Orientalists of our time.

At Balliol College, Oxford, he distinguished himself as a student of Hebrew, and thus when he went to India, in 1867, he already possessed some knowledge of Semitic philology. In subsequent years his favourite study was Arabic, in particular Arabic poetry of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period. But at the same time he devoted much attention to some of the modern Indian dialects, as is shown by his *Sketch of the Hindostani Language* (1880) and the articles which he contributed to the ninth and eleventh editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1885 appeared his *Translations from Ancient Arabian Poetry*. Most of the pieces contained in it are taken from the *Hamāsah* of Abū Tammām, edited long before by Freytag, but some are from sources which had never been published. It was the aim of Sir Charles to give the English reader a vivid and accurate idea of the genius of Arabian poetry, and in this he succeeded far better than any other English scholar who has undertaken this task. The translations are in metres, more or less resembling those of the Arabic, but rhyme is not attempted. This method he followed also in his later works, and, though it is impossible

in English to reproduce the exact effect of purely quantitative metres, such as those of the Greeks and Arabs, it must be admitted by all that he displayed astonishing skill in imitating both the form and the spirit of the originals.

His subsequent books are : *Ten Ancient Arabic Poems, with the Commentary of at-Tibrīzī* (1901-1904), *The Dīwāns of 'Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ and 'Āmir ibn at-Tufail* (1913), and *The Poems of 'Amr son of Qamī'ah* (1919). The two last consist chiefly of pieces not printed before ; the Arabic text is accompanied by an elaborate critical apparatus, an English rendering, and explanatory notes. But by far the most important of his works is his great edition of the Arabic Anthology entitled the *Mufaddalīyāt*, the preparation of which he announced in this Journal (April, 1904). The printing of the text, which occupies nearly 900 pages, began at Beyrouth in 1910, but owing to the European War it was interrupted for several years, and the last pages were revised by him only a few weeks before his death. It is hoped that the first two volumes, containing the Introduction, the text, and the English translation, will appear very soon. A third volume, consisting of Indices, will not be ready for some time.

In his Arabic studies Sir Charles always took full account of the most recent discoveries in history, archæology, and linguistic science, and he was in frequent communication with some of the principal Orientalists of the Continent, especially with Professor Theodor Nöldeke, of Strasbourg, whom he described as "Our Master" in the dedication of his *'Abīd and 'Āmir* mentioned above. On the much-debated question of the authenticity of the verses ascribed to the pre-Islamic Arabic poets he adopted in the main a conservative position, that is to say, he held that the judgment of the great scholars of the second and third centuries after the Prophet was usually correct, though in some cases they may have been deceived by skilful forgeries, such as the celebrated poem ascribed to Ta'abbata Sharrā in the *Hamāsah*, p. 382 seq.

Members of the Royal Asiatic Society do not need to be reminded of the prominent part which he took in its proceedings during the last twenty years of his life, and of the interesting papers which he published in this Journal (see October, 1903, January, April, July, 1912, January, April, 1914, April, 1918). But students of modern India may be glad to have their attention called to his article on the Mikirs (of Assam) in the eighth volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1915).

A. A. B.

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#### HENRI LOUIS JOLY

AFTER a long and painful illness, bravely suffered, M. H. L. Joly died in Chelsea on August 26. He was buried in Brompton Cemetery.

For more than twenty years M. Joly has been one of the most distinguished members of the French community in London. Born at Chartres in 1876, he received a scientific education and entered on the profession of electrical engineer and chemist. It is surprising that in spite of the exacting nature of his calling, which he followed through life, he yet found time and energy to acquire such an extensive knowledge of matters appertaining to Japanese art. M. Joly possessed an instinctive love and just appreciation of this aspect of Oriental culture, and to these qualities were added thorough and honest scholarship—a rare combination that led to his recognition as a leading authority on the subject.

*Legend in Japanese Art* is too well known to need comment ; but perhaps his most important work was in connexion with sword furniture. His technical knowledge of metals and craftsmanship placed him in a position of peculiar authority, and it is a sad loss to the world that his untimely death has cut short the completion of a *magnum opus* on the subject. It is to be hoped that someone may be found to edit and

publish the manuscripts he has left. The following have already appeared :—

*The Sword Book and the Book of Samé*, written in conjunction with Hogitaro Inada ; privately printed (200 copies), 1913.

*Toban Shinpin Zukan*, being a copy and translation of an eighteenth century Japanese manuscript in Stockholm Royal Library, relating to sword-guards.

*Shosankenshū*, 1500–1880, which contains the names, collected from sword-mounts, of some 2,950 artist-craftsmen.

The two last works were written and drawn on tracing-paper by M. Joly, and reproduced in the manner used for engineering drawings. Only twelve copies were in 1912 published of the former, and about ten copies in 1919 of the latter.

M. Joly was also the author of a number of articles and reviews which appeared in the *Japan Society Transactions*, *Bulletin de la Société Franco-Japonaise de Paris*, and other journals. In collaboration with Mr. K. Tomita he published in 1916 two magnificent illustrated volumes (limited to 175 copies) entitled *Japanese Art and Handicraft*, being a record of the loan exhibition held at the end of 1915 in aid of the British Red Cross.

A number of catalogues of important collections owe their completeness and permanent value to M. Joly's wide scholarship, critical judgment, and accuracy in detail. The most notable are those of the following : Hawkshaw, 1910 ; Naunton, 1912 ; Seymour Trower, 1913 ; and Behrens, 1913–14.

During the War, ill-health precluded military service, but M. Joly volunteered for and carried out the arduous duties of Professor of Science at the Lycée franco-belge in London, in recognition of which he received the Belgian decoration of Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Couronne.

M. Joly was a member of the China Society, and for many years a member of Council of the Japan Society. It was largely owing to his devoted labours as hon. editor of the *Transactions*

of the latter Society that these reached their high standard of excellence. His place will be filled with difficulty.

W. P. Y.

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### JOSEF RITTER VON KARABACEK

Josef Ritter von Karabaček, late Honorary Member, was born at Graz, September 20, 1845. He studied at the University of Vienna and at other academic institutions, and first made a reputation as a numismatist. Accompanying his father on a journey to Banat he used to come in with handfuls of the most varied coins, such as were current on the then Turkish-Austrian frontier. He was immensely attracted by all the types, inscriptions, and languages. Hence we find him in the second year of his university course already occupied with a numismatical work, concerning a collection placed at his disposal by a Russian lieutenant-general. This brought him into personal and professional connexion with a former ambassador at Constantinople and with distinguished Orientalists abroad. After obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Erlangen, he commenced a course of lectures on Arabic palaeography at Vienna University, and in 1873 took part in the Exhibition, showing Oriental inscribed tablets, in which the Emperor took much interest. Oriental numismatics, Arabic palaeography, and Islamic were the principal subjects of his varied researches. When the collection of papyri of El-Faijūm revealed unsuspected material for Arabic palaeographical research between 1881 and 1883, he it was who brought this branch of Arabic learning into prominence. He did other valuable work in connexion with papyri. Meanwhile, after having refused an offer from Punjab University College at Lahore in 1873 of the highly paid position of Principal, he was appointed in 1885 Ordinary Professor of the history and sciences of the East, the duties of which he only relinquished in his 70th year, July, 1915. He was for several decades assistant editor

of the Viennese *Journal of Oriental Studies*. In 1882 the Vienna Academy of Science elected him corresponding member, and in 1888 full member. In February, 1898, he was elected provisional secretary of the Philosophical and Historical Department, and re-elected several times. In 1899 he was elected Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he remained until his death on October 9, 1918. He also belonged to many other foreign learned societies and bodies as corresponding or honorary member. In 1899 he was appointed "Hofrat", and soon after "Ritter" and Curator of the Court Library. In this last office he had many opportunities of giving proof of his fine artistic taste, during the planning of that institution at the commencement of this century, particularly in arranging the exhibits in the State Saloon. In scientific matters the best known are his inquiries into the origin of Oriental paper, made in conjunction with Julius Ritter von Wiesner. Karabaček and Wiesner have proved, one from the antiquarian and the other from the natural history point of view, that the invention of fibre-paper was not, as had been hitherto supposed, made by Germans and Italians at the time of the fourteenth century on European ground, but rather that the Arabs are to be credited with the invention of paper made from rags, and were already making it at the end of the eighth century. These conclusions are now to be found in all handbooks on the subject. The list of his articles and books shows how widespread was Karabaček's activity in the realm of palaeography, Oriental antiquities, numismatics, and art. And this in spite of the demands on his time for committees, sittings, official speeches, and public functions. He remained in full activity up to the day of his death.

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MAHAMAHOPADHYA SATISCANDRA VIDYABHUSANA,  
M.A., PH.D.

We have received with regret the news of the death of Dr. Śatiscandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who for many years had been Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. A correspondent favours us with a note as follows :—

"The late Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana came of a Brahmin family of the district of Faridpur, in Bengal. His father, Pitambar Vidyabagish, was a famous Pandit of Bengal. Dr. Vidyabhusana made his mark first as a brilliant student and then as a distinguished scholar. He wrote and edited a large number of Sanskrit, Pali, and Tibetan books. He was also a frequent contributor to the journals of England, America, and India. His brilliant scholarship, vast erudition, broad-minded sympathy, and the nobleness of his character had won for him a place in the hearts of friends and countrymen."

Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's chief contributions to scholarship were the following :—

"The Mādhyamika School of Buddhist Philosophy" (including a translation of a part of the *Madhyamaka-vṛtti*). Calcutta, *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vols. iii–vi, 1893.

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*Mahāvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit-Tibetan-English vocabulary, being an edition and translation of the M. by A. Csoma de Körös. Edited by E. Denison Ross and Mahāmahopādhyāya S. C. V. (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, iv, 1.) Calcutta, 1910.

Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa also edited (1911-15) for the use of students a number of selections from Tibetan texts.

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THE Society regrets to note the death of the Maharaja Sir Venkata Svetachalapati Ranga Rao Bahadur, G.C.I.E., of Bobbili, who was one of its benefactors.

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WE regret to report the death of Professor Ernst Kuhn, of Munich, Honorary Member of the R.A.S. and a most distinguished Orientalist.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(July-September, 1920)

The following new Honorary Members were appointed at the Council of July 13, 1920, in the places of those deceased :—

Professor Caland, of Utrecht.

Professor Clermont Ganneau, of Paris.

Professor de la Vallée Poussin, of Ghent.

A welcome gift of £100 was received in July from a member of the Society who desires to be anonymous. It was for the special purpose of raising the salary of the future Secretary by £50 for two years. A gift of £60 was also received from H.R.H. Prince Vajirayāna, honorary member of the R.A.S., in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of his birthday.

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Mr. A. G. Ellis, Honorary Librarian to the Society, has given considerable time during the vacation to the re-arranging of the Library.

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Dr. Patrick Buxton read a paper before the Society on October 12 entitled "The Marsh Arabs of Mesopotamia".

The title of the paper for November 9 is "Aurungzab Vindicated", by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah; and on December 14 Professor Nicholson speaks on "Arabic Poets of the 'Abbasid Period'".

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A correspondent wishes to know if there is any ground for his belief that the Channel Island breed of cattle is of Asiatic origin, and introduced by the Phenicians. He is interested in the breeding of Indian cattle in Jamaica, and has noticed similarities as to colouring, texture of hair, and amount of fats in the milk between this breed

and that of the Channel Islands. His theory is that the Phœnicians may have introduced Asiatic cattle into Devon, Cornwall, and the Channel Islands, but that the hardy English stock overwhelmed the imported breed, except in the small islands.

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Owing to the increased cost of printing, it has been decided to raise the cost of the Society's publications by 25 per cent to non-members.

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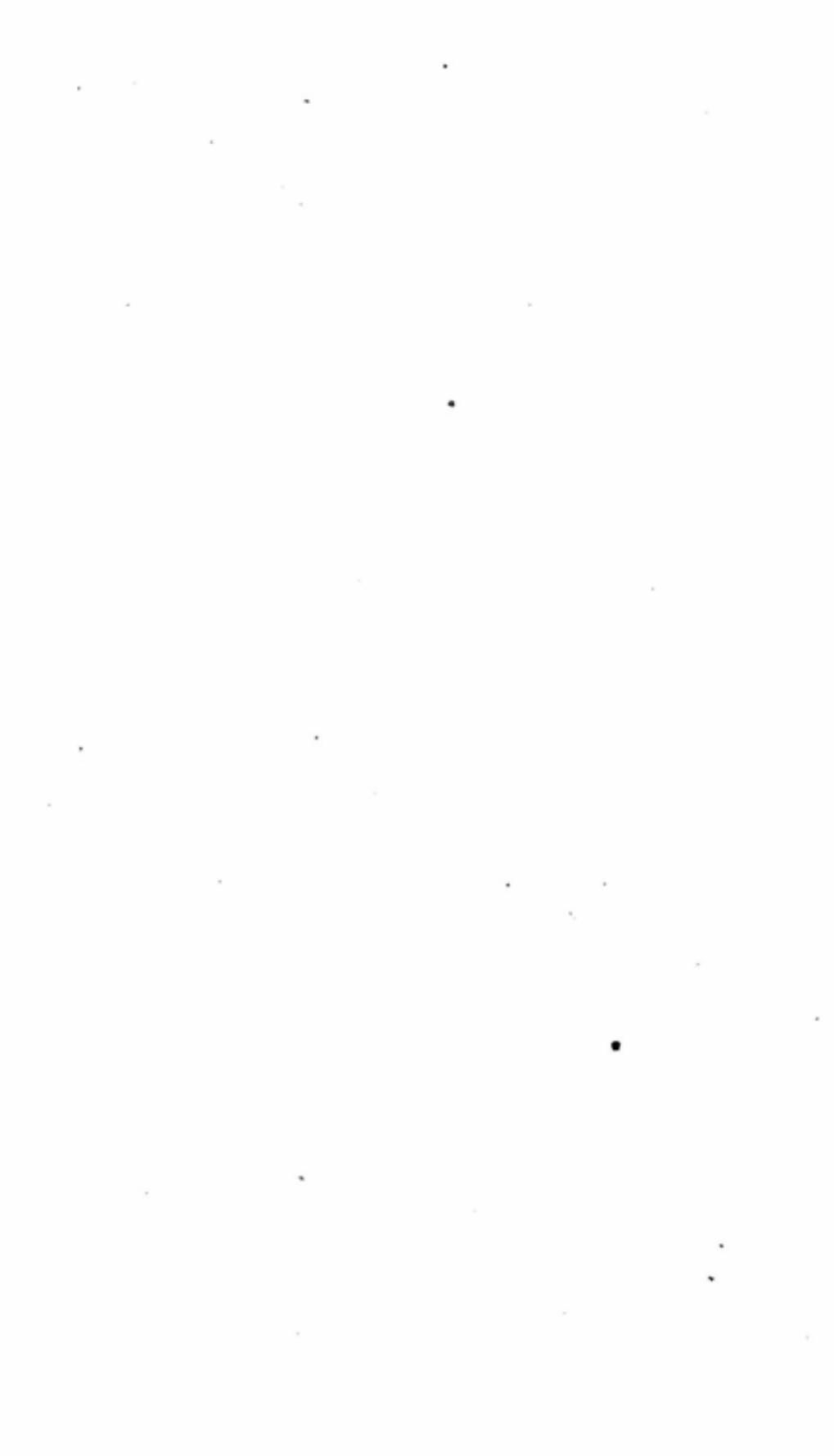
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TRANSLITERATION  
OF THE  
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,  
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

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